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André S. S. L.

A TRAGIC SCENE FROM ENGLISH HISTORY: PRINCE ARTHUR AND HUBERT

On the death of Richard I., Prince Arthur, the posthumous son of Geoffrey, the fourth son of Henry II., was the rightful heir to the English crown, but the usurper John imprisoned him, first at Falaise and then at Rouen, where he perished April 3rd, 1203. The story of King John's ordering Hubert to put out the boy's eyes was current soon after Arthur's death, but the exact manner of his end is unknown.

"Hubert, if you will, cut out my tongue so I may keep mine eyes; O, spare mine eyes!"—King John, Act iv, Sc. 1.

From the painting by W. F. Yeames, B. A., in the Manchester Art Gallery

The Book of History

A History of all Nations

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT

WITH OVER 8000 ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
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Volume IX

WESTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Emerging and Development of the Nations

The Holy Roman Empire

France Through the Reign of Louis XIV

England to the Reign of Henry VIII

Scotland in the Middle Ages

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WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



THE
EMERGING
OF THE
NATIONS IV

THE BRITISH ISLES FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE MIDDLE AGES

By H. W. C. DAVIS, M.A.

FROM the western shores of Europe there extends northward into the Atlantic Ocean a broad submarine shelf at an average depth of 300 feet below the surface. On the north-western edge of this shelf rise Great Britain and Ireland, the only two European islands of any considerable size. They are surrounded by upwards of 900 smaller islands. The whole group is to be regarded as a fragment of the European continent. It was separated from the continent at a period when the mammoth and the cave-bear were still thriving species, and when the Glacial Epoch had been succeeded by one of milder climate. The flora and fauna of the British Isles are different from those of Europe, and the first human immigrants came hither before the formation of the English Channel and the North Sea. Of these earliest inhabitants we

**Inhabitants
of the
Stone Age**

possess some memorials, for the most part flint implements and weapons. There are stones which seem from their shape to have been used as missiles; others to be wielded by the hand for purposes of striking and cutting; while some are carefully pointed, and appear to have been fitted with wooden handles. In these stone weapons we find every degree of finish: the earlier are rudely chipped into shape; those of later origin are polished with a skill which a workman of to-day, using the best modern tools, would find it difficult to imitate. The stock to which belonged the makers of these weapons is a matter for conjecture. They are, however, generally agreed to have been a dark-haired race of the primitive Altaic stock, the Iberians of Tacitus, and in default of fuller evidence this hypothesis may be allowed to stand. This primitive people advanced some distance from their first stage of civilisation. They learned to make clay vessels.

They developed a primitive agriculture.

But the means of subsistence which they could procure in this way and by their older industries of hunting and fishing must always have been

**How Britain
Became
an Island**

scanty, and we cannot suppose that they increased in numbers to any great degree. Hence they fell an easy prey to the

Indo-Germanic race of the Kelts. This people, advancing westward through Europe, expelled the Iberians from every land in which they met them. On reaching the Atlantic they broke up into a northern and a southern horde, the latter marching over the Pyrenees into Spain, while the former entered the British Isles. By this time the Atlantic had forced a passage through the English Channel. The flat alluvial lands of North-western Europe had sunk; and the British Isles were now separated from Scandinavia by the broad but shallow basin of the North Sea.

The Keltic newcomers were a stalwart race, and they had already passed into the age of bronze. Inured to war by their long wanderings, and equipped with superior weapons [see page 243I], they can hardly have found much difficulty in dealing with the Iberian aborigines. The latter fled for refuge to Ireland, to Cornwall, to the mountains of Wales and Scotland. Their descendants may still be detected in these outlying regions, but appear to have adopted the language of their conquerors. There are

**Coming
of the
Kelts**

traces of a non-Aryan speech in the Keltic districts of the British Isles, but these traces are slight. In the

Keltic immigration two successive waves can be distinguished. First came a tribe which bore the name of Goidels; next followed the Brythons, who drove their forerunners to join the Iberians in the more remote regions of the

British Isles. The dialects of the two tribes were different. That of the Goidels gave birth to the Gaelic, Manx, and Irish tongues; while from the Brythonic dialect are descended those of Cornwall, now a dead language, and of Wales. It is probable that these two first and most important swarms of invaders were continually followed up by smaller bands. At all events, we know that Britain was, in the first century B.C., still liable to immigrations of Keltic tribes from Gaul. But of these movements and the conflicts to which they gave rise history has nothing to record. Before the coming of the Romans, Britain was known to the civilised world simply as a land of tin mines.

The development of the tin trade appears to date from the time of Pytheas of Marseilles—a Greek scientist, who died in 322 B.C.—who visited Britain with the object of ascertaining what truth there might be in the current rumours of the country's mineral wealth. He explored the east coast of Britain for a considerable distance, and observed the habits of the natives. Tin he can hardly have found in the parts which he visited, but his native city appears to have followed up the inferences which he drew. There is the evidence of coins to prove a trade connection between Britain and Marseilles at the close of the third century B.C. When Posidonius, another Greek explorer, visited Britain, about 110 B.C., he found that the tin trade with Marseilles had reached considerable proportions, and that the ore was mined and smelted by the Britons with a degree of skill which presupposed a long experience.

In the wake of the Greek scientists came the Roman legions. Julius Cæsar found the Kelts of Britain troublesome neighbours to the newly conquered provinces of Gaul, and he raided Southern Britain in 55 and 54 B.C. To these incursions we are indebted for his highly interesting account of British life and manners. Otherwise they had little result.

In the words of Tacitus, Cæsar can be said only to have indicated Britain as a future field for conquests. At his first attempt, he barely succeeded in effecting a disembarkation before the approach of the winter season compelled him to withdraw; on his second appearance, he crossed the Thames and entered Essex,

but withdrew after receiving the submission of the Trinobantes and some other tribes. From this time forward the relations of Britain with the Roman world were peaceful, until Claudius undertook the work of reduction in 43 A.D.

At this date, as in the time of Cæsar, Britain, though comparatively populous, was weakened by political divisions. It was inhabited by tribes of small size, who rarely, if ever, agreed to unite under a common leader; and the task of the invader was facilitated by the mutual jealousies of tribal kings. Every stage of civilisation appears to have been represented among these tribes. Those of the south-east had benefited by peaceful intercourse with the Roman Empire and by the infusion of new blood from Gaul. They drove a considerable trade with the continent, not only in slaves and skins and metals, but also in corn and cattle—a fact from which we may infer that they had reached considerable proficiency in agriculture and stock-breeding.

These tribes made use of coins of gold, silver, brass and copper. They showed some skill in working bronze and iron and clay. The remoter peoples, however, conducted their trade by the primitive methods of barter, were barely able to manufacture the rudest types of pottery, and depended largely on stone instruments. The interval between the most and the least civilised was great. But even the tribes of the south-east had made little progress in the art of war. Their strong places were defended by earthworks and wooden palisades; there was no walled town or fort to be found in Britain, and the ordinary village was open to the first attack. The strength of a British army lay in the scythed chariot and light cavalry. The skill of the individual combatant was often great, but the armour and weapons of offence were poor. There was a want of discipline, and if the initial onslaught proved unsuccessful, the entire host melted rapidly away.

Such difficulty, therefore, as the Romans experienced in effecting the conquest and holding the conquered country was due rather to the circumstances of geography and to the scattered nature of the population than to the strength of the tribal communities with which they had to deal. The work of reduction proceeded steadily, though chequered with



THE WRESTLERS: AN INCIDENT IN THE PREHISTORIC STONE AGE

From the painting by Stuart G. Davis, by the artist's permission.



JULIUS CÆSAR LANDING ON THE SHORES OF ENGLAND

Following in the wake of the Greek scientists, the Roman legions found their way to the shores of Britain, Julius Cæsar landing in 55 B.C., and raiding Southern Britain. The Roman occupation, beginning a century after Cæsar, lasted about 350 years.

occasional reverses, until the time of the Emperor Hadrian. Of the early governors of Britain the most successful was Julius Agricola (78–84 A.D.), who completed the conquest of Wales, extended the sphere of Roman influence to the Firths of Forth and Clyde, instilled into the tribes farther north a wholesome fear of the Roman name, and was meditating an invasion of Ireland at the time of his recall. It was in his time that the leading British families were induced to adopt Roman manners and send their sons to Roman schools.

Hadrian, who visited the island in 119 A.D., is remembered in British history for the great wall of stone, studded with forts at regular intervals, which

he built between the Solway and the Tyne, apparently less as a boundary for the Roman province than to regulate the communications of the subject tribes on each side of the wall. As far as the Forth and Clyde the whole land remained Roman territory. Recent archæological discoveries suggest that Roman garrisons were at one time stationed even further to the north; but the attempt which Severus made, in 208, to continue the northern conquests of Agricola was rudely checked. The Roman occupation of Britain lasted for about 350 years. Little, however, is known of the history of this period. The legions of Britain were an important factor in several dynastic revolutions. Carausius in 288 attempted to make his governorship of the island a stepping stone to the empire, and Britain remained under his rule, an

imperium in imperio for eight years. In Diocletian's scheme for the administration



MONUMENT TO THE BRAVE QUEEN BOADICEA

Boadicea, an early English queen, fought the Romans in the first century, leading her people to the battle. It is said that rather than be taken prisoner she slew herself. This statue group, by the late J. L. Thornycroft, stands at the foot of Westminster Bridge, London, facing the Houses of Parliament.



A FINE SPECIMEN OF THE ROMAN BATHS IN THE CITY OF BATH



THE PRÆTORIUM OF BOROVICUS AT HAYDON BRIDGE



CIRCULAR BATH STILL IN FAIR PRESERVATION IN THE CITY OF BATH
RELICS OF THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF ENGLAND

Photos by Valentine

of the empire, Britain, Gaul, and Spain were grouped together under a Cæsar, who was subordinate to the Augustus of the West. Constantius, the first holder of the new office, who died in 306, became in due time an Augustus, and planted his capital at York. Through him Britain may claim a connection with

**The First
Christian
Emperor**

the work of his son Constantine, the founder of the new Rome on the Bosphorus and the first of the Christian emperors.

Britain, therefore, plays a certain part in the general history of the empire. But of the provincials, as distinct from the legionaries and their governors, history is almost silent.

Christianity found its way into the island by the beginning of the fourth century; but the old Keltic deities long continued to receive the veneration of the natives. Roads and colonies and camps were built; in the south-east, in the Severn valley, along the lines of the great roads, and in the neighbourhood of the great military stations the dominant race built sumptuous villas, and attempted to maintain the luxury of the Roman fashionable life.

But however much the noblest Keltic families may have been affected by Roman example, there was a broad gulf fixed between the conquerors and the great mass of the conquered. City life and Roman administrative methods offered little attraction to the provincial, and Caracalla's gift of the citizenship to all the free-born inhabitants of the empire was an inadequate return for the crushing taxation which was necessitated by an elaborate and centralised government, a magnificent imperial court, and the enormous armies of the continental frontiers. In Gaul and Spain the empire took firm hold upon the minds of its subjects, and a new Gallo-Roman nationality came into existence in these countries; but in

**Britain
Attacked by
Barbarians**

Britain the Kelt remained, as of old, turbulent, attached to his tribal traditions, impatient of civilisation, apparently incapable of political development.

In the fourth century A.D., Britain, though shielded by the sea from the pressure of the main barbarian advance, began to suffer from the guerrilla attacks of the untamed Kelt on the one side, and of the Teutonic pirate on the other. The country lying north of the Roman walls was overrun

by Scots from Ireland. The Picts, or "painted people," the older inhabitants of the north, recoiling before the invasion, sought to make a passage through the Roman frontier and to find a safer dwelling in the south. Flying squadrons of the Scots harassed the south-west coast of Britain, while the appointment of a "Comes Litoris Saxonici," to supervise the defence of the south and east coasts, bears witness to the raids of a people hereafter to be intimately connected with the fortunes of the British Isles.

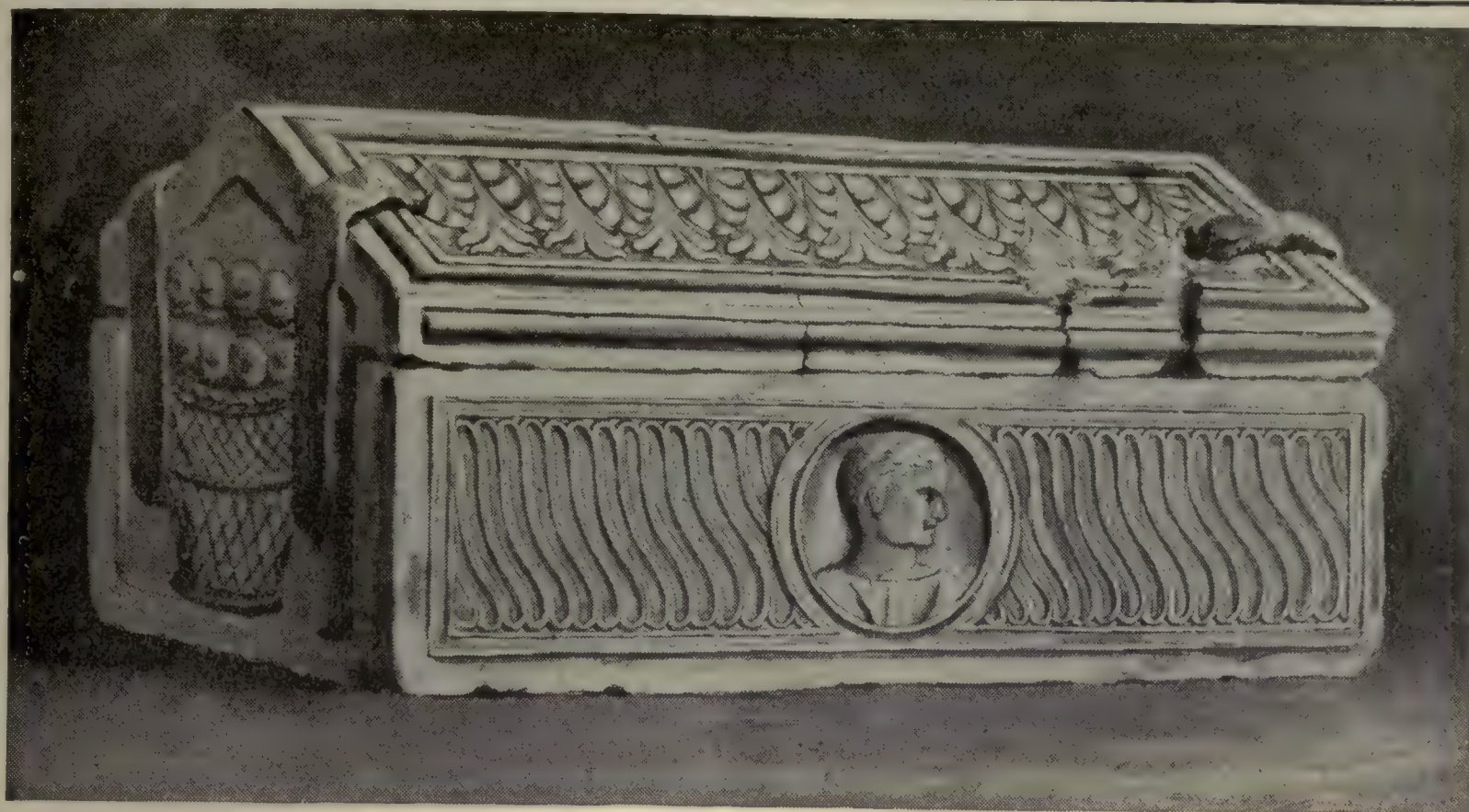
In 367 the Roman armies of occupation were utterly defeated by invaders from the north and pirates from the sea; two years elapsed before the security of the province could be restored. In 383 a Roman governor, Clemens Maximus, denuded the British provinces of their legions in order to make a bid for the empire; and although, fifteen years later, a few soldiers were sent from Rome to Britain, no attempt was made to raise the garrison to the old strength. In 407 the last of the Roman governors left Britain to repeat the

**Romans
Leave
Britain**

adventures of Clemens Maximus; with his departure the Roman occupation came to an end. The Britons, so long protected by the armies of the empire, were left to defend themselves as best they might. Some great roads, some decaying cities, soon to be reduced to ruin, a Christian Church of dubious vitality, a degraded Latin dialect as the language of educated society, a few improvements in the art of agriculture, a few titles of office and insignia of rank—such appear to have been the legacies which the Roman conquerors left behind them.

There followed on the Roman period a time of wild confusion and anarchy, extending over the best part of two centuries. It is the time in which Britain was colonised by the Angles, Jutes and Saxons; in which the Keltic population was pushed to the far west, or exterminated, or enslaved, according to the humour of different bands of Teutonic invaders.

These invaders came from the German coasts of the Baltic Sea: at first, if the traditions may be trusted, as pirates under war leaders, afterwards, when the opportunities afforded by Britain were more fully realised, by tribes and nations with their wives and children and household gods. Each band chose its own



THE ROMANS IN LONDON: MEMORIALS OF THEIR OCCUPATION

It is an interesting fact that the first mention of London by classic writers is that which occurs in the Annals of Tacitus. Excavations for building purposes, carried on in recent years in the vicinity of the Mansion House, have brought to light many important evidences of the occupation of London by the Romans. The above illustrations show several discoveries. The stone sarcophagus was found at Haydon Square in the Minories, the sculptured figure on the left was unearthed in Camomile Street, Bishopsgate, while the piece of tessellated pavement was discovered in Bucklersbury.

point of descent, and worked inland till settlements were provided for all the adventurers, or natural boundaries were reached, or the way was barred by the settlements of earlier swarms. Bernicia and Deira—later united as Northumbria—between the Forth and the Humber; East Anglia, between the Wash and the Stour;

Essex, Kent, Sussex, and the West Saxon state, which, beginning at Southampton, spread out fan-wise on each side of the Itchen valley and on the north extended into the basin of the Thames, are the chief of the early settlements. Far inland, in the upper valley of the Trent, and round the Peak in Derbyshire, were clustered the tribes which afterwards coalesced to form the Mercian kingdom. In Cornwall, Wales, Strathclyde—that is, Cumberland, Westmorland, and the western lowlands of Scotland—were huddled together the remnants of the unsubjugated Keltic people.

Of intercourse between the two races there can have been little save such as exists between master and slave. Place names apart, the Keltic element in the English language is small and unimportant. Whatever traces of Keltic tribal institutions survive in the Teutonic parts of Western England must be attributed to the fusion of races at a later period, when

the influence of a common religion had softened their antagonism. The political system and the private law of the early English kingdoms are purely Germanic. These kingdoms are ruled by descendants of Woden; in the smaller of them the old national assembly of all the freemen has still the ultimate authority. In the *gesiths*

of kings and great men we may recognise the *comitatus* described by Tacitus. The popular law courts, in which the freemen act as assessors to an elected judge, the village community, in which land is periodically redivided, the methods of agriculture, the law of succession, the division of social classes—all remind us of the society depicted in Germania. The religion, too, so far as we can judge from scant memorials, can be referred to the same source—a dry, prosaic rendering of the mythology which Scandinavian imagination has glorified and immortalised. Into this rough and primitive society the Christian religion made its way at the end of the sixth century.

It was imported from Rome, and not from Keltic Britain. Not that Christianity had failed to take hold upon the British Kelt. The names of St. Patricius, the evangelist of Ireland, and of Pelagius the heretic, are enough to prove the interest of Roman Britain



THE BAPTISM OF KING ETHELBERT

The fifth king of Kent, Ethelbert, began his reign in 568, and followed in the paganism of his fathers. His wife, Bertha, daughter of Charibert, the Frankish king, was a Christian, and worked persistently to induce her husband to adopt Christianity. When Augustine, despatched by Pope Gregory on a missionary enterprise, reached England, he had conferences with Ethelbert, who ultimately became a convert, and submitted to the Christian rite of baptism.

From the fresco in the House of Lords by William Dyce, R.A.



EDWIN, KING OF NORTHUMBRIA, A CONVERT TO CHRISTIANITY

The conversion to the Christian religion of Edwin, who became king of Northumbria in 617, was another of the triumphs of the early Church in Britain. When an attempt was made on his life with a poisoned dagger, Edwin declared that if he recovered and defeated his enemies, he would cast off his idols and serve Christ. He was restored to health, and subdued those who had conspired against him; then he spent a long time in silence deliberating over the question of religion. Finally, he publicly declared his acceptance of Christianity, and was baptised at York in 627

From the fresco by Ford Madox Brown in the Manchester Town Hall

in the new religion. If the legends may be believed, religion had helped to animate resistance to the barbarian. St. Germanus of Auxerre is said to have led the Britons to victory against the Picts and Saxons at the Hallelujah Field in 430. But the Kelts made no attempt to proselytise among their Saxon conquerors.

The first missionaries came from Rome at the bidding of Gregory the Great in 597, and the victory of the new creed is inseparably connected with the name of their leader, Augustine, who converted Ethelbert of Kent, at that time Bretwalda, or overlord of Britain, made Canterbury the metropolitan see, and established bishoprics at Rochester and London. Augustine and his patron did not, however, live to see the conversion of the west and north. The evangelist of East Anglia was a Burgundian bishop, Felix by name (about 631); at the same date the kingdom of Wessex accepted

Royal Converts to Christianity

the ministrations of Birinus, another missionary from Rome. In Northumbria the good work was begun by Paulinus, a follower of St. Augustine, and encouraged by King Edwin, who succeeded, on the death of Ethelbert, to the paramount position among the rulers of the English. But Edwin fell in battle against the Welsh and Mercians in 633, and Northumbrian

Christianity was temporarily obliterated in the period of anarchy which followed his death. Under his successors, Oswald and Oswiu, a race of Keltic missionaries from the Irish monastic colony at Iona was introduced. Northumbria embraced that

The English Church Remodelled emotional, ascetic type of Christianity which had developed in the Isle of Saints during two centuries of separation from the general body of the Western Church. But the priests of the south came into conflict with their Keltic rivals of the north, and at the Synod of Whitby in 654 King Oswiu decided in favour of St. Peter's men. His decision determined the issue of the conflict in every part of England. The Keltic priests submitted or retired, and the English Church was remodelled according to the Roman pattern by an archbishop sent from Rome, the famous Theodore of Tarsus (669-690). From his time the ecclesiastical unity of England may be said to date.

The whole body of the English clergy now acknowledged the supremacy of the see of Canterbury, and began to meet in national synods for legislation and mutual encouragement. Thus the nation was schooled by the Church in habits of common action and self-government. Apart from this great service, the new religion deserves gratitude for the stimulus

which it gave to intellectual activity. It inspired the religious poetry of Cædmon, who died in 680, and of his anonymous disciple in whose rendering of the Old Saxon Genesis we have an anticipation of Milton's genius; and in the person of the Venerable Bede (673-735) it produced the greatest historian of the Dark Ages, and one of those encyclopædic scholars who handed on the torch of learning through a period of general ignorance. Whatever learning, intellectual activity, or poetic imagination existed in the early English was encouraged and protected by the new religion. With the internal squabbles of the English kingdoms and the vicissitudes of their early struggles for supremacy the historian need not concern himself. After the death of Oswiu, in 670, Northumbria rapidly sank from her paramount position. Doomed by

Nature to remain poor and thinly populated, she was further weakened by the feuds of Bernicia and Deira. Her kings,

moreover, allowed themselves to be distracted from English affairs by ill-judged schemes for the conquest of the Picts and Scots. Mercia rose to prominence on the ruins of Northumbrian greatness. Cut off from the sea on every side, composed of heterogeneous elements, backward in civilisation, Mercia nevertheless succeeded, under Offa's rule, in dominating all her neighbours (757-796). This sovereign drove the Kelts still further to the west, and fixed the boundary between Wales and England by constructing the great earthwork known as Offa's Dyke. Under his guidance England first entered into the sphere of European politics; he was on friendly terms with Charles the Great, and



CÆDMON CROSS AT WHITBY

The new religion introduced into Britain by Augustine inspired the religious poetry of Cædmon, a servant of the monastery at Whitby, who sang all the principal events in sacred history. Cædmon died in 680.



THE ANCIENT CATHEDRAL OF IONA AND ST. MARTIN'S CROSS

Valentine

On the little island of Iona, in the Inner Hebrides of Scotland, stand the partially-restored ruins of the oldest Scottish cathedral. The history of this sacred isle begins in the year 563, when St. Columba, leaving the shores of Ireland, landed upon Iona with twelve disciples. Here they built a monastery—the mother church of the Picts. The Norsemen burned the building and massacred the sixty-eight monks on one occasion, and slew fifteen of the monks on another. "That man," said Dr. Johnson, on the occasion of his visit to Iona, "is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer amid the ruins of Iona."



KING EGFRID AND CUTHBERT, THE HERMIT OF FARNE ISLAND

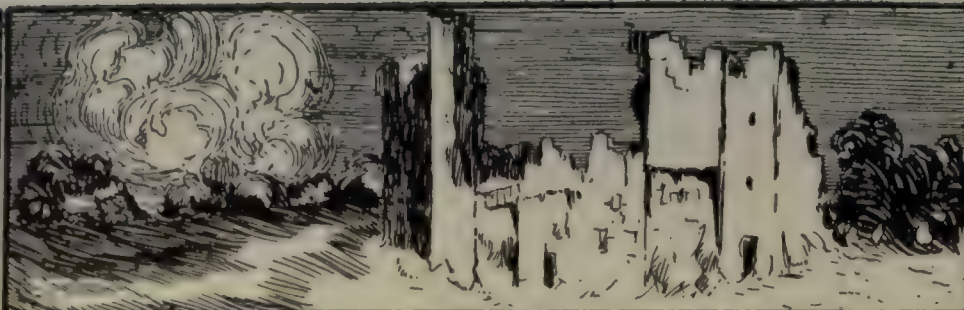
In this illustration Egfrid, king of Northumberland, is seen offering the bishopric of Hexham to Cuthbert, who had originally been a shepherd boy, but became a monk at Melrose, and subsequently led the life of a hermit on an islet off the Northumbrian coast. It is not known whether the humble servant of the Church accepted the king's offer, but in 685 he was consecrated Bishop of Lindisfarne, which he resigned soon afterwards to return to his hermitage. He died in 687, and was buried at Lindisfarne. Two hundred years later, in consequence of the ravages of the Northmen, his remains were removed, and ultimately found a resting place on the hill where Durham Cathedral now stands.

From the design for the fresco by William Bell Scott at Wallington Hall, Northumberland

respected, though disliked and feared, by the papacy, now reawakening to a sense of its European obligations. But Offa died before the power of Mercia could be consolidated, and within thirty years Wessex had supplanted Offa's dynasty in the supremacy.

The victory of Wessex was due to King Egbert (802-839), whom, in his younger days, the hostility of Offa had driven to take refuge at the Frankish court. The lessons learned at Aachen by the exile were not thrown away. When he returned, after the death of his enemy, it was to

establish for himself in England a position analogous to that held upon the continent by Charles the Great. He incorporated in his kingdom the provinces of Sussex, Surrey, Kent and Essex; the rulers of East Anglia, Mercia, Northumbria, and North Wales became his vassals, and the West Welsh were confined within the narrow limits of Cornwall. North of the Thames and west of Offa's Dyke his power rested on insecure foundations, but he had sketched the plan of the political edifice which his dynasty was to complete. H. W. C. DAVIS



SPAIN AND ITS CONQUERORS

UNDER THE GOTHS & SARACEN INVASIONS

THE union with the Roman Empire had at first been an indisputable advantage to Spain. Agriculture and cattle-breeding were encouraged, excellent roads and bridges were made, aqueducts were built for the towns, harbours were constructed and improved. But the ruinous economic policy of the emperors, which reduced Italy to an uninhabited wilderness, began to make its fatal results gradually apparent in Spain.

In the Iberian peninsula those enormous latifundia, or estates, sprang up, the owners of which led a luxurious and useless life in the towns, while gangs of slaves drove the plough where free men had once gained their daily bread in zealous toil. The country folk were cheated out of their ancestral acres in all kinds of ways, and went to swell the parasitic proletariat of the towns. Civic pride died

**Rome's Vices
Reproduced
in Spain**

out, and the municipalities became copies in miniature of Rome—like Rome, corrupt, and inhabited by a population to whom work was as hateful as vice was familiar. The nation lost its vitality and its personality, its warlike spirit and its love of progress. Those who still retained some degree of vigour expressed their hostility towards the excesses of a hypertrophied civilisation, after the fashion of the half-subdued highlanders in the north, by joining the banditti of the mountains, whose numbers increased to a dangerous extent, and who became a factor of very serious import in the daily life of the nation. Jewish immigration, which had been especially extensive under Domitian, at last assumed such proportions that at the time of the Goths we find the Jews forming an important and increasing element of the population. The general advantage to the country was very small, as the productive powers of the nation were not appreciably increased by the mercantile Semites.

When Christianity gained a footing on the peninsula, it might have fulfilled the task that lay before it—namely, to end the growing sterility of the spiritual life, and to lay the foundations of a development upon different lines; but it could not, and would not, breathe fresh life into the civilisation of the ancient world,

**Christianity
in the
Peninsula** to which it was essentially indifferent or hostile; and it was equally powerless to shatter its dull, stereotyped formalism

without that external aid which was afterwards provided by the upheaval of the great migrations. Heathen philosophy and poetry were replaced by theological disputation, which was equally fruitless, and was carried on with great animosity. It entailed the useless expenditure of the nation's entire intellectual powers at a time when the barbarians were thundering at the very gates. One great problem, however, Christianity solved: it replaced the political ties of the Roman Empire, which was then upon the point of dissolution, by a spiritual bond, which united the nations of Europe, and enabled them to take up the old civilisation, to preserve it, and to improve it for themselves.

Christianity made but a late entry into Spain. For a long time the growing Christian communities remained unnoticed and undisturbed. They developed an organisation of their own, and kept peace among themselves, while in other districts

**Deposition
of Apostate
Bishops** of the Roman Empire theological differences of opinion had begun to excite enmity.

The first persecutions took place in the year 287, and are especially remarkable for the fact that when the Spanish Christians had deposed certain apostate bishops, and elected others in their stead, they addressed themselves to the bishops of Carthage for confirmation of their action, and did not appeal to the authority of the Pope,

who had already begun to exercise his supremacy over the Church.

In the year 297 the first Spanish martyrs suffered death—the Bishop Fructuosus of Tarraconia, with two of his priests; and in 303 the number of martyrs rose considerably during the persecutions of Galerius Maximianus. Here, as everywhere, repressive measures resulted only in the wider extension of Christianity. When the new faith emerged victorious under Constantine, there were already nineteen bishoprics in Spain, the incumbents of which met in solemn council at Illiberis, not far from the modern Granada, to regulate the affairs of the Spanish Church. Their resolutions indicate a stern determination to preserve the purity of the Church and the morals of its members. During the subsequent struggles between the Arians and Athanasians, the Spaniards, under their most famous bishop, Hosius, remained firm adherents of the Athanasian teaching.

However, even in Spain degeneration appeared only too rapidly. The Church certainly provided an intellectual and spiritual means of escape from the intolerable conditions of social life; but those conditions were in no way altered, and a great impulse was given to an unusual growth of monasticism. In the cloister alone could that equality which was an essential element in early Christianity be realised, and retirement from the social life was inculcated as a duty. The result was that the bishops were obliged to make stringent regulations against the excessive growth of monasticism.

That element of fanaticism in the Iberian races which in later times was to work such dreadful effects, showed itself even thus early. In opposition to the orthodox churches of the country, which were founded upon dogma, communities of mystics had been formed in Spain, just as under a variety of titles Christians in faith divided themselves from Christians in name, seeking blessedness after their own fashion. The best characteristic of this kind of sectarianism is generally its harmlessness; and the Gnostic communities in Spain, at the head of which, at the beginning of the fifth century, was Priscillianus, were no exception to this rule. Certain orthodox bishops considered it of the highest importance to break

up these harmless and right-living dissenting communities; they denounced them to the emperors and the Bishop of Rome, and when Maximus, a Spaniard, was elected emperor they persuaded him to order the execution of the heads of this party, and of Priscillianus in particular. They even urged the creation of a formal

The Rise of Gnostic Societies court of inquisition, a project that was only with difficulty frustrated. These Gnostic societies arose not only because the creeds of the Church failed to satisfy their members, but also as a protest against the prevalent immorality and corruption, which resulted from the unhappy conditions of social life, and with which the Church was powerless to cope. The Gnostics themselves had no other remedy for this evil except that of renunciation and retirement; they could not invigorate decaying society. Thus, when the northern barbarians passed the threshold of the Pyrenees they found the country sunk in spiritless resignation. No one seemed to think it worth while to strike a blow in defence of the old institutions, now hollow and corrupt; the landed proprietors attempted to taste the pleasures of life in wild orgies before the pageant reached its close, and the mass of the people seemed entirely indifferent to their fate. Thus, the Roman period of Spanish history came to an end in an inglorious torpor.

Thanks to its position, the Iberian peninsula was long spared the attacks of the German migratory tribes. As a matter of fact, the country was almost impregnable as long as the passes on the north were protected by a small force. When, in the year 407, the British legion chose Constantine as emperor in opposition to Honorius, some distinguished Spaniards raised an armed force from the slaves and labourers on their estates, and successfully held the passes of the

Forfeited Rights of the Spaniards Pyrenees until Spain recognised the usurper in the following year. This last effort of the Spaniards had important consequences for them. Constantine, the son of Constantine, deprived them of the right of guarding the passes, and entrusted this duty to the Honorians, a body of untrustworthy troops, picked up from several nationalities. The leaders of the Vandals, the Suevi and the Alani, who were then roving about in Southern

Gaul, had no difficulty in coming to an understanding with those redoubtable defenders. In the year 409 the dreaded barbarians broke into the unhappy country, and the inhabitants submitted to fate almost without a struggle.

The result was an extraordinary decrease in the population. As there was

**Famine
and Plague
in Spain**

little or no serious fighting, the number of the slain could not have been great; but the utter devastation of the country produced a withering famine, and the plague broke out with great violence among the starved population. When the conquerors themselves began to suffer, they were obliged, whether willingly or not, to restore some form of order which should, at least, permit the cultivation of the soil. They divided the peninsula among themselves by lot: the Suevi and part of the Vandals took the North-west, the remaining Vandals took Bætica—that is, the South; the Alans took Lusitania and the southern portion of Tarraconia, while the rest of this province was left to the Roman viceroy, Gerontius, who had assisted the German invaders out of hatred for Constantine. As before, the races in the mountains on the north seem to have preserved their independence. Gerontius was killed soon after in the struggle with the Gauls, and the Alans took possession of the territory assigned to him.

Meanwhile, the Roman capital had been pressed to the uttermost extreme by the Western Goths, and had sought to save itself by inviting the Goths to undertake the reconquest of Gaul and Spain, in the hope that the barbarians would either destroy or keep one another in check. In the year 414 the first bands of Goths, under Athaulf, appeared in the modern Catalonia (Gotalonia). A year later, under Wallia, they had overrun the entire peninsula, and were prevented only by

**Barbarians
Driven to
the Mountains**

chance from carrying the war into Africa itself. The German races already settled in Spain were driven into the wild North-west, and Roman governors were reinstated in the provinces, while the Goths themselves retained the possessions in Aquitania and Catalonia which had been assigned to them by the emperor. And it is a strange and significant fact that when the hated barbarians were driven into the Galician mountains, numbers of

the natives joined their ranks, preferring to share danger and freedom with the wild sons of the North rather than bow their necks again under the yoke of the Roman military bureaucracy. Here we have the clearest possible proof that the world-wide empire of Rome was on the point of collapse.

The Germans in Galicia, who, for want of better occupation, had been carrying on incessant war among themselves, now made a second irruption into the country. The Roman governor, Castinus, was abandoned by his German auxiliaries at the moment of greatest need, and overthrown in Bætica by the Vandals in 422; the richest province of Spain, which then, apparently, gained its name Andalusia (Vandalitia), fell into the hands of the conquerors. Shortly afterwards a Vandal fleet made a descent upon the Balearic Islands, whither the riches of the Spaniards had been conveyed, and carried off these carefully guarded treasures.

Some remnants of the love of freedom were manifested in the Spanish towns; Carthagera and Seville attempted to shake

**The Goths
in Possession
of Spain** off the barbarian yoke, but paid very dearly for the effort. Carthagera was destroyed entirely, and Seville was

sacked. The Vandals then crossed into Africa, and Andalusia again fell into Roman hands. But after a few years the Suevi replaced the departed Vandals, and left nothing to the Roman governors, save the province of Tarraconia. At last the Western Goths took the field, and, under their king, Theoderic II., finally reduced the whole of Spain. The Suevi were restricted to a portion of Galicia, were obliged to submit to the Goths, and continued for some time, like the native mountain tribes in the north, half independent and ever ready to create disturbance among the valleys of their mountain district. The king of the Western Goths, Eurich (466-484), was recognised by the court at Rome as the lawful possessor of Spain and Southern Gaul.

The period of West Gothic supremacy falls naturally into two unequal portions, the dividing point being marked by the conversion of Recared from Arianism to the orthodox belief. It was an unfortunate circumstance that most of the German migratory races had adopted the Arian form of Christianity, and clung firmly to that belief, while the subjugated

SPAIN AND ITS CONQUERORS

peoples of the Roman Empire, in particular the Spaniards, were fanatical adherents of the orthodox teaching.

We may assert that Arianism was the ruin of the Vandals in Africa. During the centuries of Roman rule national differences had disappeared, and, consequently, the fair-haired barbarians began to adopt the civilisation which they had conquered, and found their origin no bar to their progress. But these national divergencies had been replaced by the sharper line of demarcation of religious belief; the more insignificant the points of difference were, the more passionately did men cling to their own creeds. The Goths were too keen not to recognise that the maintenance of their power depended, in the long run, upon the closeness of their union with the native inhabitants. The Eastern Goth, Theudes, the guardian of Amalarich, broke through the prevailing customs about 560, married a noble Spanish lady, and formed a body-guard of Spanish troops. There are many instances of similar attempts to promote mutual friendship between the races.

King Agila Persecutor of the Christians

The far-seeing among the Goths must have been all the more pained by the religious opposition between the conquerors and the natives, because the spirit of hostility, which with time grew less marked, was continually re-activated by the narrow bigotry of the Gothic princes. Thus, King Agila (549-554) instituted and organised the persecution of the orthodox Christians. A considerable amount of trouble abroad was also brought about by the Arianism of the Goths. There was much friction with the Franks, for Frankish princesses who had married Goths found themselves beset by proselytising Arians.

The Emperor Justinian, the conqueror of the heretical Vandals, made serious preparations, in conjunction with the orthodox in Spain, for reconquering the lost province. He actually succeeded in getting possession of some towns on the south-east coast in the year 552. From that time war with the Byzantines was one of the permanent duties of the Gothic rulers; but even the warlike Leovigild, who everywhere firmly established the Gothic power, could not entirely drive the Byzantines from the country.

Under the government of Leovigild (568-586), however, who was a vigorous supporter of Arianism, a revolution had

already begun. The eldest son of the king, Hermenegild, who was afterwards canonised, was converted to the Athanasian belief, chiefly through the efforts of his Frankish wife, Ingund; the mere fact of this conversion was enough to excite the inhabitants of several towns of Andalusia, where the prince had made some stay, to a revolt against the king, with the object of putting Hermenegild in his place. The revolt was suppressed, and a second, which was supported by the Byzantines and Suevi, met with no success; Hermenegild was taken prisoner and put to death by the king's orders.

The Prince Hermenegild Put to Death

However, this unsuccessful rising was only the prelude to a general change in Gothic belief, a change which political expediency demanded. Recared, the successor of Leovigild (586-601), adopted the Athanasian belief in the tenth month of his reign, and was supported by his people with but little dissent. The Arian writings were collected and burned on a certain day by the king's orders. The strained relations which had existed between conquerors and conquered were removed; the clergy, who had clung most closely to the Roman civilisation, and had most zealously stimulated opposition to the barbarians, saw that the time of its triumph had come, and prepared to enjoy the splendour of the Church, triumphant after the days of sacrifice and persecution. In a short time the proud Gothic princes had learned to scan anxiously the faces of the prelates of their realm, when important decisions were hanging in the balance, and exchanged profound communications with learned bishops upon doubtful points of Christian dogma.

Social conditions in Spain had in no way deteriorated under Gothic rule. The victors, indeed, claimed two-thirds of the country for themselves; but the serfs who had to till the land for them found

Social Conditions in Spain

their masters just and kind at heart, if rough in manners, and their rule greatly preferable to the scourge of the corrupt Roman landowners. Moreover, a third of the arable land was left to the Spaniards, who were, thus far, in free and undisputed possession, and were by degrees admitted to share the privileges and responsibilities of the Goths. After the schism in the Church had been healed, property began steadily to pass into the hands of the

clergy, to the ultimate benefit of the vastly preponderating native population. In some exceptional cases taxation seems to have been excessively high; but, as a general rule, the kings were satisfied with the gifts of their free subjects and with the income accruing from the royal domains. It is reasonable to suppose that this

**High Moral
Standard
of the Goths**

improvement in social conditions brought about an improvement in the morals of the rising Spanish generations. The example of the Gothic peoples also exercised a great influence. The testimony even of their opponents ascribes to them from the outset all the virtues of the Germanic national character—faithfulness, uprightness, and social purity; the strong contrast which they formed to the Roman corruption may be deduced from the fact that in the mouth of the Goths the word “Roman,” by which they denoted all native Spaniards, was a synonym for liar and cheat. The simple morality of the Goths was also manifested in their legal code, the “lex visigotarum,” issued to Goths and Spaniards under Chindasvinth (641–649) and Reccesvinth (649–672); this was founded upon the Roman civil law, but was free from hair-splitting and quibbles.

Only a small fraction of the Spanish population resisted the Gothic rule—namely, those highlanders in the north who had not been properly subjugated even under the Romans, and who continued to make occasional incursions from the Asturian and Biscayan mountains. The Goths never subdued them completely, though Christianity gradually took root among them. In the struggle between Christianity and Islam they still had an important part to play in history.

Though the native population gradually adjusted itself to existing conditions, there was another people who refused to be assimilated, and remained as a

**How the
Jews
Grew Rich**

foreign and deleterious body in the organism of Gothic Spain. As we have already observed, the Jews who were expelled from Italy under Domitian came, for the most part, to Spain, and there, as elsewhere, speedily enriched themselves through financial affairs. The Goths found them settled in every town, and ready, even under the new government, to continue a business that contributed but little to the social prosperity. It

seems that the Arian Goths, who were at first looked upon with suspicion by the Christian Spaniards, made friendly advances to the Jews, who were in a position similar to their own. Many Gothic princes were not ashamed, when they were pressed for money, to turn to Jewish usurers; the Arian kings also raised no obstacles to the suspicious operations of the chosen people, and contented themselves with the imposition of a tax on Jews, which formed a considerable part of the royal revenue.

As usual in such cases, the Jews, from a financial, became a political, power. As long as the Jews were allowed only to accumulate hoards of coin there was a natural limit to the activities even of the most grinding usurer; but when they were allowed to possess real property, and to make slaves of free men, then the unprofitable and ruinous methods of Jewish capitalism gained unbounded scope. Especially disgraceful was the trade in slaves and castrated children which Jewish speculators carried on with the Arab settlements. Under King Egiza

(687–701) the situation had become unbearable, and led to a catastrophe. The king attempted to bring over the

**Political
Power of
the Jews**

Jewish capitalists to the Christian Church by the promise of nobility and immunity from taxation, while the refractory were expelled from the country. But it was discovered that the new converts were plotting a revolt with those who had emigrated to Mauretania, a movement which the numbers and wealth of the Jews made extremely dangerous; recourse was then had to measures of the greatest severity. There is no possible doubt that the Jews, as a result of these events, had an important share in the conquest of Spain by the Arabs.

It is, perhaps, idle to inquire how a country and a nation would have developed if an irruption from without had not given a different direction to all its striving after progress; but we may, at least, conclude that, had it escaped the Saracen invasion, Spain, like the rest of Western Europe, would have fallen under the feudal system. Signs already betokened an unavoidable breach between the royal house and the nobility. The nobles attempted to limit the ancient right of the people freely to elect their king, so as to increase the influence of

the upper classes. The clergy strengthened their temporal power, and the stronger among the kings endeavoured to make their position hereditary. Under the corrupting influence of the Roman element in the population even the high morality of the Gothic people gradually degenerated. Before our gaze is unfolded a long series of wars unscrupulously waged, treaties disgracefully concluded.

In France absolute monarchy had finally won the day, while in Germany and Italy total disruption and confusion were the result. Spain, too, it seems, would here have had a worthy task to accomplish in the recreation of European civilisation. But fate willed that it should exert an influence, extraordinary, though transitory, of quite another nature on the history of human civilisation. The fact that the greater part of Spain was conquered by the followers of Islam, and that the old population was not thereby destroyed, produced a brilliant complexity of Roman and Oriental civilisation at the period when feudal chivalry was at the height of its development in the rest of Europe.

Beginning of Arab Invasion The Gothic kingdom was torn by internal dissensions when the first Arab bands cast longing glances across the strait towards smiling Andalusia, which promised a prize far surpassing any that the wild mountains of Mauretania had to offer. The Arabic general, Musa ben Noseir, had begun the subjection of the district of Mauretania in the year 697, and had, in the main, completed his task after several years of warfare. But his greatest success consisted in the fact that he had inspired a portion of the warlike Berber tribe with enthusiasm for Islam, and had enlisted them under his standard. He had thus created a reserve force, which was to be of the greatest importance in every further undertaking, for upon it Spanish Islam depended for a century, the position of Islam in Spain being untenable without Mauretania.

The rulers of the Gothic kingdom, who possessed some settlements on the African side of the strait, do not seem to have recognised the danger which thus threatened them, although Musa had pushed forward a strong force under his lieutenant, Tarik, as far as Tangier, and had wrested this town from their grasp. It is clear that certain Gothic nobles first aroused in Musa the idea of an invasion of Spain. It would, however, have been

quite possible for the Goths, if they had forgotten their internal differences, to have prevented the landing of the Arabs. The town of Ceuta, perhaps the last remnant of the Byzantine possessions in Africa, repelled all Musa's attacks, and an Arab fleet was utterly defeated by the Gothic navy under Theodomir in 709.

The Gothic Empire in Confusion

Unfortunately, the approach of danger found the Gothic Empire in confusion. The king, Witiza, who had reigned since the year 701, was by no means equal to his responsibilities, and in his efforts to restrain the threatening advance of feudalism, had rushed into the extremes of cruelty to which weak rulers are prone. Among other crimes, he caused the duke Theodefred of Cordova to be blinded, and thereby created an implacable enemy in his son Roderick, who apparently took refuge with the mountaineers in the north. Roderick succeeded in collecting a body of Spanish and Gothic adherents and in overthrowing Witiza in 710. But a breach in the Gothic nation was thus brought about which could never be repaired.

The downfall of Witiza was not merely the removal of a man unworthy of rule; a number of important families who had been his supporters lost their power at the same time. Many ambitious nobles considered the new occupant of the throne a usurper, and thought they had an equal right to the crown. In their blind rage they grasped at the first hand which offered help. Emissaries of the defeated faction, among them Witiza's brother, Oppas, the Archbishop of Seville, betook themselves to Musa's camp, and invited him to fight against Roderick. The Arab chroniclers narrate romantic occurrences, such as are born of the popular imagination, which is ever ready to surround the fall of a mighty kingdom with the glamour of legend and fable; the fact is, that the feudal system, with its

Goths in League With Arabs

insatiable lust for power and dominion, a spirit that was destined to flourish so long in the rest of Europe, was in this country the ultimate cause of these events. Musa at once sent a small force under Tarik across the strait by way of trial. Tarik found the representations of the Gothic conspirators true, the country rich and but weakly defended. After his return Musa placed under his command

an army of 12,000 men, which was afterwards increased to 17,000. He took no part in the campaign himself, and apparently desired Tarik to do nothing more than gain a firm footing in Andalusia, whereupon he proposed to follow with the main army and to conclude the struggle. In pursuance of this plan, most of the

Arab Arabs remained in Africa, and
Victories in the Berbers formed the majority
Andalusia of Tarik's troops. When he landed, in the year 711, at that rock fortress which since then has borne the name of Tarik's rock (Gibraltar), he met with only slight resistance, as King Roderick had made practically no preparations for defence. With the help of his Gothic allies, Tarik was able to lay waste Southern Andalusia at his leisure.

At length, the Gothic levies and their Spanish subjects were assembled. In numbers Roderick's army was considerably superior to that of Tarik; and when the armies met in a bloody battle at Xeres de la Frontera, the mailed cavalry of the Goths might have won the victory had not the treachery of Witiza's adherents thrown their ranks into confusion. Thus the fate of the kingdom was decided in one great battle in July 19-26th, 711. The Goths fled in utter rout; their king disappeared in the confusion, and was never seen again. The victorious Arabs had no intention of handing over the crown to Witiza's faction, but took possession of Spain in the caliph's name. Musa, whose jealousy was excited by Tarik's brilliant victory, came over immediately, and completed the subjugation of the country.

The history of Islam in Spain appears to be one wild confusion when considered in detail; but when regarded from a sufficiently comprehensive point of view, it resolves itself without difficulty into certain periods and stages, which follow naturally upon one another. After the conquest of the country and the failure of

Spain part the invaders' attempts to push
of Saracen northward into France, Spain
Empire became a member of the Saracen Empire; but its most remote member, and one destined by its position and geographical characteristics to be independent. In fact, the country speedily severed its connection with the central power, and became an independent and miniature caliphate, its organisation being based on the lines of the caliph's empire. The second period coincides

with the greatest prosperity of this Spanish caliphate.

The feudal tendencies peculiar to kingdoms founded on conquest soon manifested themselves. The component parts of the Spanish kingdom kept struggling for greater independence, and, at length, the caliphate became but the shadow of its earlier greatness, while on the north Christian provinces increased in strength, and threatened the small and helpless provinces of Islam with total destruction. Then we see how closely Islam bound Southern Spain to Africa. Twice was the Mohammedan power saved from destruction by the rulers of Morocco, who, seemingly at least, restored the unity of the Saracen possessions. When this help was at last withdrawn, a Moorish kingdom held out for centuries in the mountains of Granada, and succumbed at last to the united attacks of the Christian rulers. The last and saddest period begins with the fall of Granada; it comprises the vain attempts to convert the Moors to Christianity and the despairing revolt of the Moriscos, and it ends with the complete

Making expulsion of the Moors from
of the Spain. Parallel with the pro-
Moors gress thus outwardly manifested, there runs a course of development below the surface. From the original mixture of populations there is formed the Moorish people, who finally appear as an ethnological unity, although, in the course of history, they are continually receiving accessions of fresh blood. As we rarely have an opportunity in historical times for observing so closely the formation of new people, the rise of the Moors demands our closest attention. Especially do we see how a common spiritual belief — in this case Islam — can serve as a temporary bond of union until separate groups have coalesced, and differences of language and physique have been modified or have disappeared. The work of unification was finally accomplished by the Arab language.

The native Spaniards who remained in the country formed the main stock of the population; they themselves were a product of the blending of Iberians, Kelts and Romans. Many Goths also remained, and if converted to Islam, continued to enjoy a portion of their property and influence; for example, the feudal lords of Murcia sprang from an ancient Gothic family; and upon the fall of the

caliphate, an independent Moorish state arose in Aragon, with Saragossa as its capital, the rulers of which could also boast of Gothic descent. Elsewhere the Arabs simply took the place of the Gothic lords, and were careful not to disturb the tributary native population. Similarly, in the towns, the Spanish inhabitants were, for the most part, allowed to remain.

The Arabs formed the new Spanish nobility. They were the real exponents of the beliefs of Islam and of the policy of conquest connected therewith; but they were not, in any sense, a united body, fighting on behalf of one faith. No matter how far they pushed their brilliant campaigns, to their new homes they brought their racial feuds and family quarrels, and they drew swords upon their own brethren almost more cheerfully than upon the enemies of their faith, being ever ready to avenge old blood-feuds or recent insults. Especially noticeable is the hostility which appears under many names between the pure-blooded Bedouins of Upper Arabia, who generally appear as

**The Famous
Battle
of Secunda**

the Kaisite, or Mahadit, party, and the party of the Jemenites, or Kelbites, which comprised the peasants and town population. Spain saw many a murderous battle of this kind, such as the famous struggle at Secunda in 741, when the Kelbites were defeated. It was chiefly owing to these battles that the Arab element, which had at first preponderated, gradually began to lose ground, not altogether to the advantage of civilisation in Moorish Spain.

The Arabs had no means of replacing the men they lost; but exactly the opposite was the case with the other race, the Berbers, whose rude power had really brought about the conquest of Spain and who settled side by side with the Arabs in the newly won territory. Repeatedly Spanish Islam became indebted to this people for its salvation, and such assistance invariably coincided with the immigration of a large body of Berbers into Spain. The higher civilisation derived no advantage from them. Intellectual development suffered, in fact, irremediably through the growing influence of the bigoted, fanatical Berbers.

The close connection with Africa, whence came this strong infusion of Berber blood, with its unfavourable results, also

occasioned the immigration of a considerable number of negroes, who entered the country as the slaves or bodyguard of the princes, and were gradually absorbed into the new population as it was being formed. They certainly enter into the composition of that motley and brilliant picture of the Moorish period in Spain which imagination so easily depicts; but their influence upon the morals of the nation cannot be described as favourable. The main body of the Moorish population lived in the south of Spain, a region where the overflowing abundance of Nature's gifts tends to enervate even the most vigorous race.

In Carthaginian and Roman times the inhabitants of Andalusia were the most unwarlike and the most easily conquered of all the peoples in the peninsula; during the period of Islam they retained this unenviable reputation. The rulers of the country could not rely upon the inhabitants, and were, therefore, obliged to organise their armies round a strong nucleus of foreign troops; similarly, at an earlier period the Turdetani had enlisted Celtiberian warriors in their service. These soldiers, who were of most diverse origin, contributed an additional element to the mixture of nationalities. During the period of the caliphate we find numerous "Slavs" in the service of the monarchs. Although all troops enlisted from the north of Europe were known generally by this name, yet we are apparently here concerned with those Slavonic prisoners of war who were taken in large numbers during the conquest and colonisation of Eastern Germany, and were transferred south by the Jews in course of trade. The Jewish traffic in slaves is mentioned by Germanic authorities of the period. Many of these northern soldiers made their permanent homes in Spain under the Moors, and intermingled with the rest of the population. Finally, the

**Jews in
the Wake
of Arabs**

Jews, whose lucrative activity has been mentioned above, intermarried, but little or not at all with the Moors of Islam; but their numbers and character made them important in another way. They had come in a body into Spain from Morocco in the wake of the Arabs. Those native Jews who had survived the earlier persecutions welcomed the conquerors with open arms. They had every reason for doing so: the

era of the Moors in Spain was destined to be for the Jew a period of prosperity, both in the good and bad sense of the word.

In the first period of Islam rule the different streams of population flowed in parallel or transverse directions almost without intermingling. The conquest of the country was quickly accomplished

The Caliph's Viceroy's Recalled after Musa reinforced Tarik's Berber force with the main strength of the Arab army.

Generally speaking, the victors behaved with great moderation, thanks to the commands of the caliph and also to the presence of Gothic deserters in their ranks. Musa and Tarik were guilty of acts of aggression, and were speedily recalled. Subsequently the governors, who set up their residence in Cordova, were changed constantly.

The Arabs, who had had the least share in the fighting, succeeded in gaining for themselves the lion's share of the booty. They divided the rich province of Andalusia among themselves, and established themselves as the dominant landed class. Very few of them settled in the towns, where Christian and Mohammedan Spaniards lived side by side with the Jews in peace. The Berbers, who had borne the main brunt of the war, received the barren portions of the country, the high tablelands of the interior, the northern frontier — whence they were speedily obliged to beat a partial retreat—and the bare mountains in the south. The Arabs were, for the moment, fairly well satisfied: Musa's army had been largely composed of Jemenites and the old "Defenders," the ancient companions in arms of Mahomet, who had fallen into disrepute at the caliph's court, and now found a refuge in Spain. But this was altered when a fresh wave of Arab immigrants swept into the peninsula.

A terrible revolt of the Berber population in Africa, in the year 741, obliged

Revolt of the Berber Population the caliph Hischam to despatch Arabian troops, under the general Kolthum, against the rebels; he also sent Kaisite

Arabs from Syria, whose racial hatred of Jemenites and Defenders had often been displayed with portentous result, and after the bloody Battle of the Meadow had risen to fiercer heat. The African Arabs, who were also Jemenites for the most part, received the army of relief with deep mistrust; many towns closed their gates

against the force, and the contingents of indigenous Arabs joined the army much against their will. Kolthum then attacked the Berber army, and was defeated and slain.

His nephew, Baldsch, flung himself into Ceuta with 7,000 Syrian cavalry in the hope of escaping to Spain. He had failed to take into account the racial hatred of the Spanish Arabs. Abdalmelik, who was then governor of Spain, was a fanatical "Defender," and coolly allowed the Arabs to be reduced to the extremities of starvation by the Berbers who besieged them. An unexpected occurrence gave the hard-pressed men breathing space. The news of the revolt of the African Berbers had gone abroad in Spain, and the Berbers of that country, who were disregarded or despised by the Arabs, were stirred to a state of restlessness, which was further encouraged by sectarian fanatics. At length the outbreak came. The entire north of Spain took up arms. At this terrible crisis Abdalmelik resolved to call in the help of Baldsch and his Syrians. A promise was extorted from that

Arab Wars and Dissensions half-starved army that they would leave Spain when they had conquered the enemy: they were brought across, fed and clothed, and after several bloody battles the Berbers were completely crushed. Then, however, the inevitable dissensions among the Arabs broke out. A quarrel took place on the subject of the return to Africa. Baldsch seized Abdalmelik, and had him put to death in a shameful manner. Thereupon the Spanish Arabs took up arms, and made common cause with the Berbers. Baldsch gained a victory over them, but died of his wounds in 742. The war continued until the arrival of a new governor put an end to hostilities.

The new immigrants obtained lands in Murcia, Granada, Malaga, Seville and Jaen. Henceforward, the old animosity between Syrians and Jemenites constantly broke out. Bloody battles were fought, and for a long period these internal dissensions were the predominant feature in the internal history of Mohammedan Spain. By degrees, however, the spirit of party died away under the influence of a new environment, and nothing remained to fight for. The work of reconciliation was completed by the closer fusion of the races.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ



RISE OF THE CHURCH IN THE WEST MISSIONARY ZEAL OF GREGORY THE GREAT

THE roaring waves of the great migrations beat upon a twofold wall; the Roman Empire collapsed before their onslaught, but the Christian Church, though severely damaged, was able to survive the catastrophe. Even while the Teutonic nations in the vigour of their youth were dividing the empire as the spoil of victory, the Teutons were learning to bow the knee in reverence before the Church. It was no longer the Church of a few, a small community of simple-hearted men and women, but was already a widespread organisation. Moreover, it had received into itself the heathen masses, and these had in many places retained much of the spirit of heathenism. Creeds, too, had been formulated, and the early ties of brotherhood had become canonical obedience to the authority of the Church.

But by reason of its very modifications, Christianity was probably more capable of

**The Teutons
Accept
Christianity**

appeal to these rough nations, as it was less in contradiction with their modes of thought and their natural sympathies. The strength of that antagonism in which every heathen stood to Christianity was further broken in the case of these Teutonic nations by the fact that the migration had torn them from their native soil. The figures of their own gods grew pale when they found themselves surrounded by other mountains, streams and groves than those in which their native gods had hitherto lived. There was a third fact that facilitated the reception of Christianity by the Teutons, notwithstanding their entire hostility to the Roman Empire. When they came into contact with the Christian Church in larger numbers, there existed two absolutely opposed forms of Christianity, the Catholic and the Arian creeds. In the imperial church orthodoxy won the day, and the Arians were regarded as enemies. Hence it was possible for the Teutonic nationalities to accept Christianity and yet to retain their hostility to the Roman

Empire; it was thus Arian Christianity which they accepted.

So early as the third century Christianity had been preached even among the Goths, who dwelt on the shores of the Black Sea, by Christian prisoners. A Gothic bishop

**Three Days'
Plunder
of Rome**

was present at the Council of Nicæa in 325. About thirty-five years later the Gothic bishop, Ulfilas, who had been consecrated in Constantinople, reduced the language of his people to writing and gave them a translation of the Bible. He worked among them for decades, continuously spreading the Arian form of Christianity. When they began their devastating eastern march under Alaric, they plundered and ravaged the remnants of heathenism, but spared and revered the Christian sanctuaries. The three days' plunder of Rome in 410 was concluded by a solemn procession in honour of the sacred vessels of the Church, which the victors had discovered in a hiding-place. From the Visigoths Christianity passed in its Arian form to the Ostrogoths, Vandals, Burgundians, Suevi and Langobards.

The first of these wandering nationalities to receive the Catholic faith in its pure form was that of the Franks. Chlodwig, or Clovis, had extended the Frankish dominion from the north to the Loire. The heathen conquerors felt that the Christianity and the civilisation of the Romans whom they had conquered had given them an intellectual superiority. The king chose a Catholic Christian as his wife, and she was allowed to have her children

**Clovis
Becomes a
Christian**

baptised; eventually she succeeded herself in converting her husband "to the Catholic law." At the Christmas festival of 496 he received baptism at Rheims, together with several thousands of his people, in great solemnity. It must be remembered that this was the nation which was to take a leading part in the mediæval world. The Bishop of Vienne

was correct in his prophecy, when, in his congratulations to the king on his baptism, he spoke of Clovis's action as ensuring the triumph of Christianity over heathenism, and of Catholicism over Arianism. The fierce life and death struggle through which the Christianity of the Græco-Roman world had passed would be avoided in this instance, as Christianity had begun by conquering the Teutonic world.

The question, however, remained whether Christianity would not excite struggles of another nature, whether these

their own property, and the bestowal of ecclesiastical offices on the clergy as their right? And would the Church admit these claims if they were advanced? Would the Church extend her powers beyond her true limits, and claim supremacy in the political sphere in order to make the interference of laymen in ecclesiastical affairs an impossibility?

For the moment the Church was so entirely occupied by the task of inducing these tumultuous and warlike nations to adopt a friendly attitude towards Christianity that these high objects were left



BAPTISING THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN CONVERTS IN BRITAIN

It is believed that even before the arrival of St. Augustine in this country with the message of the Gospel there were missionaries of the Christian faith in Britain, and some historians even assert that the preaching of Christianity began as far back as A.D. 60, while Nero was on the Roman throne. At that period the Druids held sway, and most of the inhabitants of these islands were slaves to their barbarous worship. Human victims were frequently laid upon the altars. The Druids strongly resented the introduction of Christianity, and the early missionaries were exposed to great danger.

From the picture by J. R. Herbert, R.A.

facile converts would bow to the law of the Church; and the Church could demand no less, now that it had become a legalised educational force. Above all, would the rulers, who had opened Christianity to the masses by their own conversion and their appreciation of the Church, consider that this action had given them rights superior to the Church? It was these rulers who erected sacred buildings and provided revenues for the officiating clergy. Would they not be inclined to consider, upon Teutonic principles, such churches as

out of sight. If we attempt to gain an idea of the ecclesiastical conditions prevailing in the west at the moment when the migratory peoples came to a halt, some light is thrown upon the situation by the life and work of the most important Roman bishop of that century. Gregory I. belonged to a senatorial family and had been prætor in Rome. He was, however, persuaded that the honour and the emoluments of his position turned his heart to wordly things, and he therefore decided to renounce the world. He

expended the large property which he had inherited from his father in the adornment of monasteries, and entered one that he had founded in his own house. By his zealous self-mortification he shattered his health, but this was a matter beyond his consideration.

This was the side of Christianity of those ages which filled with reverential awe the wild nations, who were dominated by sensual passions. When, however, the Roman bishop of the time summoned Gregory from his monastery and sent him to Constantinople as his agent, Gregory obeyed, though with an aching heart. Even at that stage of Christianity simple obedience to the orders of ecclesiastical superiors was regarded as the highest virtue. When he was nominated Pope, Gregory did his best to decline this high dignity. The life of contemplation seemed to him the only life worth living, and he shrank from the gigantic tasks which awaited him as the occupant of Peter's chair.

At that time the political position of a Roman bishop was extremely difficult. Rome was subject to the rule of the distant Greek emperor, who was, however, too weak to protect the city from the menaces of the wild Lombards. These barbarians appeared before the walls of Rome in 592, and the exarch of Ravenna could send no help. To protect the town from destruction Gregory found himself obliged to conclude peace with the enemy. The emperor abused him for his simplicity, and the exarch broke the peace. Once again the enemy appeared before the city. From the treasures of the Church Gregory paid a heavy ransom to avert the sack of Rome. It was his business to see that the troops received their pay, and that the fortifications of the town remained effi-

cient; he ransomed prisoners of war and fed the poor. His resources were provided by the rich estates which the Roman church possessed, not only throughout the whole of Italy, but also in Dalmatia, Gaul, and Northern Africa. These were presents to St. Peter, the "patrimonium Petri," which had enormously increased in the course of centuries, and were largely provided by the last representatives of the Roman nobility, who were anxious to know that their names would be recorded at least in heaven, when they were near extinction upon earth. Gregory husbanded

this rich source of income with the greatest care. Hence it naturally followed that the Popes could not confine their efforts to purely spiritual activity; they also became politicians, and were honoured as territorial princes in Central Italy; this was the beginning of the "temporal power."

Gregory had formed a noble conception of his spiritual supremacy; he called himself the servant of God's servants. The words of Christ, "Who among you will be the greatest, let him be the servant of all," were understood by him to mean that the spiritual office was employed in the service of others. He did not,

however, conclude from this text that every bishop should serve others, and that the wanderer must follow the man who showed him the right path; he made it his duty to serve all bishops, and he then made it their duty to obey himself. He thus retained the old theory that the Bishop of Rome was master, though master in service, of all other bishops.

Hence, too, his zealous efforts to bring the quarrels of the universal Church before his tribunal for decision. For this reason he was greatly angered by the action of



POPE GREGORY THE GREAT

Gregory I. did not willingly seat himself in the papal chair, for he shrank from the great tasks associated with the high office, and would have preferred a life of contemplation. But he obeyed the call of duty, and did magnificent service in advancing Christianity and establishing it in England.

the Bishop of Constantinople in styling himself an "œcumenical" bishop. In Gregory's opinion, only the Bishop of Rome could have "œcumenical" importance in the Church. When Gregory used every leverage to abolish that title, he considered himself the champion of a great principle and of an ordinance of Christ that was necessary for the maintenance of the Church.

Equally difficult were his relations with the Gallic Church; as the Franks had become Christians without a struggle, they saw no advantage in struggling to remain Christians. Their reckless selfishness, their aggressive nature, which drew the sword on every occasion, their want of

control, and their sexual immorality were faults which neither prince nor subject, neither clergy nor laity, attempted to limit. Strong and persevering indeed must be the work that could deepen the religious life of this nation and transform its morality. The task was, however, infinitely more difficult for the reason that, in Frankish opinion, the Church of the country was sub-

ject to the secular rulers of the country, rulers whose morality was nothing less than scandalous. Often enough they appointed bishops at their own will and pleasure, and sold ecclesiastical offices as they pleased, in many cases to laymen. The Bishop of Rome was honoured as a successor of the Prince of the Apostles and as the guardian of the unity of the faith; but he was not generally regarded as the ruling head of all Churches, the Gallic Church included.

At the same time this nation was not beyond all hope of reformation; the Franks clearly showed a consciousness of their religious deficiencies. Hence the obvious policy for the Pope was

to bear with what could not be altered, to cherish and to extend the organisation of the Church, in order that a comprehensive influence might be exerted upon the whole nation. It was in this way that Gregory attempted to influence the Gallican Church.

He opened correspondence with the rulers of the Frankish state and with individual bishops, but he did not speak as lord of the Church. He was well aware that he could gain advantage here only by representations and advice. Many have been unable to understand how he could send such flattering letters to the "Frankish fury" Brunhilde, praising her "Christian life" and her "love of divine service"; but this

Frankish woman gave him many things of which the Frankish Church was in need. She built churches and endowed monasteries, begging the Pope to send her relics and privileges for the latter; she was "full of reverence for the servants of the Church" and "overwhelmed them with honour." With this Gregory remained satisfied when he could secure no more, when he was unable to



ST. AUGUSTINE BEFORE KING ETHELBERT

St. Augustine, the great missionary of Christianity, is here represented explaining the doctrines of the Christian religion to Ethelbert, king of Kent, whom he found seated in the open air for fear of magical arts. Later on, Ethelbert became a convert to Christianity, and was baptised.

put an end to simony and to the appointment of laymen as bishops, or, when he could not secure the convocation of synods, to stop abuses. It was first necessary to build the houses in which this rough nation was to be educated, and not until then could the process of education begin.

The greatest and most fruitful work which Gregory undertook was the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Wherever these Teutonic invaders had secured the mastery in England, they had destroyed Roman civilisation and almost every trace of the old British Christianity. In 596, Gregory sent the Abbot Augustine to England with forty Benedictine monks.



ST. AUGUSTINE IN ENGLAND, PREACHING THE NEW FAITH OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE SAXONS AND THEIR RULERS

The missionary enterprise of St. Augustine and his forty monks, who landed in Britain in 597, was crowned with much success, and in a comparatively short time he was able to report to his master, Pope Gregory, the conversion to the Christian faith of over 10,000 of the population. In the illustration St. Augustine is seen preaching to the Saxons, who were worshippers of Woden, regarded by them as chief of the gods. In the work to which St. Augustine had set his hand it was fortunate for him that he had the support of both Ethelbert and his queen, Bertha, the former granting him permission to remain as long as he pleased and to make as many converts as he could. Augustine was the first Archbishop of Canterbury; with his band of monks, appalled in robes of silk and gold, he entered the city in a solemn procession, a picture of Christ being carried aloft and a silver crucifix borne before him.

Reproduced from the painting by Stephen B. Carlill

In the following year some ten thousand Anglo-Saxons were baptised, and King Ethelbert of Kent a few years later. The Pope directed this mission upon comprehensive principles, with a sure hand and a set purpose; here again he followed out his principle of leaving to the future all that could not be secured in the present.

Anglo-Saxon Church Established He contented himself for the moment with the actual foundation of the Church. He ordered his evangelists not to outrage the feelings of the heathen by destroying their temples, but to facilitate the conversion of the people by changing the temples into Christian churches, to place relics where the images of the gods had stood, and to transform heathen sacrifices into Christian festivals for the honour of God and his saints.

In his care for the monastic system, Gregory was also looking to the future. The monasteries had suffered severely in the storms of the great migrations. Benedict of Nursia had founded the monastery of Monte Casino in Campania, and had given the monks the famous rule known by his name, which was framed by a wise process of selection from several of the existing monastic rules. In the year 580 the monastery was destroyed by the Lombards and the monks fled to Rome; Gregory then recognised that their rule was more likely than any other to meet with general approval. He therefore placed them in the monasteries which he himself had founded, and his powerful protection secured them victory in every case. It was clear to him that monks and nuns could devote themselves to the life of contemplation in peace only if the monasteries were secured against all molestation by secular and ecclesiastical lords. Formerly, efforts had been made to subjugate the monks to the bishops, that they might not lead unspiritual lives; but this apprehension had passed away, and Gregory therefore sought to make them

What Gregory Did for Divine Worship independent of the episcopal power. Of great future importance were the changes in divine worship, and especially in church singing, which have hitherto been ascribed to Gregory. The mode of singing long customary at divine worship was popularised and subjected to strict rules by Bishop Ambrosius of Milan, who died in 397. Unfortunately we know too little of the nature of this music to under-

stand the reasons which made later changes appear desirable. Probably the supposition is correct that the earlier style of singing was, on the one hand, too difficult for the uneducated clergy of that age, and was, moreover, little calculated to impress the barbarous masses and to become an educative force. In consequence, the number of tones was diminished and melodies were simplified, effeminate modulations and changes of time being excluded. In this way ecclesiastical singing acquired a powerful solemnity and a deeply mysterious character. The "Gregorian chant" proved triumphant over all other styles in the West and has survived to the present day. Even in Milan, where the old Ambrosian liturgy is still retained, the style of singing has gradually conformed to the Roman use in course of time. It must be said that modern investigations have at last made it doubtful whether, or how far, these new regulations are justly attributable to Gregory.

Gregory's writings also exercised a great influence. His "Pastoral Rule," which attempted to make the clergy the educators of the people, was so highly prized by posterity that every Frankish bishop on his consecration bound himself to observe the principles of this book. His "Dialogues" were, if possible, more popular; but these were glorifications of the monastic heroes of Italy, and impressed the masses who had been converted to the Church by their numerous stories of miracles, dreams, and apparitions, which would influence only uncultured and superstitious minds. All his writings, indeed, were composed with reference to such minds. For this reason, no other father of the Western world has been so zealously studied.

Gregory laid the foundation of ecclesiastical teaching in the Middle Ages. He was a pupil of the great Augustine, and in his attempts to popularise his teaching he breathed the whole spirit of his system. To his example was chiefly due the importance attached to the intercession of saints in the mediæval Church, to the penances necessary to avert punishment for sin, and to the sacrifice of the Mass, which was also offered for souls in purgatory. To his influence we may ascribe the fact that the lower motive of fear is so strongly seen in mediæval Christianity, and is but slightly modified by hope and

cheerfulness, that Christian repentance becomes fear of punishment, and is exerted only to escape punishment. Gregory provided a bridge of transition from the old period to the new, from Græco-Roman to Romano-Teutonic Christianity. He handed on, however, only that modified form of Christianity which was in vogue before his time; the deeper principles, though they survived in his own heart, were not emphasised in the new period. Christianity was adapted that it might be the more easily effectual among nations in a low stage of civilisation, and the possibility of its elevation to its former height remained an open question.

Boniface has been called the apostle of the Germans. This title gives him too much credit, and also fails to express his full importance. Others before his time had planted Christianity in Germany, and it is not only Germany that stands indebted to him. When the Anglo-Saxon Church, which Gregory had founded, extended northwards, it came into contact with the Keltic Church, which regarded as its founder St. Patrick, a saint who had

The First Missionary in Germany left Roman Britain for Ireland about 432. This Irish Church had remained in complete isolation, and had retained certain characteristics of the earlier period; in particular, it lacked that hierarchical organisation which had been developed among the newer churches. It was entirely overpowered by the northward advance of the Anglo-Saxon Church. But before this date it rendered great services to the Continent; it sent the first preachers of Christianity to Germany. In Germany the Christian Church had already made a beginning; remnants of the Christianity of the Roman period had been preserved in the former province of Noricum, while Arian influence had extended to Bavaria and Thuringia. Catholic Christianity might have been introduced here and there by Frankish immigrants; but of missionaries proper the Irish-Scots were the first. We cannot indeed write a history of their work, for but few are known to us by name out of the large numbers who laboured on this difficult soil; and what we hear of them is rather legend than history. Moreover, their achievements were somewhat scanty. The preaching of the gospel was indeed their primary object; they were anxious to secure the respect of the wild heathen

for the humility and self-renunciation of the ascetic lives which they led in their miserable cells or in the forbidding monasteries which they had founded, and to induce the surrounding people to make a similar renunciation of the world. They suffered, too, from a defect for which neither their fervent belief nor their moral seriousness could compensate; they knew nothing of organisation. Individual converts they certainly gained, but they were unable to found a church which could survive and extend its influence by organised activity.

The qualities which they lacked were possessed in the fullest measure by the Anglo-Saxon Church, which had been founded directly from Rome. From this church Winfrid, who had been named Boniface by the Pope, started in 715 for Friesland, whither the Anglo-Saxon Willibrord had set out twenty-five years previously. When Boniface met with no success in this difficult country, he made a pilgrimage to Rome and secured the right of missionary work from the Pope. From this point we trace a remarkable distraction of aims in his career. He had no doubt that his foundations could exist only in close connection with the Roman papacy, but in his holy enthusiasm his real object was to lead as many heathen as possible to the living God, and his chief desire was to gain a martyr's death in his work.

The Pope, on the other hand, considered it of supreme importance that there should be no Christians who did not recognise his own supremacy. Hence he attempted to quench the fiery zeal of the bold missionary and to make him a pioneer of papal supremacy. After Boniface had preached Christianity in Hesse with great success, and had destroyed all that was not purely Roman in Thuringia, he returned to Rome, to be sent out by the Pope to the heathen Saxons.

Boniface as the Founder of Monasteries The Pope, however, desired first to see the Bavarian and Alamannic Churches subject to the Roman chair. Boniface reluctantly obeyed. In Bavaria he organised four bishoprics, carried out the delimitation of their dioceses and founded monasteries, visited the clergy and purged the ranks of unworthy members. The same organised power was exerted in Thuringia and Hesse, until the German Church was firmly

incorporated with that hierarchical system which centred in Rome. Boniface, who by this time was sixty-five years of age, hoped now to begin his missionary work among the wild Saxons, and again was forced to delay.

The Frankish Church was on the point of dissolution. Owing to the economic development of the Frankish state, the bishops had become territorial magnates, while their higher education had secured for them an important part in political life. Hence they were involved in constant struggles with the nobles for the supremacy, and in the course of these each party attempted to secure the largest number of episcopal sees for itself. The secular authorities presented or sold ecclesiastical positions to their friends, who naturally cared nothing for the spiritual welfare of their people. In this way the property of the Church was expended, and ecclesiastical organisation trodden under foot; the clergy were scattered, the monasteries were much disorganised, and the people were relapsing into heathendom. At that moment in 741, Charles Martel died. He had employed with the utmost ruthlessness the property of the Church, and the presentation of bishoprics as a means to found his supremacy.

His successor, Carloman, immediately resolved "to restore the piety of the Church, which had ceased to exist for some seventy years." For this gigantic task he summoned Boniface, and invited him to hold a reforming synod, the "first Teutonic council" in 742. So averse were the Frankish clergy to a reformation that only six bishops appeared. This, however, was a benefit rather than otherwise. It was now possible, unhindered by opposition, to adopt the most sweeping canons, which were issued by Carloman as his own decrees, and immediately received legal force. The fact that Boniface devoted all

Carloman and the Church his strength to this work of reform is evidence of his great self-renunciation. The work, however, was not carried out

as he would have wished, for Carloman was by no means inclined to abandon any of his rights of supremacy over the Church. It was he, indeed, who convoked the synods. The synods, however, were not to issue resolutions, but to offer advice. He then determined the questions at issue, and it was he

who appointed bishops, including the Archbishop Boniface.

With even greater independence did Pippin begin his work, when he in his turn resolved upon the reformation of his church. Here Boniface was employed merely as an adviser. He was able, however, to inspire the clergy with a spirit that allowed him confidently to expect that which was unattainable in the present. This was clear at the last synod which he held, in 747. It was attended by many priests, deacons, and suffragan bishops, and by thirteen bishops. They agreed that the archbishop or metropolitan should have disciplinary power over the bishops, and should occupy a position intermediary between themselves and the Pope. All signed this declaration: "We have resolved to maintain our subjection to the Roman Church to the end of our lives, and in every way to follow the commands of Peter, that we may be numbered among the sheep entrusted to his care."

These resolutions were, however, far from becoming the constitutional basis of the Frankish Church, for in practice the princes were still its heads. The future, however, was decided, not by legal texts, but by the prevailing spirit of brotherly community.

Boniface Killed by the Heathen When Winfrid had first united them with Rome, these same clergy desired anything rather than subjection to the papacy, and the fact that they now showed a real enthusiasm for the papal supremacy was a splendid result of his labours. The wide extent to which the veneration of the papal chair had become operative was manifested by the fact that Pippin could not assume the crown without the Pope's consent. A closer connection between Rome and the Frankish Empire was also secured by the fact that Pope Stephen II. visited Frankland in 752, asked for Pippin's help against the Lombards, solemnly anointed Pippin and his two sons, and received the assistance he required. This success must have repaid the aged Boniface for the many disappointments which he had suffered.

He longed only for one thing more, that he might be allowed to conclude his valuable life as a missionary and a martyr. In the spring of 754 he again set out for Friesland, and in June of the following year he was killed by the heathen. The work begun by Pippin and Boniface was completed independently by Charles



THE CROWNING OF PIPPIN AS KING BY ST. BONIFACE

the Great. It seemed as if this superhuman character, Charlemagne, had ascended the throne with a programme ready in his hand, of which one point after another was realised, with no weakness or hesitation.

The Frankish state had now entered into a new relationship with Rome and the papacy. Pippin had become the protector of the districts which he had transferred to the Pope, and questions might arise as to the rights and duties which this position involved. Charles made his way without difficulty. The Lombard kingdom, against the aggrandisement of which the Pope had sought

Frankish help, became part of Charles' kingdom, and Rome a city within it. The Pope became his subject, and, as a secular prince, was merely a Frankish vassal. He was obliged to learn a language of which he had previously been ignorant. The King "ordered," and the Pope "fulfilled the royal will."

What, then, were the results of this incorporation of the old imperial city of Rome with the Frankish state? The final act of the new system was the imperial coronation of 800, which had been hanging in the balance since 797. Charles would no doubt have preferred to assume the imperial crown himself rather than



ST. BONIFACE FELLING THE GREAT OAK OF GEISMAR

St. Boniface, the monastic name of Winfrid, the great "Apostle of Germany," was a native of Crediton, Devonshire, and was trained in Benedictine monasteries at Exeter and Nursling. When he went to Rome in 718 he was commissioned by Gregory II. to the heathen nations of Germany, and he laboured as missionary for thirty years. At Hesse, in 724, in his great zeal for the cause of religion, he destroyed many objects of heathen worship, among them, as shown in the illustration, the great oak of Geismar, sacred to Thor, and an idol named Stoffo, on a summit of the Harz, still called Stuppenberg. He founded many churches and convents, and called to his aid priests, monks and nuns from England.

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to receive it from the Pope, and from one whom he very much disliked, Pope Leo III. But he wished to be emperor at any cost. Only now in the eyes of contemporaries was Western Europe united under his person. It was a unity far removed from the later theory which regarded empire and papacy as separate forces. Charles was, in his own opinion, master of God's empire, the supreme unity of Church and State.

On the death of Pippin there were some who regarded the Frankish Church as a member of the universal Church, and were willing to place it under the Pope's supremacy. Others wished to maintain it as an independent national Church, subject to the Frankish king, and to reverence the Pope merely as the head of all Christians. Charles extended the Frankish Church under his supremacy that it might be the imperial Church, the empire of God upon earth, in which it was the Pope's part to teach, and his to govern. Thus the unity which Boniface had desired was attained, though by other methods than he had proposed; the whole of the Western Church

reverenced the same emperor as their ruler and the same bishop as their teacher. It was a magnificent idea; that it was not impossibly magnificent was proved by the events of the age. Far from sighing under this theocratic supremacy, the Church rejoiced; far from suffering loss, she enjoyed brilliant prosperity.

The succeeding age was to show whether such a kingdom, uniting the secular and the spiritual powers, could succeed under other conditions, or whether it was possible only under Charles the Great, who cared alike for Church and State, and was fully conscious of the needs of both, who pursued his high purposes, whether secular or religious, with indefatigable activity and invincible persistence, and never aroused opposition by misuse of his power or by weak concession, but was inspired by the lofty conviction that his supremacy was derived from God, and that he must wield it in God's service.

Thus the Popes were thrown into the background, and Charles interfered directly in the domestic ecclesiastical affairs of the papal patrimony. There was,



A TYPICAL MONASTIC SCHOOL OF THE CHARLEMAGNE PERIOD

During the reign of Charlemagne a great impetus was given to education. The great ruler, believing that "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," did everything possible to encourage a spread of knowledge, and brought teachers from Rome to teach in the public schools. His ultimate object seemed to be national education.



CHARLEMAGNE INTRODUCING CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE CONQUERED SAXONS

Inspired by high and noble purposes, the great Charlemagne endeavoured to make the Church a mighty power throughout his dominions, and he aimed at the conversion of the Saxons. This purpose he ultimately accomplished, for after thirty years of struggle he was able to add this last of the Teutonic tribes to the Church. Charlemagne died in 814.

however, no pettifogging rivalry in his interference, and he considerably raised the prestige of Rome in the Frankish Church. He regarded the Roman Church as the guardian of apostolic tradition, and its bishop as the supreme pastor of Christianity, for which reason the regulations of Rome were to be obeyed throughout the churches of the empire. He, however, was the man who secured this obedience. Though devoted to the Church he was at the same time jealous of his authority. He appointed bishops or confirmed their nomination, and his laws appeared in the collections of canon law side by side with papal laws and the canons of councils. He it was who convoked church synods, and confirmed or extended their conclusions as he considered wise. Ritual disputes he settled himself after consultation with his imperial assemblies, deciding even against the Pope in cases of necessity, for if this teacher of Christianity inflicted injury upon God's kingdom, then it was the business of God's regent, the emperor, to protect his kingdom.

In 787 the Council held at Nicæa under the Empress Irene had upheld the

vereneration of images and Pope Adrian I had approved this decree. But, owing partly to their imperfect knowledge of Greek and partly to the fact that a fixed scientific theological terminology in Latin had not yet come into being, the bishops assembled at Frankfort were under the impression that the Greeks had sanctioned the "adoration" of images and therefore rejected the decree of Nicæa. But the Pope refused to endorse this and took the pains to reply at some length, pointing out the difference between the honour paid on the one hand to relics, crucifixes, pictures and statues, and on the other, the true worship ("vera cultura" as he called it in his Late Latin) which is to be given to God only. For the time this settled the controversy in the West, though perhaps the images (which undoubtedly remained in the churches) were revered with less demonstration than the Crucifix and relics.

The reform begun by Boniface within the Church was continued by Charles with brilliant success, but here again the objects and methods of the two men were divergent. Boniface was anxious to educate

the people, but only so long as they lived within the Church and were subject to it. Hence he was particularly anxious to create a powerful hierarchy. Charles desired to educate mankind as a whole, for all its tasks, for membership of the kingdom of God. The ideal before his eyes seems to have been the formation of

**Charlemagne's
Ideal of
Education**

independent character. Naturally the education of the clergy was of first importance. But as the advanced schools of which he was the founder provided a learned education both for his own children and for many youths of the first families of the empire, so also the laity were to have their share of consideration in other schools. Indeed, his ultimate object must have been national education; for the children, at any rate, an attempt was made to introduce a general system of school attendance, and it was arranged that the children of the poor should be supported by small contributions during their school lives.

Divine service also was not merely to be the outward expression of religious usage, but was to do something for the individual. Hence Charles made preaching in the vernacular the central point of the service, and ordered that a sermon should be preached in every parish church on every Sunday and saint's day. That part of the service which was said by memory was not to be used mechanically, but with understanding. So much is shown by the German commentaries upon the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, which still remain to us.

An attempt was made to form a German Bible. Some fragments still survive of the German translation of St. Matthew's Gospel made at that time, which show a real power of penetrating the meaning of the Scriptures. Charles earnestly urged upon his clergy their duty of caring for souls, and, above all, of hearing confessions. It then seemed that

**The Place
of Confession
in the Church**

the old ecclesiastical system of penance, which had disappeared in the storms of the last century, could no longer be revived. The penalty for open offences consisted in exclusion from the communion of the Church, while readmission was to be secured only by humble atonement, all of which presupposed the fact that communion with the Church should be regarded as a valuable privilege by the individual. At the present moment the clergy were deal-

ing with masses who had not yet acquired love or appreciation for the Church. As they attached little or no importance to church membership, it would be impossible to force them to buy this privilege at the expense of a heavy penance. The Irish saint, Columba, who had attempted from about 584 to reform the degenerate Frankish Church, had endeavoured to influence individual souls by introducing the practice of private confession to the priest. He had drawn up a penitential, which was to instruct the clergy in this very difficult task. This institution was now revived. It is, however, a sign of his deep appreciation of religious conditions that Charles, who demanded a knowledge of the Christian verities from every one of his subjects, did not make confession compulsory. In his eyes it was valuable only when performed voluntarily. Theologians of that age, however, were the more vigorous in insisting upon the great blessings of confession. They taught that every sin could be forgiven if the sinner made the sacrifice of confession to the priest. Whatever opposition was to be

**Conversion
of the
Saxons**

expressed later to the institution of confession, it was one which, at any rate, exerted an educative influence upon the people, which aroused a consciousness of the individual's responsibility to God, and of the necessity for forgiveness. Finally, Charles completed the projects of Boniface for the conversion of the heathen, but once again by wholly different methods.

The conversion of the Saxons was secured at the price of such appalling struggles that Charles would certainly have been obliged to confine his efforts to defending his own dominions against these threatening neighbours had he not been inspired by the idea of the theocratic king who should make his master's enemies the footstool of his feet. After thirty years of struggle he was able to add this last of the Teutonic tribes to the Church.

When he ended his energetic life, on January 28th, 814, the Gospels were placed upon his knees, a fragment of the true Cross was laid upon his head, and his sword was girded about his loins. The unity he had attempted to create was soon to be divided, for there is no symbol which can combine the sword and the Gospel.

WILHELM WALTHER

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



THE
EMERGING
OF THE
NATIONS VII

THE LAND OF THE NORTHMEN COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF SCANDINAVIA

THE northern part of Europe, or Scandinavia, consists of Denmark and the so-called Scandinavian peninsula—Norway and Sweden—to which we may add, in a physical sense, the peninsulas of Kola and Finland. The island of Iceland, which has been peopled by the Norwegians, may also be considered as belonging to these northern lands. Scandinavia forms the most north-westerly portion of the European continent; but, thanks to the sea which washes its shores on almost every side, and the influence of the warm Atlantic currents, it has a mild climate in comparison with its high latitude. It is owing to this fact that Scandinavia, although partly an arctic land, is the most productive region in so northerly a situation. Nevertheless, the climate is not alike in all these northern regions; it varies according to the altitude and distance from the sea. Denmark and Western

Features of Northern Europe

Norway enjoy a climate of insular character, while Eastern Norway and Sweden are continental in their variations of temperature. Denmark, physically a portion of the mid-European plain, is much more cut up by the sea, and consists of two natural main divisions—the peninsula of Jutland and a group of islands. Western and Central Jutland have been little favoured by Nature; on the whole, the soils are unfertile, and the west coast, which is sheltered from the North Sea by the dunes, is without a single harbour, and on that account dreaded by seafarers. East Jutland and the islands are, on the contrary, very fertile, and well watered by small lakes and streamlets; the fiords and bays, which are formed by the sea along the whole coast-line, make, in addition, good harbours. Denmark was formerly covered with rich forests, but is now almost bare of wood; the land lends itself to agriculture and cattle-breeding, and the sea, which surrounds the country on every side, has always been a source of

wealth to the country, and has developed the Danes into skilful seamen.

The Scandinavian peninsula is a continuous range of mountains. In the west, where they reach their highest point—Galdhøppigen, 8,400 feet—they rise almost precipitously from the Atlantic Ocean,

Norway and Sweden in Contrast and then decrease gradually in height towards the Skager Rack, the Kattegat, and the Baltic Sea, until they sink into

lowlands, and further south emerge gradually as the Danish isles. We thus see that Norway, which forms the western portion of the peninsula, is a much more mountainous country than Sweden. The northern range consists almost entirely of primary rocks, and of the oldest and hardest slates, which are not easily disintegrated by the weather, and are therefore covered with only a thin layer of feebly productive soil. The south of Sweden is less barren, owing to the greater disintegration of the rocks.

The higher regions of the mountainous areas are fairly level, forming extensive plateaux at different elevations, embossed with prominent peaks and heights, and separated from one another by gorges and deep valleys. These formations are most wonderful on the western side, where the sea has forced its way into some of the deep gorges, thereby changing them into long, narrow fiords, hemmed in by steep rocky walls. From these rocks, at one time well wooded, but now showing only here and there a single tree,

A Land of Cascades and Glaciers

gush forth streams, forming magnificent cascades, which are partly fed by the large glaciers covering the mountain heights. The extent of land adapted to agricultural purposes is small, but the grazing and rearing of cattle and sheep form important industries. It is, however, the sea to which the inhabitants now look, as in earlier times, for their livelihood. Ships form the most natural and easy

means of communication between fiord and fiord, and the numerous islands of different size which stretch along the coast afford good harbours and safe navigation.

Further inland, where the mountains fall softly away, the deep valleys broaden out, and plains are gradually formed. The valleys are still well wooded, and

**Industries
of the
Scandinavians**

watered by streams abounding in fish. There are also many lakes; in Norway, and the northern parts of Sweden

these conform to the long, narrow shape of the valleys, while in the central regions, and in the south of Sweden they become larger and broader. Cattle-rearing, agriculture, and trade in timber formed, even in the earliest days, the chief means of subsistence in these parts. Mining is also of importance, as the peninsula is rich in useful minerals and metals; and in the forests there are different kinds of game, which will repay the sportsman for his pains.

Finland, the south-eastern continuation of the northern range of mountains, is a low plateau covered with forests, innumerable lakes and marshes, called by the Finns for this reason "Suomi," that is, Fenland. The coasts, in the west low and flat, and in the south hilly, are backed by cliffs and ridges; the Aland islands in the south-west form a natural link in the direction of Sweden. The wealth of Finland consists in its forests; agriculture and cattle-rearing are also of some importance. There is a scarcity of metals.

The island of Iceland, situated in the North Atlantic Ocean between Norway and America, is a mountainous mass of volcanic origin. Bare peaks tower over wastes of ashes and lava; large glaciers and streams of lava cover wide areas of the interior, and make them quite uninhabitable. Even now volcanic eruptions occasionally take place, and there are numerous hot springs scattered about the island. The north and west

**Iceland
Bleak
and Bare**

coasts are broken up by numerous fiords into peninsulas and islands. The climate is in winter

comparatively mild, but in summer rough and stormy; on this account the grain harvest seldom ripens, and there are no forests. There is, however, fine meadowland, and sheep-breeding is, together with the fisheries, the chief means of livelihood. We do not know to which race the people who first inhabited the northern regions

of Scandinavia belonged. From the traces they have left behind, we see that they stood on a low level of civilisation. They were without knowledge of metals, and their weapons and utensils were made of stone, bone, horn, or wood. The country was covered with immense forests in the Stone Age, and the people, who supported themselves by the chase and fishing, lived on the banks of rivers, the shores of lakes, or on the coast, where they obtained means of subsistence.

By degrees they began to clear the primeval forests, to engage in cattle-rearing, and to cultivate the land; they also built ships [see page 2368], and came into communication with their southern neighbours, from whom they learned the art of working in metal. The metal which they first learned to use was copper, or, rather, bronze, a mixture of copper and tin, which was exchanged for amber. We learn from weapons and pieces of ornamental work that the civilisation of this Bronze Age reached an advanced stage of development.

The rudely executed pictures and drawings which are found cut on rocks and stones

**Civilisation
of the
Stone Age**

also belong to this age, and furnish us with important information regarding the life of that period. Written records of this time are just as rare as those of the Stone Age; and as the language of the inhabitants is unknown, we cannot well determine their racial affinities. Archæologists are nevertheless of the opinion that, since the Stone Age, one and the same race has inhabited these northern regions.

In the last centuries before the Christian era this northern race first became acquainted with iron, and about that time the old writers—Pliny, Tacitus, who calls the Swedes "Suiones," and others—inform us that the northern peoples of the Iron Age were Teutons. Scandinavia derives its name from the "island" of "Scandia" or Scandinavia (more correctly Scadinavia), which was known to the Romans. From the oldest literary records which the Northmen have left us we learn also that even 500 years after Christ one and the same language, the oldest Scandinavian, was spoken throughout the north, and that this was closely allied to Gothic and German. The runic letters used by the Northmen were borrowed with modifications from the Greek and Latin alphabets, which they had learned through contact with the southern Germans.



THE RIDE OF THE VALKYRIES: A STRIKING SCENE FROM SCANDINAVIAN MYTHOLOGY

According to Scandinavian mythology, the Valkyries are supernatural maidens of great beauty, who, mounted on swift horses, choose the slain in battle for transportation to Valhalla where Odin, greatest of the gods, holds court, and where those who have thus been transported meet together in joyous feasting, Odin's maidens pouring out the mead for them.

From the painting by J. C. Dollman, with the artist's permission

We may therefore conclude that the northern lands, at least since the last centuries before the Christian era, were inhabited by a Germanic race, which probably had gradually worked its way from south to north. Jutland and the Danish isles were the first to become inhabited. After this the Northmen

Northmen's History in Legends reached Southern Sweden and Norway, and then penetrated further and further, until they gradually came to the Polar seas, where they came into contact with the Ugrian peoples, the Lapps, who even at that time had wandered so far north.

It is only after the ninth century A.D. that we have any definite knowledge of the social and political conditions of the north; and that comes to us through the Frankish, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish chroniclers. The Northmen themselves begin only about the twelfth century to keep any kind of historical records; their memories of earlier periods were transmitted in the form of oral legends. The social conditions of the north were at that time essentially the same as those of the southern Germanic races during the migration period. The people were divided into freemen and bondsmen. There was really only one class among the freemen, that of the peasants, and they all had equal privileges and duties. There were a few, however, who had gained position and influence, perhaps through illustrious ancestors, personal bravery, or great wealth; indeed, even before this time, more especially in Norway, a nobility had arisen.

The land was as yet little cultivated, and although much importance was attached to agriculture, still, cattle-rearing, the chase, fishing and commerce remained the more important means of livelihood. The peasants in Denmark and Sweden lived chiefly in villages; in Norway, on the contrary, where the natural condition of the country prevented this, in scattered homesteads, as is still the case.

Vikings and Their Victims Property descended regularly to one of the sons; the others were therefore obliged to seek a maintenance by clearing uncultivated land. The majority, however, preferred to seek their fortune on the sea, and often became sea-robbers, or Vikings, as they were called, because they usually lay in wait in bays (*Vik*) and sounds for the ships of merchants; for the sea was at that time, when natural conditions made tra-

velling by land so much more difficult, the principal high-road of commerce, and thus from early times the Northmen were trained to a seafaring life. They became capable shipbuilders and bold seamen; and thus even at an early period an active intercourse arose between these northern lands and other countries.

The Northmen possessed a strong feeling of independence; the highest aim of a freeman was to be his own master. Intelligence and prudence stood high in their estimation, but they did not despise the exercise of cunning; they possessed quick perceptions, made ready and appropriate answers, and for poetry they had a decided aptitude. Strength, courage, and endurance, were valued most of all, and battle was their highest aim. They fought often for fighting's sake, and their desire for battle rose sometimes into real fury, the "Berserker rage." Their customs were wild and rude; when they became enraged they showed a cruel, revengeful, and implacable spirit, and in their passions they were insatiable. On the other hand, their behaviour towards enemies was, as

Family Life Among the Northmen a rule, open and honourable, and they possessed in the highest degree the knightly virtues of good faith and honour.

Their institution of "battle brotherhood" is well known; all the members of the brotherhood mixed their blood, and swore to share good and bad fortune with one another for ever. They had a feeling for family life, and in the home the wife was the counsellor of the husband. Indeed, women enjoyed the greatest respect, and occupied in general an independent position, even taking part in public assemblies and the banquets of the men.

Northern mythology is in its origin common to all Germanic races, but it was on northern soil, where it came under the influence of Nature and the characteristic life of the people, that it received its independent development. Our knowledge of this mythology is obtained from the old Norwegian poetry and sagas—from the earlier and later Eddas—folk songs which were collected and written down in Iceland only in the thirteenth century. Thus we are unacquainted with them in their original form. Some of the later investigators are of opinion that the myths contained in these Eddas originated first during the Norman period, under the influence of a baptised people, the Anglo-Saxons and



IDUN'S APPLES: THE SECRET OF ETERNAL YOUTH

This beautiful illustration represents a highly-cherished feature of Norse mythology. Idun, the goddess personifying the reviving year, was the keeper of the golden apples which brought eternal youth to the gods. The story goes that Idun was carried off by Thiassi—winter—and imprisoned, but when spring came, she made her escape in the form of a bird.

Reproduced from the painting by J. Doyle Penrose, with the artist's permission

Irish, and do not represent the religious aspects of an older period and a peaceful people, but the ideas of the Vikings, whose ideal was a life passed exclusively in warfare.

According to the Eddas, the gods, "the Ases," dwell in Asgard, in the centre of the world. From this dwelling-place a bridge, "Bifrost" (the rainbow), leads to Midgard, where mortals live; towards the north lies the cold Jotunheim, the home of the giants, or Jotnen, the enemies of the gods. The highest of all the gods is Odin. His dwelling-place is "Gladsheim," with its hall Valhalla, where he holds his court, and where those who have fallen in battle meet together in joyous feasting, the Valkyries, Odin's maidens, pouring out the mead for them. Tyr is the god of war; Thor, the god of thunder; Balder, the god of all goodness and wisdom, of purity and innocence; Brage, the god of poetry; Heimdal, the guardian of the Ases; Njord and Frey, gods of fertility and peaceful occupations. Among the goddesses may be mentioned Frigga, Odin's wife and the goddess of marriage; Freya, the goddess of love; and Idun, whose apples brought eternal youth to the gods. The gods are always at war with the giants. Through the malice of Loki, the holy Balder loses his life. The time has come when violence and evil penetrate to the world, its end draws near, and will finally take place at Ragnarok, at the last battle between the gods and the giants. A new and beautiful world will afterwards arise, in which Good shall rule. The gods were worshipped by sacrifices, which were offered under the open sky, in sacred groves and by holy springs, or in temples. The principal places of offering in the oldest times were Leire, in the neighbourhood of Roskilde in Zealand, Upsala in Sweden, Maren

The Gods of the Northmen

and Skiringssal in Norway. There was no distinct priestly class; every man offered sacrifices for himself and his family. The king or chief, who, in his capacity of sacrificial priest, was called "Gode," offered sacrifices for the whole nation.

The Northmen were divided into several main tribes: Denmark and Scania were inhabited by the Danes; Southern Sweden and the coasts of the large lakes Wener and Wetter by the Goths (Götar), who were separated by great forests from the Svear, who lived in Central Sweden; Norway was inhabited by the Norwegians. These tribes were subdivided into "folks," each of which had its own political organisation. The district belonging to a "folk" was called "land" or "landschaft" by the Danes and Goths, "folkland" by the Svear, and "fylla" by the Norwegians. The "landschaft" consisted of several "harden" (herred, hundred), comprising the estates of those families who had formed the original basis of society in that district. At the head of the harde stood the "herse," who was president of the herreds-ting, in which the peasants drew



A FAMOUS WOODEN CHURCH IN NORWAY
This wooden church of Borgund, pagoda-like in its style, situated in the mountainous Norwegian district of Sogne, forms one of the most remarkable and characteristic monuments of mediæval Norwegian architecture.

up their laws, passed resolutions, and decided lawsuits. The landschaft also had its assembly (fykes-ting) where affairs which concerned the whole landschaft were settled; in this assembly one of the chiefs—in Sweden the "lagman"—was president. If war was declared, the peasants chose a leader, and from this institution the kingship gradually developed. The king, or *konungr*, was originally the leader of a band of five warriors, who had sworn fidelity to him. With this band of followers he undertook military expeditions in order to win renown and wealth. If he

How the Kingship Developed



CHARACTERISTIC SCENES OF NORWAY'S MOUNTAINS AND FIORDS

The Vettisfossen cascade, seen in the first picture, has a drop of 850 feet ; next are shown the Svartisen and Bouims glaciers, the latter a branch of the largest glacier in Europe. The first of the two lower illustrations shows Essefjord, with the huge mountain rising in the background, and the other the famous Seven Sisters waterfall dropping into Geiranger Fjord.

was successful in this he rose in the estimation both of his followers and of his countrymen; he became the leader of the national host. His influence increased also in the assembly; he became king of the landschaft. As a rule, his

Limits of the King's Power office was inherited by his sons, and in this way royal families had their origin. The kingship was at first very limited with respect to locality. Ambitious kings, however, were not contented with a landschaft, but contrived to extend their domain by violence or by other means. Yet local autonomy continued in force. The power of the king was virtually limited to leading the army in time of war, defending the country, superintending

who were too cramped in their own land, began to visit the countries in the west of Europe. Soon every sea was covered with their fleets, and scarcely any European coast was free from their plunderings.

The chief cause which drove out the Northmen from their native country was poverty. The Viking expeditions were therefore originally nothing more than pirate raids undertaken for the purpose of earning a livelihood. In accordance with the Norse view of life and religion, it was more honourable to earn a livelihood by the sword than by the plough. The Viking life was to them a lawful and glorious profession of arms, which was practised by their noblest men and even by their kings. The exploits of the



A GLIMPSE OF DENMARK'S ROCKY COASTS

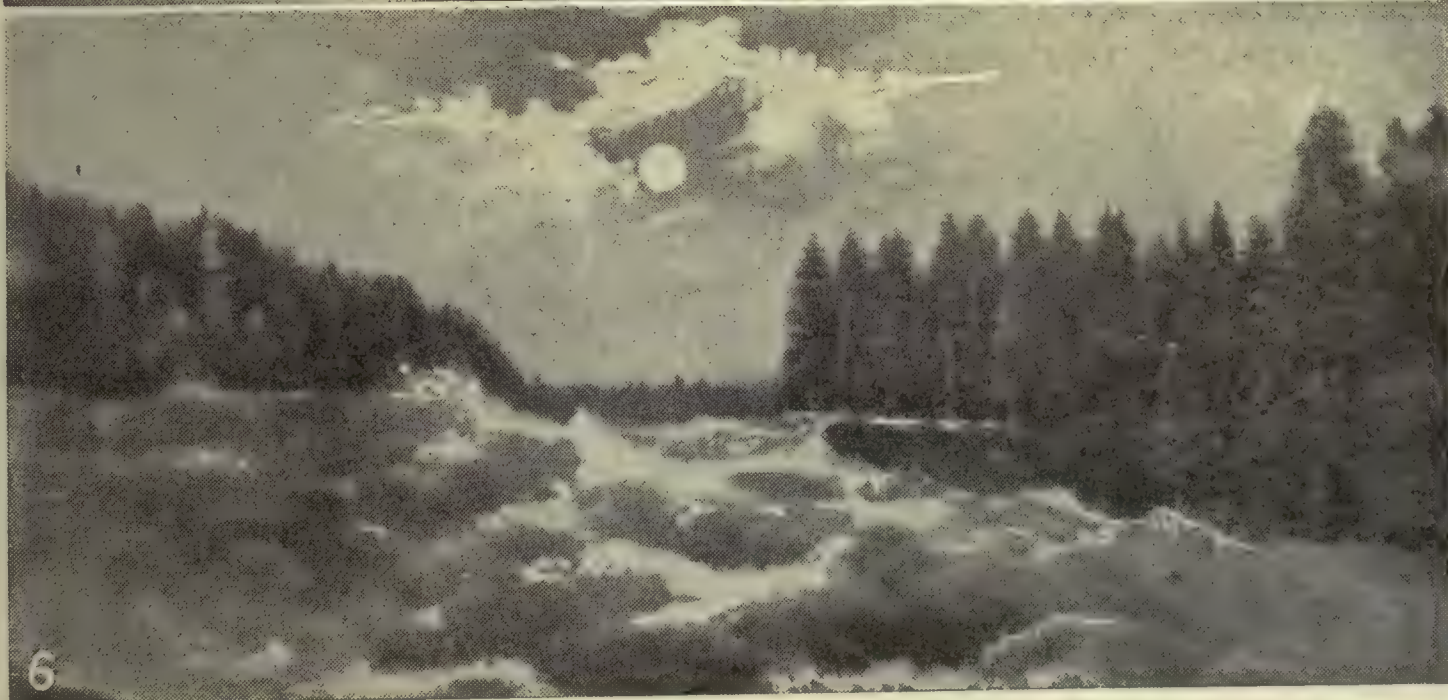
law and justice, and offering sacrifices to the gods of the people.

We do not know when the Danish and Swedish kingdoms were founded. According to legend the Danish kingdom, which had its royal residence at Leire, was founded by Skjold, the son of Odin, and on this account the old Danish kings were called Skjoldunger. The Swedish kingdom is said to have been founded by the god Yngve-Frey, the founder of the race of Ynglinger. Norway remained divided up into small kingdoms longer than the other northern countries. There the "fylkes" were not united into one state until the end of the ninth century. Before the ninth century A.D. little or nothing was known in the south and west of Europe concerning the northern peoples. But about the year 800 the Northmen,

Vikings were admired by the people and glorified by their poets; only he who had fallen in war was received by Odin into Valhalla.

The political situation in the north was another cause of the emigrations. In Denmark in the ninth century two royal families were struggling for the supremacy; victory fell now to one, now to the other, and the conquered claimants, who

The Glorified Vikings were compelled to leave the country, tried to establish new empires in foreign lands, or at least to win for themselves wealth and glory. About the same time Norway became united under one king, and many princes left their homes to preserve their freedom, since they would not tolerate the authority of a superior.



'THE LAND OF A THOUSAND LAKES': TYPICAL VIEWS OF FINLAND

1, Rantaseutu Lake; 2, Nyslott Castle, Olofsborg; 3, The breaking away of an immense ice-floe in the Gulf of Finland; 4, Taipale on the Saima Canal; 5, Hameenlinna Lake, Tavastehus; 6, The Imatra waterfall.



A KING'S DISGUISE: ALFRED IN THE CAMP OF GUTHRUM, THE DANISH CHIEF

This famous picture depicts Alfred, the heroic king, in the midst of his dreaded enemies. Long before Alfred's time the Danish plunderers had landed in England and completely held in their hands the north-eastern portion. Alfred had only part of the country under his governance, but his wise and good rule had so roused the patriotism of his people that they offered a stubborn resistance to the invading army. Disguising himself as a minstrel, in 878, and accompanied by only one servant, it is said that Alfred made his way to the camp of the powerful Danish chief, Guthrum, and delighted the Danes by his skill in singing and playing the songs of his native land. On returning to his own people he at once assembled all his available forces, and fell upon the Danes with such good effect that they had to sue for peace.

From the design by Herbert A. Bone, executed in tapestry, by permission of Mr. Antony Gibbs

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



THE
EMERGING
OF THE
NATIONS VIII

GREAT DAYS OF THE NORTHMEN

THE RAIDS & CONQUESTS OF THE VIKINGS

THE Northmen were far superior in strength, courage, deeds of arms, and seamanship to the peoples whom they attacked. Moreover, England, Ireland, and the Frankish Empire were at this time weakened by internal strife. It was this fact which ensured the great success of the pirates. At first they appeared only in small bands, landed on the coasts, which they laid waste with fire, and then departed with their booty. When they saw that they encountered little or no resistance, they became bolder. Large armies were formed, which had their own laws and were generally commanded by several chieftains who were equal in power. They carried on their warfare according to a settled plan, and were no longer satisfied with plundering the coasts. They spent the winters in the estuaries or on islands lying off the coasts. In summer

**Pirates
Baptised and
Civilised**

they sailed up the rivers far into the interior, which they devastated, plundering chiefly churches and monasteries, where they knew they would find the richest booty. At last they made it the object of their conquests to provide a new home for themselves; they accordingly settled in the land they had conquered and founded new states. Then the raids ceased; the fierce pirates accepted baptism; savage warfare gave place to peaceful activities, agriculture, commerce, and navigation. As Normans, they blended with the native races, to whom they imparted new strength and whom they influenced in many ways.

All three of the northern peoples—the Swedes, the Danes, and the Norwegians—took part in the expeditions of the Northmen. The districts which they infested were the coasts of the Baltic Sea and the countries adjoining the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea.

After the Swedes had for some time been visiting as pirates and merchants the countries of the Baltic Sea, which were

inhabited by Slavonic and Finnish races, they settled shortly after the middle of the ninth century on the coasts of the large Russian lakes, where they founded an empire called "Gardarike," with its capital "Holmgard" (Novgorod). According to the

**The Swedes
Found
an Empire**

Russian chronicler, Nestor, the circumstances were as follow: The Warjager, or Waräger, Swedes from the country on the other side of the Baltic Sea were accustomed to go to the races, living on the large lakes, and levy taxes. But in 861 these races refused to pay, and drove out the Waräger; they wished to rule themselves, but soon became disunited. Family arose against family, and war broke out everywhere. Then they summoned the Waräger again into the country in 862 to make peace. The three brothers, Rurik, Sineus, and Truwor, from the Warägian tribe Rus, or Ruotsi, advanced with a troop of Warägers across the sea and settled in Novgorod, Belosersk, and Isborsk. As Sineus and Truwor died shortly afterwards, Rurik became sole ruler in the kingdom, which had received the name "Russia" from his tribe. Some of Rurik's warriors advanced further south, marched down the Dnieper, and founded a kingdom in Kiev, which was conquered in 882 by Rurik's successor, Oleg.

Soon the Warägers extended their raids as far as the Black Sea. At the beginning of the tenth century they had even sailed past the Crimea to the Sea of Azov and down the river Don; they then dragged their

**Northmen
in the Service
of Russians**

ships overland to the Volga, sailed down this river to the Caspian Sea, the coast of which they laid waste, and then returned laden with booty. The Russian kingdom stood for a long time in friendly relations with the northern countries and their princes, and the Russian princes often employed Northmen in their services. These friendly relations did not

cease until the Swedish element had gradually succumbed to the Slavonic, and the kingdom at the end of the eleventh century had become purely Slav.

It is true that the Swedes have not left any perceptible traces in modern Russia. Still, their immigration was of great importance; for through them the Finnish and Slavonic races, which had been at variance, were united for the first time in one empire, and by the communication which was opened up between Russia and the west of Europe the commerce, wealth, and power of Novgorod in particular were advanced.

It was also through the Russian kingdom that the Northmen came into contact with the Byzantines. Many Northmen entered the services of East Roman emperors as auxiliaries; after the middle of the eleventh century they were admitted to the imperial body-guard. At Byzantium they were called Varangers. "The axe-bearing barbarians from Thule" were renowned for their courage and bravery. As a memorial of their stay in the Byzantine Empire they have left the runic inscriptions on the Lion of the Piræus, which is now in the arsenal at Athens.

It is probable that these inscriptions of the Swedish Varangers in the second half of the eleventh century were carved in honour of a northern chieftain who had fallen in Greek waters. As early as the end of the eighth century the Norwegians came to the islands lying off the north and west coasts of Scotland—the Faröe, Shetland and Orkney Islands, and the Hebrides. These islands, however, were then barren and unattractive, and served at first in reality only as starting-points for more extensive expeditions. The Norwegians sailed along the rough and desolate western shores of Scotland, founded several settlements,

and then crossed over into Ireland. This island was at that time divided into several small kingdoms, the rulers of which were constantly at strife. The Ardrigh, or High King, had not enough power to control the restless people and the strife-loving chieftains. These divisions facilitated the advance of the Northmen, inasmuch as the Irish were too deficient in ships and seamanship to prevent their landing.

**Dublin
Conquered by
Northmen**

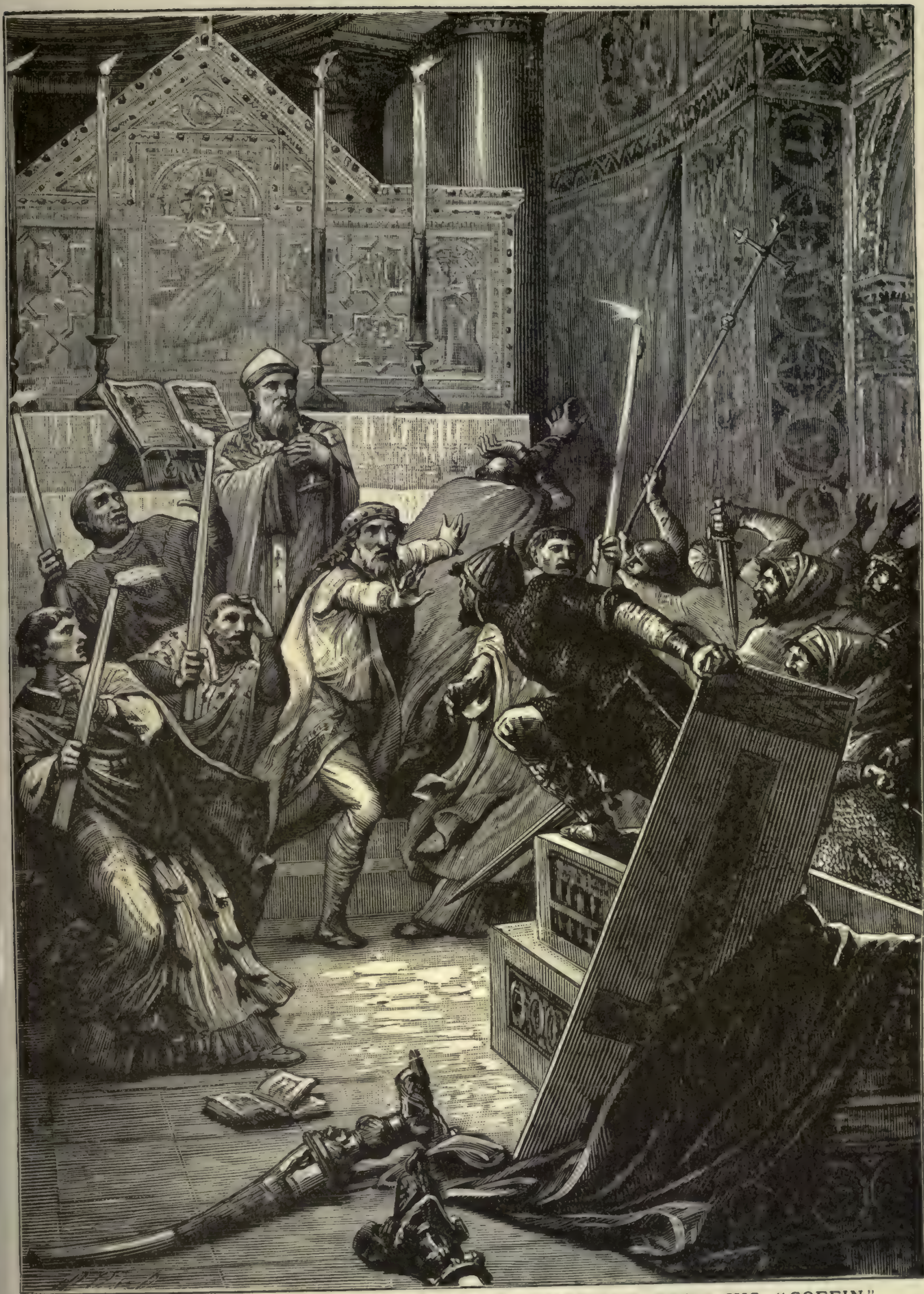
In the first half of the ninth century the Norwegians, who were called by the Irish Lochlannoch (the men from the country of lakes), Fingalls (the white strangers), or Ostmen, settled on the east coast; in 838 they conquered Dublin, which they fortified strongly. The whole country was devastated, monasteries and churches were burnt, and Thorgisl, the leader of the Norwegians, became ruler of almost the whole island. After a few years, however, he was murdered. The Irish rose and drove out the foreigners. But these soon came back, and in 852 the Norwegian chieftain, Olav Hvite, founded a kingdom in Dublin; at the same time Norwegian kingdoms were established in Waterford and Limerick. The Norwegians built strong fortresses everywhere in order to secure their rule. For several years the kings of Dublin had to resist the attacks of the Irish, who, although their efforts were sometimes favoured by fortune, tried in vain to drive out the foreigners. About the middle of the tenth century the conquerors threatened to destroy the independence of the island. "They set up," narrates an old chronicler, "in every province a king, in every district a chieftain, in every church an abbot, in every town a bailiff, in every house a soldier, so that the men of Erin are no longer masters of their property. No one dares to show generosity or



THE FAMOUS LION OF THE PIRÆUS

In the eleventh century "the axe-bearing barbarians from Thule" entered the Byzantine Empire, where they were renowned for their courage and bravery. As a memorial of their stay they left the runic inscriptions on the Lion of the Piræus, which is now in the arsenal at Athens.

No one dares to show generosity or



THE NORTHMAN'S STRATEGY: HASTING EMERGING FROM HIS "COFFIN"

The most celebrated of the Northman chieftains of the middle of the ninth century, Hasting plundered France for several years, and then undertook a journey to Italy with the intention of conquering Rome and securing the wealth which it contained. Driven ashore by a storm near Sarzana on the Magra, he took the town by stratagem, thinking it to be Rome. Pretending to be on a peaceful mission, he was admitted into the town and baptised at the hands of the bishop. During the following night loud lamentations were heard proceeding from the ship of the chieftain, and it was reported that Hasting was dead. He was taken ashore for burial, and the bishop was just about to conduct the funeral service when Hasting sprang from the bier, and, with the assistance of his armed followers, first slew the bishop and the governor, and then attacked the town, capturing it after terrible slaughter of the inhabitants.

tenderness to father or mother, to bishop, to lord temporal or spiritual, neither to the sick nor miserable, not even to a new-born child. If an Irishman has only one cow, he must give the milk to the soldier, so that he gets no milk for himself."

The struggle continued. The Irish succeeded in gaining some victories over the hated foreigners, but they were not able to rid the land of the intruders. The most celebrated of those victories is that of Clontarf, fought in the neighbourhood of Dublin on April 23rd, 1014, which the Irish remember with pride to this day. Brian Borumha, High King of Ireland, had collected a large army and advanced towards Dublin, while the Norwegians in the town had obtained auxiliary troops from their countrymen dwelling in the Scottish islands. It was a desperate struggle, and both armies fought with great bravery. The old king Brian fell on the battlefield, but his army was victorious and the Norwegians sustained heavy losses; no fewer than 6,000 perished in the battle.

This victory did not alter the situation in the island; internal strife did not cease. It is true that the Norwegians abandoned the hope of subduing the Irish, but they remained in the country. Occasionally, when it was to their advantage, they did homage to the Irish kings. Thus matters continued till the twelfth century, when Henry II. of England, who for some time had been turning his attention to Ireland, interfered in the disputes of the two nations. On being asked by an Irish king for help, he permitted Richard Clare, Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow) to cross to Ireland, and the latter conquered Dublin in 1170. The last Norwegian king was forced to flee, and when he attempted in the following year to regain his kingdom, he was taken prisoner and killed. Shortly after this, King Henry himself crossed and entered Dublin. Thus ended the rule of the Ostmen in Ireland.

Norwegian Dominion at an End They had not, however, entirely disappeared from the island, but remained living principally in those towns where, as peaceful citizens, they busied themselves with commerce and navigation. For a long time they preserved their nationality, since they formed separate and organised communities. At the present day we find a trace of them in the name of part of the

town of Dublin—Oxmanstown = Ostman-town; that is, the town of the Eastmen.

The Irish and Norwegians were too dissimilar in character, manners, and mode of life to blend quickly. Moreover, they lived for the most part separated from each other—the Norwegians in their fortified towns, the Irish in the country; in addition, the hatred of the Irish for the foreigner kept both nations estranged. In spite of this, they influenced each other in various ways. The influence of the Irish on the Norwegians has, perhaps, been exaggerated. But it is indisputable that in the provinces of fiction and art the Norwegians learned much from the Irish, and attempts have even been made in modern times to prove that many of the northern sagas of the gods and of heroes had their origin in the tales which the Northmen heard from the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons.

The Norwegian form of the temple, the "Hov," is, it is believed, a copy of the Irish churches. On the other hand, the Irish are indebted to the Ostmen for the advancement of their municipal life. It might almost be asserted that the Nor-

Founders of the Irish Towns wegiens were really the founders of the Irish towns; it was first owing to the Norwegians, who were not only capable soldiers but also enterprising merchants and navigators, that commerce and navigation, along with agriculture and farming, became important branches of industry for the inhabitants of the Emerald Isle.

The Norwegian rule lasted longer in the Scottish islands and in the Faröe Islands than in Ireland. As has been mentioned, the Norwegians had settled on these islands about the year 800. In the tenth century they founded a kingdom of the Hebrides, in which they ruled over a Keltic population, and another in the Isle of Man; this was ruled by the king of Norway after 1100, and was not surrendered to Scotland till 1266. Tynwald Hill, near St. John's, on the west coast of the Isle of Man, was the Tinghill, which was the seat of legislation and justice for the few islanders who still hold a unique position under the British crown. To the present time the spot recalls the independence of the island when it formed a part of the Norwegian kingdom.

The Orkney and Shetland islands, where a few Kelts still remained, had for a long time been favourite retreats of the Vikings. The number of the invaders steadily



BAPTISM OF ROLLO THE PIRATE CHIEF

As head of the pirates who ravaged the Seine, Rollo, known also as Rolt, was much feared. In order to secure peace for himself and his people, Charles the Simple determined to surrender to the Northmen the country on the Lower Seine and a treaty was concluded between the two men at St. Clair sur Epte in 911. Receiving as a fief the land which was afterwards called Normandy, Rollo swore an oath of fidelity to the king, was baptised and received the name of Robert.

increased, especially after Harald Fairhair had become sole ruler of Norway in 872; in this way the islands gradually became populated by Norwegians. As these emigrants began to pillage the coasts of Norway King Harald crossed over to the islands and made them subject to him. Later the islands were ruled by a Jarl (the "Orkney-Jarl") appointed by the Norwegian king.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they came into closer contact with Scotland. The Jarls had fiefs in Scotland. Scots settled on the islands, and the Scottish language came into use alongside of the Norwegian. The Norwegian supremacy

was, however, still acknowledged, and a constant intercourse with Norway was maintained. In 1469 the islands were mortgaged as dowry of Margaret to James III. of Scotland, and remained ever after in the possession of the Scottish crown. The inhabitants no longer have their own laws and privileges. The Norse language has disappeared, and only the place-names recall the former rulers. In the eighth century Irish settlers had emigrated to the Farøe Islands. They departed, however, after the arrival of the Northmen, who took possession of the islands and called them the Farøe—that is, sheep—



PARIS BESIEGED BY THE NORTHMEN IN THE NINTH CENTURY

This representation of the siege of Paris by the Northmen illustrates in a striking manner the original form of the famous capital of France. That portion of the town known as the Ile de la Cité, a small island in the middle of the Seine, on which the cathedral Notre Dame stands, was originally the entire city. It is still the core of Paris, but, of course, represents only a tiny portion of the immense city which now spreads in every direction from the banks of the river, and is connected with the ancient island by numerous bridges. On the south side of the river, now known as the Latin Quarter, were the headquarters of Roman Paris (Lutetia), the residence of the governor, still partially preserved in the Cluny Museum, being there situated.



A SCENE FROM THE GREAT SIEGE OF PARIS BY THE NORTHMEN IN 885

Islands, from the numerous sheep that had been left behind by the emigrants. Various chieftains ruled over the islands. More important affairs were decided at the people's assembly, or ting, at Thorshavn.

The islands remained in constant intercourse with Norway, and several distinguished inhabitants served Norwegian kings, who tried to bring the islands under their rule. They succeeded in doing this in 1035, and the Faröe Islands belonged to Norway till 1814, when Norway was separated from Denmark; the islands remained with Denmark and were incorporated with this kingdom in 1849. After the loss of their freedom the prosperity of the islands declined. Intercourse with the outer world gradually ceased. Voyages, especially for trading purposes, became less frequent, and the commerce upon which the welfare of the islanders to a great measure depended passed into the hands of foreigners and was not regained until 1856. From that time a new and happier time began for the islanders.

The language, which was old Norwegian, has survived in several dialects

which in their grammar bear most resemblance to Icelandic, in pronunciation and vocabulary to modern Norwegian dialects. The inhabitants of the Faröe Islands have not preserved in writing their sagas and songs, like the Icelanders. They have no old literature in the real sense of the word; yet the islanders possess a rich treasury of folk-songs, which have been orally transmitted and have been published in modern times. These songs for the most part tell of old Icelandic myths of the gods and heroes, and are derived from other Icelandic sagas and Norwegian folk-songs.

It was Naddodd, a colonist from the Faröe Islands, who discovered Iceland, in 867. On a voyage from Norway he was driven by storms far towards the north-west, and came to the shores of a large and mountainous country. He landed and climbed a high hill, from which he looked round in vain for traces of a dwelling-house. As he was leaving the land it was snowing, and on this account he called it Snowland. Not long afterwards the land was discovered to be an island, and received the

name Iceland from Floke Vilgerdsön, who spent a winter there in 870. From 874 onwards Norwegian emigrants began to settle on the island, where they found a safe retreat.

From Iceland the Norwegians went to Greenland and America. The discoverer of Greenland was Erik Röde, who was com-

**How Greenland
was
Discovered**

pelled to leave Norway owing to a charge of manslaughter and sailed to Iceland. On being outlawed there he attempted to reach a country which had been seen to the west of Iceland. He discovered it about the year 985 and called it Greenland, in order to entice others there by the name. Several settlers arrived on the south-west coast, where they lived by fishing and cattle-breeding. About the year 1000 they were converted to Christianity by the Norwegians, and a century later received a bishop of their own, whose diocese was in Gardar, in the Jgalikofjord, near Julianehaab; two monasteries were also founded there. The colony preserved its independence for a long time, but submitted in the thirteenth century to the king of Norway. For some time intercourse between the two countries was maintained, but after the devastation caused by the Black Death in the middle of the fourteenth century communication gradually ceased. The colonists, left to themselves, lacked everything; at the same time they were exposed to the incessant attacks of the Esquimaux, who were pressing towards the south, and to whose attacks the colonists finally succumbed. When the Danes resumed intercourse with Greenland, in the eighteenth century, they found that there were no longer any Norwegians there; a few ruined buildings are the only traces of the Norwegian colony.

Erik Röde had a son called Leiv, who sailed from Greenland to Norway, where he spent the winter of 999-1000. Early

**Lost Voyager
Finds a
New Land**

in the year he wished to return to Greenland, but, losing his course on the return voyage, he wandered for a long time on the sea until at last he discovered a land which he had never seen before. This land was beautiful to look at: there were rich meadows, vines and wheat grew wild, and there was a quantity of salmon in the water, but he did not see any human beings. Leiv arrived safely at Greenland in the autumn, and described

the country which he had discovered and which he called Vinland on account of the vines which he found there. It was decided to examine the country more thoroughly. In the following year Leiv's father and brother sailed from Greenland, but their voyage was unsuccessful, for the wind was contrary; they were driven first towards the north-east, then towards the south-east, and were forced to return to Greenland without having accomplished anything.

Two years afterwards—in 1003—a new expedition was organised for the purpose of colonising the land. A hundred and forty colonists, among whom were some women, sailed on these ships under the leadership of an Icelander, Thorfinn Karlsevne, who had come in the preceding year to Greenland and had married there. On the voyage Karlsevne discovered two countries, which he named Helleland, that is, Stoneland, and Markland, that is, Woodland, and finally he arrived at Vinland. There the colonists settled, but they were not destined to remain long. They encountered natives

**Discoveries
of the
Northmen**

and began to barter with them. Soon, however, they quarrelled with the Indians, or "Skrælings"—that is, weaklings—as they called them; moreover, they were at variance among themselves. After three years this attempt at colonisation was abandoned, and in 1006 the Northmen returned to Greenland. The countries which they discovered were, according to the most recent investigation, Labrador (Helleland), Newfoundland (Markland), Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia (Vinland). With this expedition attempts at colonisation in Nova Scotia were abandoned. Soon the course to the new country was forgotten. We do not know why the Northmen so soon gave up their new discoveries; perhaps the difficult voyage disheartened them, or else the produce which they could have brought home from there was not worth the trouble and the danger.

While the Norwegians were colonising new countries on the North Atlantic, battling more with the raging of the weather and the boisterous elements than with human opponents, the richer south was infested chiefly by the Danes. As early as the reign of Charles the Great the Northmen appeared on the shore of the Frankish Empire. Charles, who was



ROGER GUISCARD, CONQUEROR OF THE ARABS, LANDING IN SICILY

The youngest brother of the great Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, Roger made many friends by his attractive looks and elegant manners. On his first arrival in Italy he was compelled, through lack of means, to support himself by the acts of a common robber. Roger overthrew the Arab hordes in a war that lasted from 1061 till 1090, and wrested from them the island of Sicily ; he obtained the title of Count of Sicily, with undisputed possession of the island.

fighting against the Danish king Gottfried, took various precautionary measures for the defence of the coasts, but these were not rigidly maintained. Not long after his death the coasts of Friesland and Flanders were exposed to the attacks of the Northmen; several towns were plundered by them, among others the wealthy commercial town of Duurstede, or Dorestad, on the Rhine. Later they made use of the quarrels between the sons of Louis the Pious to establish themselves by force in Friesland and Flanders. Already at that time they were laying waste the coasts of France. They penetrated up the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne to the centre of the country, plundered towns

and monasteries, carried away men and women of noble birth into captivity, and then returned to the river mouths. Everywhere they spread terror and panic, in the churches men offered the prayer, "Libera nos a furore Nortmannorum, O Domine!" or, in English, "From the fury of the Northmen, Good Lord, deliver us." But scarcely anywhere were vigorous precautions taken to drive out the dreaded foe.

From the coasts of France the Northmen crossed to Spain about the middle of the ninth century; they attacked Galicia, and then turned upon the Moors in the south, besieged Lisbon, sailed up the Guadalquiver, conquered



THE DREADED DANES: A SUDDEN DESCENT ON THE COAST OF NORTHUMBERLAND Under the command of their powerful sea-kings, the Danes, at uncertain intervals, harassed England for several centuries, and as the country was unprovided with proper defences, the entire coast was subject to their inroads, and the people were kept in a constant state of unrest and alarm. The illustration represents a sudden descent of these dreaded plunderers off the coast of Northumberland about 787. The boats from the Danish ships, filled with wild figures that leap into the surf, are already running ashore, while the terrified inhabitants are hurriedly erecting fortifications.

From the fresco by William Bell Scott



THE DANISH INVASION OF ENGLAND. A SCENE OF A THOUSAND YEARS AGO

In the spring of 877 the Danes embarked in 120 vessels at Wareham, and proceeded in a westerly direction to the aid of their beleaguered countrymen in Exeter. The elements, however, were against them. For a month the frail ships were tossed about on the stormy sea, unable to find a landing spot anywhere, and when King Alfred's warships appeared on the scene the opposing fleet was not able to defend itself. Striking on the rocks off Swanage, the greater number of the vessels were broken to pieces. The Danes who escaped the waves fell victims to the Saxon warriors.

From the picture by Herbert A. Bone

the suburbs of Seville, where they gained rich spoil, and laid waste the Balearic Islands, and even the north coasts of Africa. Later they renewed their attacks on Moorish Spain, but had not the same success against the Moors as against their other opponents. The Arabs were bold and capable sailors, and successfully engaged both on sea and land with the Northmen, whose ships were at that time fitted up for transport, and being overloaded with warriors and goods were little suited for naval warfare.

Hasting is the most celebrated of the Northman chieftains of the middle of the ninth century. After plundering France for several years, he is said to have taken a journey to Italy for the purpose of conquering Rome, of whose greatness and wealth he had heard. He was driven by storm to Luna—now a ruin, near Sarzana on the Magra, in the neighbourhood of Carrara—and by a stratagem took possession of this town, which he thought was Rome.

He sent a messenger to the bishop and governor of the town to say that he had been driven there by storm on his homeward journey, that his intentions were peaceful, and that in addition he was lying seriously ill and humbly begged to be baptised. The bishop and governor, rejoicing at the news, assured him of peace and of their friendship. The gates of the town were opened to him and to his people; he himself was carried into the church and baptised, and afterwards borne back to his ship. In the following night loud lamentations were heard among the strangers. It was reported that Hasting was dead, and it was now the duty of the church to bury him. A funeral procession was actually formed in which Hasting was carried like a corpse on a bier. The bishop was just about to perform the office for the dead when Hasting sprang from the bier, threw off the grave-clothes, and appeared in full armour. His followers in like manner let fall their

mantles which concealed their armour. Hasting slew the bishop and the governor; his followers began a terrible slaughter and took the town, which they then discovered was not Rome. As they had no prospect of further conquests, they determined to return to France. In the meantime other Northmen continued

France in Great Tribulation their attacks on France, and nearly reduced the people to despair. It is said that "France had never seen greater tribulation; no one dared to leave the fortified towns; no man slept soundly at night on his couch." The Northmen burst like a storm where they were least expected, killed the priests, dressed themselves in the vestments which they had robbed from the altars, dragged away young and old, outraged women and girls, drove away the cattle, and burned everything that they could not carry away. Only a few dared to offer resistance, among them the brave count, Robert the Strong, the progenitor of the Capets, who was extolled by the chroniclers as the Maccabæus of France, and who met with a glorious death while fighting against the Northmen in 867. A few of the invaders were destroyed, but this availed little, for they were always replaced by others.

The Frankish princes and great lords were, as a rule, too weak to offer strenuous resistance to the Northmen. Besides, the morals of the nobles were so corrupt that many received money from the Northmen in return for not disturbing them in their robberies. At the end of 885 Paris was compelled to endure a severe siege. A large Danish fleet—reported to consist of 700 ships with 30,000 to 40,000 men—had been collected at Rouen. They sailed up the Seine to Paris, where the leaders demanded free passage, promising, if this was granted, to spare the town. As

The Great Siege of Paris the demand was refused, they besieged the town, which was bravely defended by the inhabitants. The latter hoped to obtain speedy assistance from the emperor; but Charles the Fat, with his army, did not come to their relief till the following year. By this time Paris was ravaged with famine and pestilence, but Charles, instead of engaging in battle with the Northmen, concluded a disgraceful peace with them. He promised to pay them 700 pounds of

silver by the following March, and gave them permission in the meantime to spend the winter in Burgundy. Since the Parisians would on no account be privy to this dishonourable treaty, and still refused to let the Northmen pass through, the latter dragged their ships a distance of 2,000 feet overland past Paris, took them down to the river again beyond the town, and sailed towards Burgundy; after they had devastated that province they returned back the same way.

Some years afterwards, Arnulf, king of the East Franks, succeeded, by means of a great victory over the Northmen at Löwen in 891, in procuring peace for his kingdom. In France, also, where Count Odo, who had defended Paris so bravely against the Northmen, had succeeded the weak emperor, Charles the Fat, they suffered some defeats. But to annihilate them was found impossible both by Odo and by his successor, Charles the Simple. The privations of the people became daily greater; there was a scarcity of everything, of victuals, of cattle, and even of grain for sowing. Of the chieftains

Emperor's Surrender to Pirate Chief of that period the most feared was Rollo, or Rolf, the head of the pirates of the Seine. He had previously been in France, and had fought in Friesland and in England, but had returned to France at the beginning of the tenth century. He established himself in Rouen, and his warriors ravaged the banks of the Seine. Charles the Simple, therefore, determined to surrender the country on the Lower Seine to the Normans, in order to procure peace for himself and his people. Charles and Rollo met at St. Clair sur Epte in 911 and concluded a treaty. Rollo received as a fief the land which was afterwards called Normandy, and swore an oath of fidelity to the king. Next year he was baptised and received the name of Robert. He divided the land among his followers and by strict laws restored peace and order. It is related that on one occasion he forgot a bracelet which he had left hanging on a tree, and after three years he found it on the identical spot.

Normandy flourished under Rollo and his successors, the dukes of Normandy, and became the best cultivated and best organised province in the whole of France. The Normans gradually blended with the French, whose language, manners, and habits they adopted. Soon they surpassed



SCOLDING A KING: AN INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF KING ALFRED

After his defeat by the Danes at Chippenham, in 878, King Alfred sought shelter in a lonely spot among the marshy lands of Somersetshire. In the house of a cowherd, one day, where he had found a temporary asylum, the good wife entrusted to the kingly stranger, of whose identity she was ignorant, the task of firing the bread she had been baking. Other things were at the time occupying the thoughts of the troubled king, and he forgot all about the bread, which, later, the woman found burned and spoiled. She thereupon roundly scolded Alfred, telling him that though he was lazy in watching the bread, he would be ready enough to take his share of it at meal-time.

From the picture by Sir David Wilkie, R.A.

the men of their new country in religious zeal, without in the meantime having lost their love of fighting and adventure. They also devoted their attention with conspicuous success to literature and art. In Normandy at an early age men devoted their time to writing history; there originated the vaudeville and also, it is believed, the Gothic style of architecture. Thus the settling of the Normans in Normandy was a gain for the whole of France. Notwithstanding the fact that the Normans blended with the French, their descendants still preserved many traces of their northern origin. At the

Crusades. It was a descendant of Rollo, William, Duke of Normandy, who subjugated England after the victory of Senlac, near Hastings, in 1066. The Normans came into the country with him; they became the rulers of the Anglo-Saxons, and their language, which had already been adopted by the English court, supplanted Anglo-Saxon. Gradually the Normans blended with the Anglo-Saxons; from this union originated the English people and the English language.

As early as the first half of the eleventh century the Normans had settled in the South of Italy, where at that time the



A CALL TO ARMS: KING ALFRED RESISTING THE DANISH INTRUDERS

Alfred was only twenty-two years of age when he was crowned at Winchester in 871. Within a month of his coronation he was called upon to take the field against the dreaded Danes, and his brilliant qualities as a leader soon restored the confidence of his Saxon followers. After many battles, Alfred succeeded in overcoming his enemies and receiving submission from them, and England was freed from the danger and ruin that had so long threatened her.

From the picture by G. F. Watts, R.A., in the Palace of Westminster

present day the inhabitants of Normandy differ from the rest of the French in appearance, character and disposition. In particular, they have always shown a keen interest in commerce and navigation. Normandy has always been the home of navigators and discoverers.

There are numerous proofs that the French Normans did not lose the love of their forefathers for adventures and conquests. In the middle of the eleventh century new kingdoms were founded in England and Italy by the Normans, who also took an active part in the

Germans of the empire were quarrelling with the Greeks, and the Lombard princes with the Arabs. Norman pilgrims, who stopped occasionally at Salerno on their return from the Holy Land, had helped Prince Waimar the Great in a successful battle against the Saracens in 1017. He would have willingly taken them into his service, but they longed for their native country, where, they told him, there were just as many brave men. Thereupon Waimar sent messengers to Normandy; immediately numerous knights were induced by the costly and rare



THE DANISH CHIEF GUTHRUM SUBMITTING TO KING ALFRED

England's deliverance from the supremacy of the Danes found expression in the Peace of Wedmore, which followed upon the submission of Guthrum and his followers. Reduced to despair by hunger, cold and misery, the Danes yielded to Alfred, and Guthrum indicated his desire to embrace the Christian faith. Both circumstances gave intense pleasure to Alfred, the latter no less than the former, for England's king had fought not only for the restoration of his kingdom but also for the establishment of the Christian religion. Accompanied by thirty of his followers, Guthrum appeared in Alfred's camp at Wedmore, in Somersetshire ; there he was bound by a solemn "peace," and there also he was baptised.

From the design by Herbert A. Bone, executed in tapestry, by permission of Mr. Antony Gibbs

presents which he sent to accept his proposal and enter his service. However, they soon left him and helped Sergius IV., Duke of Naples, who made them in return a grant of land in 1129; there the Normans founded the town of Aversa (la Normanna) in 1030 and fortified it strongly. In order to increase their influence they summoned their countrymen; troops of Normans, eager for war and plunder, streamed to the South of Italy, where they served as mercenaries now one now another of the rival factions. In this way for some time the Normans helped the Greeks and fought on the side of the Varangers; in the end, however, the Normans under the leadership of the sons of a Norman knight, Tancred of Hauteville, directed their arms against the Greeks and took from them one piece of land after another. At last Robert Guiscard, the mightiest of Tancred's sons, by the conquest of Bari, ended the Greek domination in South Italy in 1071. As early as 1059 he had been created Duke of Apulia by the Pope, whom he acknowledged as his feudal lord; in 1076 he conquered Salerno and the other small South Italian principalities, crossed over to Greece, defeated the imperial troops both by land and sea, and plundered the country. Soon afterwards, in 1085, he died, and East Rome breathed again. Robert's youngest brother, Roger, wrested the island of Sicily from the Arabs (1061-1090), and his son Roger II., who united Sicily and Apulia, received in the autumn of 1130 the title of King of Sicily from the Pope, and was crowned with pomp in Palermo.

In England the Normans, or Danes as they are more generally called in this connection, appeared for the first time in 787, and some years afterwards they repeated their visits. Then four decades elapsed during which England had rest from the terrible sea-warriors. But in 832 they renewed their attacks, and from that time every year they devastated the South of England; several times they were repulsed, but they always came back with increased numbers and began to winter in the country. From the coasts they penetrated to the interior, plundering everything as they went. They utilised the mutual enmity of the Kelts and Anglo-Saxons and concluded a treaty with the Welsh. The disputes of the Anglo-

Great Race of Norman Conquerors

Saxons also furthered the enterprises of the invaders. After the middle of the ninth century they settled in the East of England. In the year 866 a large fleet landed on the coasts of East Anglia. The most distinguished of the chieftains commanding this fleet were the sons of Lodbrok, Ingvar and Ubbe; they spent the winter in East Anglia and concluded peace with the inhabitants. In the following spring they advanced over the river Humber to Northumbria, where two kings, Osbrith and Ella, were striving for the supremacy, and conquered York in 867.

The Northumbrian kings abandoned their strife and with combined forces advanced to York to drive away the Danes, but suffered a crushing defeat in which they both perished. By this victory the Danes secured for themselves the possession of York; and they soon subjugated the whole of Northumbria, which they gradually transformed into a colony of Northmen. From Northumbria they made incursions to the south, where the kingdom of Wessex was still unconquered, and were victorious there also. The King of Wessex,

Alfred the Great, was compelled to wander about the country in disguise, and, in 878, after a war of twelve years duration, the Danes were masters of the whole country. But they could not keep their possessions for any length of time on account of the smallness of their numbers, in spite of the reinforcements which were constantly being sent over from their own country.

Alfred, who had never given up hope, declared war against them a few months after they had conquered Wessex, and succeeded in gaining a victory at Ethandune in 878. In the same year a treaty was concluded between Alfred and Guthrum, the Danish leader, under which the Danes were established in the northern and eastern half of the island—known as the Danelagh, and there they erected strongholds, the chief of which were the "Five Boroughs," Stamford, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln. They devoted themselves to peaceful occupations; many were baptised, and soon they began to blend with the Anglo-Saxons. For a long time, however, they preserved their speech, manners, and laws, and the appearance and language of the northern English, as also numerous place-names, still testify to their Scandinavian origin. The rest of England was also influenced by

The Terrible Danes in England

Alfred the Great Fights the Danes



KING ALFRED AS LAW-MAKER BEFORE THE WITAN

The Witan, or Assembly of the Wise, consisted of the leading thanes and clergy, meeting three times a year. In its constitution it resembled the present House of Lords, and it enjoyed supreme power, there being no appeal from its decisions. King Alfred is represented in the illustration submitting his laws to that assembly, an event described by Alfred himself in the following terms: "I, Alfred, King of the West Saxons, showed them to all my witan, and they said that they approved of them all, and would observe them."

From the cartoon by John Budge

the Danes in many ways. Indisputable traces of Norse influence are still found in the government and jurisprudence of the country.

The attacks of the Danes, however, did not cease with their settlement in the Danelagh; but they were not so successful as formerly, since Alfred defended the coasts well and built a fleet, by means of which he was able to keep the enemy away from the coasts. In addition, the Danes were now turning their attention to France. The independence of the Danelagh did not last long. Alfred's son Edward compelled the Danes to acknowledge his supremacy. It is true they soon revolted, but they met with a crushing defeat at Brunanburgh in 937, and later attempts to secure independence came to nothing. Gradually the relations of the two races became more friendly; many Danes entered the service of the Anglo-Saxon kings.

England enjoyed peace until the end of the century, when, after the accession of Ethelred the Unready in 979, the land was torn with fresh struggles. Attacks from Denmark were renewed, and, as before, nothing escaped the ravages of fire and sword. On St. Brice's Day—November 13th, 1002—a terrible massacre of the Danes took place. But the English did not succeed in destroying all the Northmen in that portion of the country which was under their own rule, and there is no doubt that those in the Danelagh escaped the slaughter.

In the year 1013 Sven Tveskjæg—Sweyn, or Sweyn Forkbeard—who on several previous occasions had plundered England, collected a large army to accomplish the conquest. He landed in Northumbria, and soon took possession of the Danelagh, where the inhabitants attached themselves to him. He then turned his attacks to the South of England, where his efforts were

everywhere attended with success, and soon the resistance of the Anglo-Saxons was crushed. In the same year London opened its gates to the Danish king; Ethelred was compelled to flee and Sweyn became king. However, he did not enjoy his victory long, for he died suddenly at the beginning of the following year. Shortly before his death he appointed as his successor in England his son, Knut (Canute), who had accompanied him on

his expedition; but when the Anglo-Saxon Witan heard of the king's death they recalled Ethelred and promised never again to submit to a Danish king.

Ethelred returned; an Anglo-Saxon army was quickly summoned, and Canute left England to bring reinforcements from his own country, as his forces were too small. He equipped a great fleet, which was manned by veteran warriors from the north, and in the year 1015 he again appeared in England, where the magnates spiritual and temporal soon paid homage to him. Shortly afterwards, in 1016, the unfortunate Ethelred died. But Canute found a worthy opponent in his son, the brave Edmund Ironside, who was proclaimed king by the citizens of London. Canute won a great victory by treachery at Assandun in 1016, upon which a treaty was concluded, dividing the kingdom between the two kings. However, as Edmund died in 1017, Canute remained from that time sole ruler of England. In 1018 he became king of Denmark, and in 1028 king of Norway. It is thought that

he wished to establish a great northern empire dependent on England. But his death, in 1035, did not allow him to realise his hopes. As his sons died after a short reign, the Danish dynasty in England ceased in 1042.

It was through these expeditions that the Northmen first came into contact with Western and Central Europe—a contact which proved of great importance for the Northmen themselves as well as for the nations whom they infested. The most important effect of these expeditions was the fact that the Northmen by their settlements imparted new strength to the enfeebled and degenerate nations, and opened up for them new spheres of usefulness. While the west gained in strength, the north itself was weakened by the great emigration. At the same time, however, the north was freed from a number of restless, proud, and obstinate chieftains and therefore the kings were more easily enabled to unite many "lands" in greater kingdoms and to strengthen the kingship. Through these voyages, also, the Northmen became acquainted with the higher civilisation of the west. Christianity, which at first had made only slow progress, gradually won the victory over paganism.



DENMARK AND ITS SISTER STATES TO THE TIME OF SWEDEN'S SECESSION

DENMARK had been united in one kingdom before 800 A.D., and consisted of three chief parts: (1) the peninsula of Jutland, to the Eider; (2) the islands, of which Zealand, with the royal residence Leire, was the most important; and (3) Scania, with Halland and Bleking. Each of these divisions had its own *Ting*, or assembly, where the people—that is, the peasants—came together in order to choose a king, to make laws, and to sit in judgment—the Jutlanders in Viborg, the Zealanders in Ringsted, and the Scanians in Lund.

The king was the bond of union between the countries. He was chosen from the royal family; he acted as high-priest, and it was his duty to preserve peace and to summon the troops in war. Next in rank to the king were the jarls, who governed large tracts of country in the king's name. The king

Danish King Murdered had his "hauskerle," or "hird," who, in conjunction with the chieftains, the most powerful of the peasants, were his helpers

in war and peace. The earliest reliable accounts are contained in the Frankish annals of the time of Charlemagne. During the Saxon wars Widukind took refuge with the Danish king, Siegfried, in 777, and when Charles had defeated the Saxons he came into friendly intercourse with the Danes. Their king at that time, Gottfried, or Götrik, secured his south boundaries by a rampart, and was just arming himself for an attack on the Frankish Empire when he was murdered in 810. His successor concluded a peace with the emperor, and the Eider remained the boundary between Denmark and the Frankish Empire. Shortly after this, disputes, which lasted for a long time, broke out in the Danish royal house concerning the crown; these disputes opened up the way for Christianity, with which some Danes had already become familiar, partly through missionaries such as

Willibrord, partly through travels on the Continent.

King Harald was driven out by Gottfried's sons; he fled to Germany, and was baptised in 826, in order to gain the assistance of Louis the Pious. After-

Missionary School in Jutland wards, when he returned to Denmark, the devout Ansgar, a monk from the Benedictine monastery of Corvey, followed

him as missionary. Ansgar was filled with enthusiasm for his vocation; he immediately began his missionary work, and founded a school for the training of teachers at Hedeby in Jutland. He had still many difficulties to overcome, and conversion to Christianity was slow. It became still harder for him when his protector, Harald, was driven out a second time. Ansgar was also compelled to leave the country. He crossed over to Sweden, where he was well received and won many converts to Christianity. Meanwhile an archbishopric for the north was established in Hamburg and Ansgar was called to the see, which was removed to Bremen after the demolition of Hamburg by the Danes. Ansgar succeeded in gaining the friendship of the King of Denmark, and was now able, as "apostle of the north," to take up his work again with renewed energy, a work which he continued with unwearied zeal till his death in 865. For a long time after his death Christianity made no progress, and at the same time the land was divided by internal struggles. At the beginning of the tenth century Olaf, a Swedish chieftain, took

Denmark's Royal House possession of at least a portion of the country. His son Gnupa was defeated by the German king, Henry I., in 934, and was forced to receive baptism. However, the Swedish rule did not last long. Gnupa submitted to a descendant of the Danish royal house, Gorm the Old, whose wife, Tyra Danmarksbod, is said to have built the boundary wall known as the "Dane-

virke" (Danework). Gorm's son, Harald Blaatand (Bluetooth), who ruled not only over all Denmark but for some time also over Norway, was baptised in 940, and from that time was a zealous promoter of Christianity in his kingdom. He declares on the runic stone at Jellinge, which he set up to the memory of his

**Danish King
who Conquered
England**

parents, that he won over the whole of Denmark and Norway and baptised the Danes. Some of the Danes, however, were not pleased with his religious zeal. The discontented attached themselves to his son Sweyn (Forkbeard) in 985. Harald fell in battle in 986 or 987. Sweyn became king, and, as has already been mentioned, conquered England in 1013. He was baptised, but exercised toleration in religious matters.

It was not until the reign of his second son, Knut—better known to us as Canute—the Mighty (1018–1035), that Christianity triumphed in Denmark. Canute greatly extended his dominion; he ruled over Denmark, England and Norway. He was acknowledged as emperor of Bretland, or Britain, by the Emperor Conrad II., who ceded to him the Mark of Schleswig, and his aim, as mentioned above, was the foundation of a great northern empire. But he did nothing to unite the countries permanently under his power. He lived mostly in England, which he considered the most important of his dominions, and this country, under his powerful government, advanced in every respect. He also turned his attention to Denmark, which by the union with England, a country which had attained to a higher standard of civilisation, came into closer contact with the higher culture of Central Europe. A fresh impetus was given to Christianity; Anglo-Saxon bishops and priests worked in the country, churches were built, and the first monasteries were established. Canute was very generous

**The Great
Work
of Canute**

to the Church; the clergy received great rewards, and their influence increased. As by this means Canute laid the foundations of a Danish hierarchy, he also formed the beginning of a secular nobility by his law which he gave to his Hird, the "Tingamannalid," by which the members of the Hird received various privileges.

With the death of Canute's son, Hardicanute, the old royal family became extinct. According to a former treaty, the Norwe-

gian king, Magnus Olavssön, was also ruler in Denmark. But in 1047 the Danes chose as their king Sven Estridssön, the son of Ulfdarl and Estrid, a sister of Canute. Norway was ultimately compelled to acknowledge him as king. By Sven's accession the house of Estrid ascended the Danish throne, which they occupied for three centuries. The Estrids raised Denmark to the height of its power; but it was also under their rule that the country experienced its deepest humiliation. Sven (1047–1076) was a cultured and affable man, very popular with the Danes. Like Canute, he took a keen interest in the affairs of the Church; he regulated bishoprics, and attempted to make the Danish church independent of Bremen. His work was continued after 1080 by his sons Knut IV. and Erik Eiegod. Knut was hated by the people on account of his cruelty, and was ultimately killed by them in 1086. After 1101, however, he was honoured as Denmark's national saviour. He was the first to define the Church's special jurisdiction, and to assure her the possession of a revenue by introducing tithes. In 1104 Erik (1095–1103) received permission from the Pope to establish an archbishopric in Lund, to which all the northern churches were made subordinate.

**Denmark's
Crown
in Dispute**

For a long time after the death of Erik, Denmark was torn by the struggles for the throne among the descendants of Sven Estridssön, until finally a grandson of Erik, Waldemar the Great (1157–1182), triumphed over his opponents. Then quiet was restored in Denmark. During the strife for the crown Denmark was constantly ravaged by the Wends, who lived on the Baltic Sea and were still pagan. The country was unprotected, the peasants fled, and the Wends met with hardly any resistance. But when Waldemar became king the situation was altered; he began a vigorous campaign against the pirates. Supported by his friend, the warlike Bishop Absalom, and in league with the Saxon Duke Henry the Lion, he attacked the Wends in their own country and subdued the island of Rügen. The prince of the island became his vassal. Absalom remained true to Waldemar's son, Knut VI., and victory always followed his banner. The princes of Pomerania and Mecklenburg were reduced to submission, while Knut's brother Waldemar, whom

he had appointed duke of South Jutland, took prisoner the Count of Holstein and subdued his lands.

When Waldemar II. Seir (the Victorious) succeeded his brother as king, 1202, he ruled over all the countries west of the Baltic. He now wished to extend his power to the east, and in 1219 undertook a crusade against the Esthonians. It is supposed that the king intended to establish a bishopric in Esthonia, and to make it independent of Riga. The Esthonians were defeated in a battle with which there is associated the legend about the standard which fell from heaven, the Danebrog; they were forced to receive baptism, and the town Reval was founded.

Waldemar's power, however, did not last long. After he was taken prisoner by his vassal Henry, count of Schwerin, the dependent countries regained their freedom. It is true that Waldemar was released in 1225 and attempted to restore his former dominion, but he was totally defeated at Bornhöved in 1227. This battle decided the fate of North Germany. Waldemar was obliged to conclude peace with his

Waldemar Gives up War numerous enemies, and scarcely any of his conquests remained except Esthonia and Rügen.

From that time he gave up war and directed his energies to the internal welfare of the country, principally to the improvement of the laws. The law of Jutland, which he probably intended to make the code for the whole of his empire, was enacted shortly before his death in 1241.

From these laws we can see the changes that took place in the social conditions, through the influence of the continent, during the reigns of the two Waldemars. The peasants, who had formerly been the only class in the country, were now subordinate to the nobility and clergy; second to these, a burgher class was being formed. Serfdom had disappeared, and the serfs had become cottagers. Agriculture was making rapid progress; the ground which the peasants cultivated in common was gradually being turned into arable land, and the number of villages was increasing. As in former times, the peasants assembled at the "Harden-Ting" and the "Landschafts-Ting," but the political importance of these assemblies was decreasing. The more important matters were generally decided by the king in the assembly of the nobles. The

peasants were also losing their former importance as soldiers. It is true that the old military organisation still existed; the country was divided up into districts of different size, which had to provide ships and fighting men; but the picked men of the army were the "Hauskerle" of the king, who served as horsemen. These,

The King's First Counsellors together with the royal officials, were exempt from taxes; in this way they were distinguished from the rest of the peasants and formed a nobility. Among the officials whom the king afterwards summoned as his first counsellors were the Marsk (marshal), the Drost (high bailiff), and the Kanzler (chancellor).

The clergy, under the influence of the continent, also severed themselves from the people, and strove to make themselves independent of temporal power. Although at that time the Church did not succeed in entirely realising her demand for immunity, still her power and influence steadily increased without the friendly relations being disturbed which existed between the Church and the Waldemars. Many of the clergy visited the continent, especially the University of Paris, in search of higher learning, and were thus the only Danes who possessed a higher culture and occupied themselves with literature. Archbishop Absalom in particular, who was distinguished as a clergyman, warrior, and statesman, rendered great services to literature. At his instigation, his secretary, Saxo Grammaticus, wrote in Latin, the language of the Church, a detailed history of Denmark, of which the Danes are justly proud. The laws of Waldemar, however, were published in Danish, and therefore possess great importance as monuments of the language, in addition to their value in the history of civilisation. The buildings of the Church increased in magnificence with her growing power;

Growing Power of the Church instead of the old wooden places of worship, stone buildings were now being erected according to the models supplied from the

West of Germany and North of France. The towns, which sprang up from fishing villages, harbours, and market places or around the castles, were still small and few in number; they were improving at this time through commerce, navigation, fishing—especially herring fishing—and industry. The inhabitants of the towns

were gradually separating themselves from the country population and forming a distinct class. They received special privileges, and later, in addition, their own officials, from the king, whose protection they often sought. The burghers formed guilds or clubs, the members of which pledged themselves to mutual help, and

Denmark's Time of Misfortune in this way they increased in union, strength, and importance. The most influential towns were Schleswig and Ripen. Copenhagen owes its importance as a town to Absalom, who erected a castle near the old harbour "Hafn."

After the death of Waldemar II. (Seir) a time of misfortune began for Denmark; the kingdom quickly sank from its height of prosperity. Waldemar's successors were not equal to him in ability and might. The friendly relations between the king and the nobles ceased, the magnates temporal and spiritual rose against the king. At the imperial assembly (Danehof), which had then the greatest legislative and judicial power, the nobles constantly endeavoured to increase their power by means of laws which they extorted from the crown. Unfortunately for the empire, Waldemar had given large appanages to his younger sons. They and their descendants now wished to be independent, and were the cause of much trouble to the kings; especially dangerous were the dukes of South Jutland, because they were protected by the Count of Holstein. The whole land was torn with strife.

The kings, who were often in need of money, finally took refuge in the pernicious expedient of mortgaging parts of their dominions, and as they were not able to redeem them, they were lost to the kingdom. Disorganisation and confusion steadily spread and ruin threatened. During this time of turmoil and war the peasants were compelled to bear the charges of the general misrule; their

How Liberty was Lost only way of protection was to place themselves under a lord and become his "Vornede" (villeins). In this way the

peasants gradually lost their freedom. The condition of the burghers was not much better. The members of the Hanseatic League made their way into the towns, received various rights, and wrested the traffic with the continent from the burghers. The vigorous shipping industry, which the Danes and Norwegians had

carried on from the earliest times on the North Sea and the Baltic, now ceased.

The situation was worst during the reign of Christopher II. (1319-1332). In order to become king he had to grant an "election charter," which deprived him of almost all his power. The most important portions of the country were mortgaged, and his rule was limited to a few boroughs. The greatest mortgagee was Gerhard (III.) the Great, Count of Holstein, who possessed the whole of North Jutland. After Christopher's death, in 1332, Gerhard was the real ruler of the country. Christopher's son, Waldemar, remained in Germany. But Gerhard's arrogant behaviour drove the Jutes to take up arms against him. He was killed on April 1st, 1340, and Waldemar, who now returned to Denmark, was elected king.

Waldemar IV., surnamed Atterdag (1340-1375), was prudent, capable, and not over-scrupulous in his choice of the means to be employed in consolidating the kingdom and re-establishing the royal power. The distant Esthonia he sold in 1346 to the Teutonic Knights, to obtain

Waldemar's Success and Failure funds for the redemption of more important provinces. He succeeded also, in 1361, in conquering the island of Gothland,

together with the city of Wisby, but this brought him into conflict with the Hanseatic League. For a time victory favoured the Danish arms; but when the League, Mecklenburg and Sweden allied themselves against him, Waldemar's position became desperate. In spite of these odds, however, he was in the end able to conclude peace without ceding any of his territory. At home Waldemar's efforts were directed to the maintenance of the royal prestige. He won over the nobility by the charter of Kallundborg in 1360, and contrived both to add to the crown lands, thus increasing his own revenues, and to extend the judicial power of the throne. In suppressing lawlessness and restoring order, he acted with firmness and energy, but at the same time with such merciless severity that he enjoyed but little popularity among either the high or the low.

With Waldemar's death, in 1375, the Estridian line was extinguished, but he left a daughter, Margaret, whose son, Olaf, was elected king in 1376. He was, however, still a child, and his mother, the wife of Haakon VI. (Magnussön) of

DENMARK AND ITS SISTER STATES

Norway, acted as regent. Four years later Olaf succeeded to the Norwegian throne, with the result that Denmark and Norway were united in 1380, a union which continued almost without interruption to 1814.

Olaf died in 1387, when Margaret became queen-regent of both kingdoms, to which she before long succeeded in adding Sweden also; for the Swedish lords, dissatisfied with the rule of their king, Albert, invited her intervention, the result being that Albert was defeated

with the conditions proposed. For while the terms of the act recognised the perfect equality of the three states, Margaret, following her father's policy, wished to establish the supremacy of Denmark. In addition to this, she was dissatisfied with the limitations to be imposed on the royal power, while at the same time the Norwegians were opposed to some of the conditions laid down. Thus it came about that no real union was concluded at Kalmar; but for a while the three kingdoms remained united in fact, and this



THREE OF THE CHIEF DEITIES OF NORSE MYTHOLOGY

Burne-Jones has, in the above decorative paintings, given striking conceptions of three of the deities of Norse mythology. The first is Odin, the supreme god, the bestower of wisdom and valour; the second, Freyja, goddess of the spring and fertility; and the third is the son of Odin, Thor the Thunderer, wielding his hammer "Mjolnir."

and taken prisoner in 1389. In the same year, and again in 1396, Margaret secured the election of her great-nephew, Eric of Pomerania, to the thrones of all three kingdoms, and in 1397 she summoned representatives of the nobility of the three countries to a meeting at Kalmar for the purpose of defining the character of the union.

Eric was duly crowned, and the text of an Act of Union was drawn up; but the act never became law, owing, presumably, to Margaret's disagreement

actual union is known as the Union of Kalmar (1397-1523).

If the union-kings had been wise and capable, these three nations, with their common interests and characteristics, might have coalesced and been welded into a powerful Scandinavian state; but for the most part these kings looked upon themselves as Danish kings, for Denmark was the predominant partner, and the royal residence was fixed in Denmark. They showed little concern for the welfare of the other two kingdoms, visiting

them but rarely, and seeking only to exploit them for their own purposes. Under such treatment these states felt, and rightly felt, themselves to be neglected; they became dissatisfied, and this dissatisfaction led to continual revolts. Thus the period of the union became a time of discord and strife; instead of creating a strong and united Scandinavia, the union produced enmity and hatred between the northern peoples.

With her prudence and energy, Margaret, who kept the reins of government in her own hands until her death, had been able to maintain peace at home, but after her death, in 1412, discord broke loose. Eric of Pomerania aimed at continuing his foster-mother's policy, and endeavoured to deprive the counts of Holstein of the dukedom of Sönderjylland, or Schleswig, which they had acquired on the extinction of the ducal line in 1375; but after a struggle of twenty years' duration he was obliged to

give up the attempt. At the same time he was waging an unsuccessful war with the Hanseatic League. This was embittered by the manner in which he favoured the Dutch, and by his levying of tolls on vessels passing through the Sound. The taxes which he

was compelled to impose for carrying on the war aroused much dissatisfaction, and complaints of bad government were made. Rebellions broke out in Norway and Sweden, while even in Denmark discontent

was rife. At last he was deposed in 1439, and his nephew, Christopher of Bavaria—Christopher III.—made king.

On the death of Christopher III., in 1448, the union was actually dissolved;

for the Swedes raised their former viceroy, Karl Knutson, to their throne, while the Danes chose Count Christian of Oldenburg, who two years later became king of Norway also. Christian I., it is true, as well as his son John (1481-1513) and his grandson Christian II., strove to renew the union with Sweden, where there existed a Danish party. The two former, indeed, succeeded, in 1457 and 1497, in making themselves kings of Sweden, but not for long. Christian II., therefore, attempted to crush the spirit of revolt in Sweden by the execution of a number of the nobility, clergy,

and townsfolk in what is known as the Stockholm Blood-bath, November 8th, 1520; but the only result was a fresh rebellion, which ended in the final separation

of Sweden from Denmark in 1523.

Though they lost Sweden in the manner above described, the Oldenburgs extended their power in another direction. On the extinction of the Schauenburg line, Christian I. had been elected duke of Schleswig and count of

Holstein on March 2nd, 1460, on condition that these states should remain for ever undivided. The attempt, however, to subjugate the independent people of Dithmarsh ended disastrously at Hemmingstedt



MARGARET, QUEEN-REGENT

On the death of Olaf, in 1387, Margaret became queen-regent of both Denmark and Norway, to which kingdoms before long she added Sweden. She held the reins of government till her death in 1412.



KINGS CHRISTOPHER III. AND CHRISTIAN II.

There were troublous times in Norway and Sweden, and even in Denmark, when Christopher III. mounted the throne in 1439, and when he died, in 1448, the Swedes receded from the union. Christian II., king of Denmark and Norway, attempted to crush the spirit of revolt in Sweden, but the only result was a fresh rebellion.

on February 17th, 1500. During this period the royal power, which had been consolidated by Waldemar IV. and Margaret, grew weaker. The Danehof ceased to exist, and its place was taken by the Rigsraad, or council of state, an independent body whose consent the king was forced to obtain in important matters. Through the medium of the Rigsraad, which had developed out of the royal council, and whose most important members were the Drost—later Lord High Steward—the Marsk, the Chancellor, and the Bishops, the nobles increased their power by making use of the conditions imposed on the kings at each election to increase their privileges. None but nobles were allowed to administer the fiefs (the administrative districts), the revenues from which most of them enjoyed in return for military service and money payments to the crown. They were exempt from taxation and had considerable power over the peasantry, while their only duty was the defence of the country. At the same time the position of the peasantry deteriorated, and the number of peasant owners of "odal" (allodial) land steadily decreased. The majority of the peasantry were tenants who were in some districts—Zealand, Lolland, and Falster—tied to the soil; they were bound to pay to their overlords various dues, such as fines on succession and land tax, and in addition to render labour service. The towns fared better, for the kings recognised that the privileges enjoyed by the Hanseatic League were injurious to the Danish merchants, and therefore, without exception, did all in their power to put an end to the supre-

macy of the League; they curtailed its privileges, concluded commercial alliances with the Netherlands, England, Scotland and France, and created a navy with which they hoped to secure the mastery of the North Sea and the Baltic.

The last union king, Christian II., was especially solicitous for the welfare of the townsfolk and the peasantry. He was a gifted, enlightened, and energetic ruler, but at the same time passionate, inconsiderate, and suspicious, and frequently revengeful and cruel. From his youth onwards he hated the nobility and the higher clergy, whose power he constantly endeavoured to diminish. To the conditions on which he was elected king he paid no heed, for he aimed, like the other European sovereigns of his time, at making his own power absolute. In his struggle with the ruling classes he relied on the support of the commonalty, for whom he always entertained a special preference, and whose position he improved by numerous laws. In consequence he was loved by them, while the nobles, on the



A TYPICAL WOMAN OF FANÖ, DENMARK

contrary, feared and hated him to such an extent that they at last renounced their allegiance and offered the crown to his uncle, Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp.

Losing heart, Christian took ship for the Netherlands in April, 1523, to claim the assistance of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Charles V. Eight years later, towards the end of 1531, he made an attempt, with Norway as his base, to recover his throne, but without success, and died a prisoner in the castle of Kollundborg on January 25th, 1559.



Woman of Aalesund,
Norway

Woman of Reykjavik,
Iceland



A Norwegian bride



Peasant women of Thelemark



A peasant man of Thelemark

FAMILIAR TYPES OF THE PEOPLE OF NORWAY AND ICELAND



NORWAY'S RISE AND FALL AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ICELAND

IN Norway, or Norge—originally Nordvegr, that is, the Northern Way—the primitive political conditions persisted longer than in Denmark and Sweden. Even as late as the ninth century the land was divided into many petty states. The kings of these districts had but little power. In the *herad*, or sub-district, and district assemblies (*ting*) the yeomen exercised their legislative and judicial power; in the latter it was the chieftains, in the former the heads of the temples, who had the greatest influence. The peasantry were partly allodial, partly tenant farmers, and dwelt on scattered farms; no towns existed, but there were market centres, which were frequently visited by foreign merchants.

The Norwegians themselves also visited foreign countries to barter their wares. In addition to agriculture, stock-raising, hunting, and fishing, commerce was an important means of livelihood, and the Norwegians enjoyed the reputation of being capable merchants.

About the middle of the ninth century there lived in the district round the fiord of Christiania a royal race descended, according to tradition, from the Yngling kings of Upsala. To this race belonged Halfdan the Black, a great warrior who, at his death, was master of South-eastern Norway. His son Harald (about 860–930) conceived the idea of subjugating the whole country, and vowed never to cut his hair or beard until he had achieved his object. The petty kings who did not fall in battle were forced to flee, and after his victory in the Hafsford, near Stavanger, in 872, he became the sole ruler, whereupon he had his hair and beard trimmed, and received the surname Haarfager (Fairhair).

Harald declared himself owner of the soil, and the peasantry, who had until then been free from taxation, were compelled to pay him taxes. The kinsmen of the old chieftains he attempted to propitiate

by choosing from among them his higher officials, or Jarls. But as their rank usually descended by inheritance to their sons, a nobility grew up which soon formed a party of opposition to the ambitions of the crown. Many of the old chiefs, however,

were unable to accommodate themselves to the new order of things, and left their native soil, betaking themselves to the Scottish islands and avenging themselves on Harald by their raids on Norway. He therefore led an expedition against the islands, subjugated them, and compelled all who would not brook his sway to seek refuge still further away. Many of them migrated to the Faroe Islands and to Iceland, which had been discovered in 867, and now received its first population.

As Harald had conferred kings' titles on all his sons, the unity of the kingdom was endangered when he died, and the Danish kings interfered in the hope of gaining the overlordship for themselves. Of Harald's sons, the youngest, Haakon the Good (935–961), deserves special credit for his legislation and organisation of the military forces. He had been educated and baptised in England, and on his accession made the first attempt to convert his people to Christianity. But the peasantry would have none of the new doctrine, and he was himself obliged to take part in their pagan sacrifices. His work was continued by Olaf I. Tryggvesson (995–1000), and completed by Olaf II. Haraldsson (1016–1030). Both in their youth had visited foreign lands as Vikings and accepted baptism. After

their return and accession to the throne they worked zealously to convert their subjects, and dealt severely with all who were recalcitrant. The temples were destroyed and churches were built, while clergy were brought over from England, with the consequence that the Anglo-Saxon Church influenced the Norwegian in several

**Norwegian
Chiefs Settle
in Scotland**

**Norway's
Great
Warriors**

**How Norway
Became
Christianised**

respects. Thus the country was indeed Christianised ; but it was long before the last remnants of paganism disappeared.

The organisation of the Church was also Olaf Haraldsson's work, and he promulgated the first ecclesiastical law. By exterminating the petty kings of Harald

Fairhair's race he became the second unifier of the kingdom. But his strict rule and his attempts to increase the royal power at the expense of the self-willed nobility caused the latter to appeal to Canute the Great of Denmark and England, who readily followed their summons and was made king of Norway. Olaf was forced to flee the country in 1028, and betook himself to Gardariki, in Russia. After remaining there for two years he made an attempt to recover his kingdom, and invaded the northern portion of Norway with an army raised in Sweden; but he fell in the battle of Stiklestad on July 29th, 1030. Before long, however, the Norwegians regretted what had been done,

and the nobles found their hopes disappointed. There spread rumours of miracles worked by the dead body of the fallen king, and as early as 1031 Olaf was canonised by the bishop. The nation rose against Danish rule, and in the year 1035 Olaf's son Magnus, who had been left in Russia, was proclaimed king of Norway.

With the reign of Magnus the Good (1035-1047), who, on the extinction of the Danish royal house, became king of Denmark also, there began for Norway a century of prosperity. A succession of kings who were skilled warriors as well as able rulers raised Norway in the estimation of other nations and increased the welfare of the people themselves. A more vigorous international intercourse of a friendly nature was established. The towns which had been founded by the kings, the most important of which were Nidaros — now Drontheim — Oslo, and Bergen, increased in number and greatness; churches and monasteries were built, and the dioceses of the bishops regulated. Foreign customs and habits were introduced, and in addition the European system of education.

This period of prosperity ceased in the twelfth century, when Norway was disorganised for a long time by disputes concerning the crown (1130-1240). It is true the crown had

been hereditary in the family of Harald Fairhair. But every king's son, legitimate or illegitimate, had a right to it, and many who were not of royal birth declared that they were, and to prove the truth of their assertion underwent the ordeal by fire. In this period the power of the magnates increased, since the contending kings



THE SORCERESS, THE RAVEN AND THE KING

Born about 850, Harald Haarfager was the son of Halfdan the Black, king of Upland, a small district in Norway. He was only ten years of age when he became king. The illustration shows a Norse sorceress consulting her familiar in the form of a raven, a sacred bird among the Northmen, with regard to the career of Haarfager.

From the drawing by Frederick Sandys

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were compelled to purchase their help by compliance; at this time the clergy also became more powerful. The Norwegian Church, which was at first subordinate to the Archbishop of Bremen, and later, in 1104, to the Archbishop of Lund, but the real head of which had been the king, became independent in 1152, with the Archbishop of Nidaros as its head.

The archbishop made it his aim to free the Norwegian Church from the power of the laity, and to provide for it the same influence which other European churches possessed. In 1161 one of the most powerful chiefs, Erling Skakke, had succeeded in getting his son Magnus elected king, and wished him to be crowned by the

little success. His followers were few in number, poor and miserable, and were nicknamed "Birchshanks," because for lack of shoes they bound their feet with birch-bark. They were, however, a brave, intrepid, and persevering band, who shrank from neither danger nor toil. After some years Sverre was victorious in 1184. By the death of many of the chiefs belonging to Magnus' party the power of the magnates had become weakened; their posts were given by Sverre to his "Birchshanks," who had remained faithful and obedient to him. However, the struggle began again when Sverre was about to restrict the power of the Church. Sverre was excommunicated by



THE BATTLEFIELD OF STIKLESTAD, IN NORWAY

In an attempt to recover his kingdom, Olaf Haraldsson fell in the battle of Stiklestad in 1030. As a Viking in his early youth, Olaf had visited foreign shores, but he accepted Christianity, and after his accession to the throne of Norway he laboured zealously to convert his subjects. The nobility rebelled against him, and appealed for assistance to Canute the Great of Denmark and England, who, readily responding, was made king of Norway. Olaf fled from the country in 1028, but returning two years later with an army raised in Sweden, met his death in the battle that ensued.

archbishop to compensate for the fact that he was not of royal descent. Magnus was crowned, but was compelled to grant important concessions to the Church, the chief of which was that in future the archbishops and the bishops should decide which of the king's sons should rule. This made the archbishop the virtual head of the kingdom; Norway was all but an ecclesiastical fief.

The threatened independence of Norway was saved by Sverre Sigurdsson, who opposed Magnus as rival king in 1177. Sverre had been educated in the Faroe Islands and was destined to become a priest; but when he heard from his mother that he was the son of a king he crossed over into Norway. At first he met with

the Pope, and a clerical party, called the "Baglers" (*bagall*, that is, crosier), was formed, against whom he was compelled to contend till his death. In spite of that he had secured the independence of the country from the hands of the clergy, and at the same time strengthened the power of the king.

After Sverre's death, in 1202, his grandson, Haakon IV. (1217-1263), put an end to domestic strife by abolishing the ordeal by fire, and by making the right of succession more definite. Under the beneficent rule of Haakon the country attained to a degree of prosperity hitherto unequalled. Peace and quiet prevailed. Haakon contrived to keep on friendly relations with the

Church party without detracting from his own power. He improved the laws, founded towns and monasteries, built churches and castles. His name was familiar in other countries, and foreign princes sought his friendship. Pope Innocent IV., who was at open feud with the Emperor Frederic II., offered Haakon the imperial crown. Haakon, however, who was too wise to accept the gift, and, apart from that, was on friendly terms with Frederic, answered that he was always ready to fight against the enemies of the Church, but not against those of the Pope. In the north, however, he endeavoured to extend his dominions. He succeeded in bringing Iceland and Greenland under his control, and this marks the greatest expansion of the Norwegian kingdom.

In the second half of the ninth century, as we have already seen, discontented Norwegians had settled on Iceland. The emigrants had taken with them their household goods and movable property and their cattle, and were doubtless settling down in their new country as they had lived in the old. The chief took possession of a piece of land, on which he built his house and a temple (Hov), and over which he presided. His followers settled round about; he was the spiritual and temporal head. Colonisation in this fashion continued for almost sixty years (874-930).

At first the chiefs had no political organisation in common; each ruled his province, or *godord*, independently of the others. However, as the island gradually became more thickly populated they felt the necessity of becoming

more united in politics, and, accordingly, in 930, drew up laws by which the island became an aristocratic republic. Affairs which concerned the whole island were settled in the *Alting*, which was held

every summer, and in which every man had a voice. The president of the Alting was the lawman, who was elected for a period of three years; his duty was to recite the laws. The real legislature was the "*Lögrétta*," which consisted of the "*Goden*" and their assessors. Judicial business was carried on in the first instance by a tribunal elected in the Godarden by the Goden; the superior courts were the "*Fjerdingsdómar*" and "*Fimtar-dómar*," which

held their sittings in the Alting, and the members of which were also appointed by the Goden. There was no single executive power for the whole island.

About the year 1000 the islanders were converted to Christianity by the Norwegians. The Church now began to gain influence, especially after 1100, when two bishoprics were established on the island. The Goden still retained their power; a Gode often included several Godords. Then, however, the island was devastated with civil war. Finally, in 1261, the islanders submitted to the kings of Norway under the condition that they should retain their own laws and native officials. That state of affairs, however, did not last long. The Alting lost the power of legislature, the office of "law-reader" was discontinued, and the island was governed by a royal official. The situation did not improve when Iceland, together with Norway, came under the control of Denmark. We may here make the



THE GREAT WOODEN CHURCH OF THELEMARK
The Hitterdal's Kirke, at Thelemark, a picturesque district in Norway, shown in the illustration, is generally considered by experts to be the most remarkable wooden church in the world.

NORWAY AND ICELAND

anticipatory note that it was not until the nineteenth century that conditions were bettered. Trade, which had for a long time been a monopoly of Danish merchants, became entirely free in 1854. Since 1874, the legislature is shared by an assembly of the people—the Alting—and the king, and in 1903 Iceland received a Minister of its own, who has his residence in Reykjavik, and is responsible to the Alting, not to the Danish Parliament.

The Icelanders have acquired great reputation by their literary activity. On this distant, lonely, and inhospitable island there flourished, during the period of liberty, a literature in the vernacular, by reason of which the Icelanders will always be given a place of honour in the history of men. They carefully treasured the sagas and poems which they had brought with them from their fatherland. They kept up by means of travel a con-

Culture of the Icelanders

stant intercourse with the outer world, especially with Norway, and at home they followed foreign affairs with a keen interest.

For a long time the poems and sagas were transmitted orally. But in the twelfth century, when the Icelanders became familiar with the Latin alphabet, a written literature, both of poetry and prose, sprang up.

The most important of the poems are the Eddas, a collection of folk-songs, which date from heathen times, and in which are narrated stories of the gods

and heroes. This school of national poetry came to an end in the tenth century, and was replaced by the artificial poetry of the skalds, which was influenced by Irish models. It was originally simple and unaffected, but gradually became more artificial and overloaded with figurative expressions, and therefore unintelligible. These poems were generally written for the glorification of the kings, and the skalds

Iceland's Famous Poets and Historians

were in the most cases court poets, who were greatly honoured and richly rewarded by the crown. One of the most celebrated, Snorre Sturleson, who died in 1241, edited a manual of poetry, the "Later Edda," but won greater renown as a historian. At the beginning of the twelfth century Are Frode, who died in 1148, wrote his "Islendingabok," a brief history of Iceland, in which he reduced the history of the Norwegian islands to a chronological system, and began, perhaps in addition, his "Landnamabok," a register of the most distinguished emigrants, their residence, their successors, and their fate; a work which was afterwards continued by others.

People now began also to write down the numerous sagas which hitherto had been handed down orally. Then there sprang up a rich saga literature, which rose to the highest perfection in the thirteenth century. The greatest of the saga writers is the above mentioned Snorre, who, in



GENERAL VIEW OF THE HISTORIC TOWN OF BERGEN IN NORWAY

his saga "Heimskringla," has described the history of the Norwegian kings from earliest times until 1177. The Icelandic family sagas are also attractive, because they give an admirable picture of the life of the Icelanders during the period of liberty. The share which the Norwegians themselves have contributed to this litera-

Literature and Liberty in Iceland ture is comparatively insignificant; the most important, with the exception of a few sagas, is the so-called "Konungskuggja," or king's mirror, which is of great significance in the history of civilisation, inasmuch as it depicts the life, occupations, and duties of the merchant, the courtier, and the king.

Notwithstanding the fact that the literary activity of Norway was not great, the Norwegian kings and chiefs did much to encourage "Norröne" (Norwegian-Icelandic) literature by taking Icelandic poets and narrators of sagas into their service, and otherwise patronising them. Sverre and his descendants were especially noted for this; they were themselves cultured men, who took an active interest in literature. The literary activity of Iceland declined with the loss of liberty. The old chieftain families, who had been its chief patrons, died out, and with them ceased the "skald" poetry and the composition of original sagas.

The Icelanders did not altogether abandon literary pursuits; they copied old works and re-wrote the old sagas in verse. The Norwegians, in the meantime began to cultivate foreign poetry, and after the middle of the thirteenth century their literary energies were mainly directed to translating French and German heroic poems. The most flourishing period of Norwegian literature was the reign of Haakon Haakonsson, which in other respects, as has been mentioned above, was a time of prosperity. Haakon's son

What King Magnus did for Norway and successor, Magnus (1263-1280), was not so powerful as his father. He rendered, however, valuable services to the king-

dom as a legislator, on account of which he was given the title Lagaböter or improver of laws. His chief merit was that he was the first to bring Norway under one uniform code. By this means, it is true, the Lagtinge, where the peasants had up till that time passed their own laws, and in consequence the people themselves, lost

their power of legislation. From this time the king became the legislator; at the same time he shared the right of jurisdiction with the people, for he appointed the presidents of the supreme courts. In order to promote trade, Magnus concluded a commercial treaty with England, and allowed certain privileges to the North German towns.

Haakon's successor was his grandson Magnus, an infant who had just succeeded also to the crown of Sweden; so that for a time the history of the two countries unites. At a later stage Haakon VI. lost the Swedish, but not the Norwegian crown; and through his wife, Margaret of Denmark, the Danish and Norwegian crowns were united when their son Olaf became king of both countries in 1380.

From this time the country rapidly deteriorated; it could not maintain its independence in the union. This was pre-eminently the result of the political and social conditions. There was no powerful aristocracy or clergy, no well-to-do and liberal-minded middle class; in brief, there was nobody who had the power or

Danish and Norwegian Crowns Unite the inclination to vindicate the independence of the kingdom. The populace consisted of peasants who, after being deprived of their political power, interested themselves only in their own affairs.

The prosperity of the country was ruined by the Hanseatic League, which was steadily increasing in power; at the same time Norway was terribly devastated in the fourteenth century by several pestilences, in particular by the Black Death, which swept away almost one-third of the population. The retrogression of the material welfare of the country was accompanied by a decline in the literary life; after the middle of the fourteenth century almost all literary activity ceased. Decadence was manifest in every department of life; Norway followed involuntarily in the union and became more and more dependent on Denmark. The Danes made their way into the country and obtained civic rights by intermarriage. They brought with them the Danish language, which displaced old Norwegian as the literary language and strongly influenced the colloquial language of the towns. The separate history of Norway is merged in that of Denmark, and does not emerge again for some centuries.



SWEDEN AND FINLAND FROM EARLY TIMES TO THE DANISH DOWNFALL

SWEDEN, or Sverige (that is, the kingdom of the Svears), consisted at one time of the two main divisions Zealand, or Svéaland, and Gothland, or Gotoland, which received their names from the tribes Svear and Götar. Scania, Holland, and Blekingen belonged to Denmark; Bohuslen, Herjedalen, and Jemtland were Norwegian, and Norrland was inhabited by Ugrian races; only on the coasts of Norrland were there a few scattered Swedish settlements. Zealand and Gothland had no common political organisation; the cantons of which they were made up had each its own laws, its Ting and its own "Lagman" (Judge). The Lagman, who was elected by the peasants, was the president of the Ting; it was his duty to vindicate the rights of the peasantry against the king and his ministers and to notify the king of the wishes of the people. The most noted of the Landschafts was Upland, where the

The Sacred Shrine of Upsala

most sacred shrine, the temple of Upsala, was situated; there the king had his residence and there also was the seat of the Ting, which served for the whole country, the "Allshärjarting," where the king was wont to address the people from the Ting-hill near Upsala. The king, who was elected by the Upsvear, undertook a journey through the different cantons after his election, to receive homage. He formed the link of union between the cantons, which were ruled in his name by Jarls and other officials whom he appointed. The social organisation was the same as in Denmark and Norway.

In mode of life, habits, and customs the Swedes did not differ from their southern and western neighbours. Their development, however, was slower because they were cut off by their geographical situation from all intercourse with the Finnish and Slavonic races dwelling on the other side of the Baltic; in addition, the rivalry between the Svear and Götar for a long time prevented a peaceful development.

The Ynglingl kings, who were descended from the gods, are said to have ruled over Sweden from time immemorial; the "Northern Saga" tells of their deeds. The first reliable accounts, which are, it is true, very scanty, are furnished by missionaries who visited Sweden at the beginning of the ninth century. Ansgar, who had been active in Denmark for some time, went to Sweden about the year 830. He was kindly received by the king, Björn, and remained for a year and a half in the neighbourhood of Mälaren, where he won a few souls for Christianity. He visited Sweden again at a later date—in 853—and worked hard to establish the new doctrine. But soon after his death the missionary work came to a standstill.

Missionary Historians in Sweden

It was not until the beginning of the eleventh century, under Olaf Skötkonung—probably so called on account of a tax, or scot, which he imposed upon the people—that Christianity obtained a strong foothold in the country. Olaf's father, Erik Segersäll, the victorious, had driven out Sweyn Forkbeard and subdued Denmark. After his death, however, about 994, Sweyn concluded a contract with Olaf Skötkonung, recovered Denmark, and married Erik's widow. Afterwards Sweyn and Olaf united against the Norwegian king, Olaf Tryggvesson, who had insulted both of them, conquered him at Svolder, in the neighbourhood of Rügen, and in 1000 divided Norway between them. Olaf Skötkonung received the northern portion, but lost

Where Christianity Triumphed

it after a few years to Olaf Haraldsson, who freed Norway from a foreign yoke. His attempts to recover the country were fruitless; his own subjects compelled him to maintain peace with Norway. Olaf Skötkonung and his sons had received baptism in 1008 and Christianity made steady progress, especially in Gothland, but it was still a good while before it

completely won the mastery. The old royal line became extinct with the death of Olaf's sons about 1061. About this time a fierce struggle broke out between the Svear and the Götär, which lasted for almost two centuries. Up till then the Götär had given precedence to the Svear in the election of the king, for in their province lay the national sanctuary, and there also the king and his family resided; now, however, they claimed the same rights as the Svear, and equal power, and wished to choose a king from themselves. Since the Götär were for the most part converted, while the Svear still clung to paganism, the struggle was not only between the two races and their kings, but between heathenism and Christianity. In this struggle, in which the kings of the Svear and Götär alternately got the upper hand, Christianity was finally victorious, and thus the union of the people was greatly furthered.

The new doctrine was firmly established in Svealand chiefly by the gentle and just King Erik IX. who changed the temple at Upsala into a Christian church and founded a bishopric in Upsala. He was also solicitous about the conversion of the neighbouring heathen races and undertook a crusade against the Finlanders, with whom the Swedes had had intercourse since very early times, and on whose shores there were already Swedish settlements. The inhabitants of Finland, the Ugrian Finns, or, as they called themselves, *Suomalaiset*, had wandered, even before the ninth century, out of the districts east and south-east of the Gulf of Finland, where the neighbouring kindred tribes of the Esthonians, Livonians and other Ugrians dwelt, into Southern Finland and had then spread over towards the north. The Finns are divided into two groups as regards language and physique: the West Finns—the true Finns and the Tavastes—and the East Finns—the Carelians. As late as the twelfth century they had not founded any states, but were living in their original condition. They were rough and superstitious, but were distinguished

for their bravery and love of freedom and clung to the faith of their fathers. Erik succeeded in conquering and converting the south-western tribes, and by this means he laid the foundation of the Swedish supremacy in Finland. Erik was killed by an enemy on May 18th, 1160, not long after his return from Finland. It is said that miracles happened on the spot where he died, and he was, therefore, canonised by the people; he was afterwards regarded as the patron saint of Sweden, as Erik the Holy, and the Swedish

national ensign in the Middle Ages bore the name "St. Erik's Ensign." The influence and power of the Church in Sweden rapidly increased with the victory of Christianity. A national Church was formed in 1164 under the Archbishop of Upsala; the clergy received various privileges—for example, exemption from taxes. Monasteries were introduced. The first monks were Cistercians from France, who not only acted as spiritual teachers, but also instructed the peasants in agriculture and in industrial pursuits. They were joined later by mendicant monks.

When the family to which Erik IX. belonged became extinct, in 1250, Birger Jarl, of the rich and respected Folkunger family, was the most powerful man in the country. He was energetic and well versed in state affairs and had proved himself a capable warrior in Finland where, in 1249, he had established and extended the supremacy of Sweden by the subjection of the Tavastes. Although he had married a sister of the late king,

he was not himself of royal blood and, therefore, not he, but his elder son, Waldemar, was elected king. As the latter was not yet of age, Birger, as his guardian, became actual ruler and governed till his death, on October 21st, 1256.

At home Birger restored peace and order and raised the kingdom to a high place among the northern nations, with whom he endeavoured to maintain peace and balance of power. In his legislation he made it his principal aim to adjust domestic rivalries, and he also



A WISE RULER

This memorial in Stockholm commemorates the rule of a wise and able man, Birger Jarl, whose son, Waldemar, became king. Birger died in 1256.

endeavoured to bring about an improvement in morals. In order to promote international commerce and trade he concluded a commercial treaty with Lübeck, for hitherto the Swedes had lacked enterprise. The inhabitants of Lübeck, however, used this treaty, as they did those concluded with the other northern countries, to get the trade gradually into their own hands. Still, the union with Germany was useful to the Swedes. Mining and other branches of industry were improved by Germans who had crossed over into the country; the towns were organised in German fashion; they received their own government and their prosperity increased.

good order with a strong hand, and lived on good terms with his neighbours, who even asked his help as arbitrator in their disputes. By various laws he protected the peasants against the violence of the barons, on account of which he was given the honoured title of "Ladulas"—the castle of the barn. The peasants, however, were losing their political influence. Magnus desired to extend the king's power in every direction, and reserved for himself the right of giving laws together with his council and the highest men in the kingdom; in this way the work of legislation passed out of the hands of the people. The king was also acknowledged as supreme judge; the



UPSALA: A PLACE OF IMPORTANCE IN SWEDISH HISTORY

The illustration shows the three great royal barrows at Old Upsala, about three miles from Upsala, where the election of the old Swedish kings took place. After his election the king undertook a journey through the different cantons in order to receive the homage of his people. The cantons were ruled in the king's name by jarls.

Stockholm in particular developed enormously; it owes its importance as a town and a fortress to Birger Jarl. Other towns of importance were Wisby, Söderköping, Kalmar, and Lödöse. Wisby, which belonged to the Hanseatic League, was for a long time the wealthiest and most magnificent northern town, until the fourteenth century, when its power and prosperity were destroyed by Waldemar Atterdag. In 1266 King Waldemar himself took over the government, but soon showed that he was not equal to the task; he was weak, fond of pleasure, and profligate, and in 1275 was dethroned by his younger brother Magnus, who resembled his father in vigour and ability. Magnus (1275-1290) continued the work of Birger; he maintained peace and

Lagmen, who had previously represented the peasants and their rights, were gradually attaching themselves to the lords and became considered as government officials.

The highest functionary in the kingdom had hitherto been the Jarl; this post, however, became extinct with Birger, and the chief men in the king's council were the Marsk, the Drost, and the chancellor. Magnus introduced foreign customs and institutions into Sweden, the most important of which was the Russtjenst, or mounted service. In Sweden, as in other northern countries, the obligation of warlike service had been confined to naval defence; the country was divided into circuits which in the event of war had to furnish a ship with the crew, and in times of peace paid a war tax. As warfare

on land became more common, Magnus wished to have an able-bodied cavalry, and decreed that whoever served him with horse and armour should be exempt from taxation. These troopers formed a distinct military body, and as shortly afterwards Russtjenst, and consequently exemption, became hereditary, the basis of a special nobility was established. In connection with the Russtjenst, knighthood was also introduced; the knights, who were appointed by the king and were called lords, formed the nucleus of the army. With the introduction, however, of Russtjenst there began a decline in the navy. Hence, the Swedes, like the Danes and Norwegians, were forced to resign their naval supremacy. This now passed into the hands of the Hanseatic League, which had control over the Baltic and the North Seas.

Magnus Ladulas left at his death, in 1290, three sons, Birger, Erik, and Waldemar, who were all minors. The eldest, Birger, became king; his guardian was the Marsk Tyrgils Knutsson. Tyrgils was brave and clever and discharged the duties of his office with earnestness and fidelity. He ruled with the same vigour and ability as Birger and Magnus; he continued the work of Erik the Pious and Birger in Finland and by subduing the savage Carelians completed the conquest and conversion of the country. It was a long time before there was a close union between Finland and Sweden. Swedish language, customs, and institutions made slow headway; and the Catholic Church alone, which had several able advocates, succeeded in gaining great power. It is true that Swedes settled in Finland, where strong castles were built, and that Swedish commanding officers, who took up their permanent residence in Finland, formed the basis of a Finnish nobility; but the country was not incorporated

The Basis of Finnish Nobility

with the Swedish state, and remained fairly independent of the Swedish kings, until the sixteenth century. When Birger and his brothers grew up they soon disagreed. Erik and Waldemar were not satisfied with the fiefs which they had received, and revolted against Birger; but they were reduced to submission by Tyrgils, who remained faithful to the king. The dukes realised that it was necessary for their plans to depose the

Marsk; they accordingly persuaded Birger that Tyrgils was to blame for the brothers' quarrel. Birger was sufficiently ungrateful and indiscreet to order his faithful minister to be beheaded in 1306. After Tyrgils' death Birger's good fortune ceased. He was taken prisoner by his brothers in the same year, and in order to regain his freedom, was forced to cede to them in 1308 and in 1310 two-thirds of the kingdom. Birger meditated revenge, but acted as if he had forgiven everything and disarmed their fears by feigned friendship. However, when they visited him at Christmas, 1317, at the Castle of Nyköping, he locked them into the tower, where they probably died of hunger.

Birger profited little by this treachery. On hearing that the dukes had been taken prisoners, their retainers rose in rebellion; Birger was compelled to flee. Erik's three-year-old son, Magnus II., was proclaimed king, and a regency was appointed in 1319. In the same year the child inherited the kingdom of Norway from Haakon V. (Magnussön), his maternal grandfather. Thus Sweden and Norway

Union of Sweden and Norway

were united for the first time. However, the union was not very close, because the two kingdoms had only the one king in common. During the minority of the king the power of the lords grew; their behaviour in the country was anything but seemly, and it did not improve after Magnus took the government into his own hands in 1332. He was a well-meaning but weak prince, who entirely lacked the strength necessary to control the arrogant lords. Still, slavery was at last abolished, the administration of justice improved, and national and municipal codes of law were issued.

Magnus extended his dominion by annexing the Scanian cantons. It is true that he was unable to keep them for any length of time, owing to the attacks of Waldemar Atterdag, so that they were soon reunited with Denmark—1360. Of his other enterprises a war against the Russians was unsuccessful; they had been on hostile terms with the Swedes since the conquest of Finland. At the same time the country was devastated by the Black Death, which swept away at least a third of the population. The king was helpless to relieve the distress. In Sweden as well as in Norway the people had been discontented with him for a long time. The



THE ROYAL PALACE AT STOCKHOLM



PANORAMIC VIEW OF SWEDEN'S CAPITAL



THE RIDDARHOLM CANAL AND THE RIDDARHUS, OR HALL OF THE KNIGHTS



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY



THE NORRBRO, OR NORTH BRIDGE

SCENES IN STOCKHOLM, THE BEAUTIFUL CAPITAL OF SWEDEN

Norwegians complained that he was neglecting the country, and to satisfy them he had been forced to give them his son Haakon (VI.) as king in 1343. Haakon was also elected King of Sweden in 1362 by the Swedish lords, whose powers and liberties Magnus wished to restrict. However, he attached himself to his father; and, in order to be able to fight against the refractory lords with more success, the two kings united with their former enemy, Waldemar Atterdag, whose daughter, Margaret, Haakon married. By his marriage he severed himself completely from the Swedish lords. Both he and his father were deposed, and the son of Magnus' sister Euphemia, Albert the Younger of Mecklenburg, was proclaimed king on November 30th, 1363.

Haakon attempted to regain the crown by force of arms, but was defeated and compelled to content himself with Norway; there Magnus also passed his last years. In this way the first union between Sweden and Norway was dissolved.

A year before the death of Magnus in 1374, occurred that of his kinswoman, Saint Brigitta; she has become celebrated on account of her visions and revelations. She was born about the year 1302, and even in her childhood gave evidence of unusual talents, and lived in a world of devotion, in which the Saviour, the Virgin, and the saints revealed themselves to her. She was filled with ideas of reform, preached repentance and renunciation, and denounced the universal immorality of the times. At the court, where she was for a time the governess of the queen, she roused indignation by her severe and earnest reprimands; but among the people she acquired great reputation as a saint and a prophetess. As the situation in Sweden was no longer congenial to her, she left her native country and went to Rome, where she died in 1373. She had received permission from the Pope to found a convent at Vadstena, on the east shore of Lake Wetter. In 1370 Urban V. confirmed the rule which she had drawn up for the convent of the Brigittine order, and in 1391 she was canonised. The "Revelations," which she herself recorded or dictated, were translated into Latin and circulated over the whole of Catholic Europe; they rank among the most important literary

productions of Sweden at a time when there was hardly any literature in the real sense of the word.

Of the pagan sagas and poems only a few traces have survived. The oldest Swedish linguistic monuments of which we know are the numerous runic inscriptions. The laws of the several cantons, a few of which are very old, are also drawn up in Swedish. Everything else which has survived dates from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as do also the national code of law—about 1350—a few rhyming chronicles, the Euphemia songs, many folk-songs, which are apparently of foreign origin, and finally some prose translations of foreign narratives.

The domestic conditions of Sweden did not improve with Albert's accession. The king was weak and not respected; the nobles played the rôle of masters. Assaults, feuds, murder, and plunder were daily occurrences; from their castles and garrisoned estates, which extended over the whole country, the lords oppressed the peasants, whose original freedom in this way became seriously threatened. When, in 1386, Albert at last made an attempt to obtain more influence, the lords called Margaret of Denmark into the country. She sent an army into Sweden, and, on February 24th, 1389, in the battle of Asle near Falköping, won a victory over Albert, who was taken prisoner. Soon the whole of Sweden submitted. Stockholm alone, which was supported by the Mecklenburg princes and towns, upheld the cause of Albert for several years; however, as he could not pay his ransom, the town was eventually handed over to the queen. In the meantime, in 1396, the Swedes and Danes had chosen as their king Margaret's grand-nephew, Erik of Pomerania, who had become king of Norway in 1389; and on June 17th, 1397, he was crowned in Kalmar as king of the three nations (Union of Kalmar).

Peace and quiet had been restored under Margaret; she managed to bridle the unruly nobles and to make every one obedient to her. But with her death, in 1412, the peace came to an end. Erik XIII. did not possess the strength and ability of his foster mother; consequently, his reign was injurious to the union as well as to each kingdom individually. He irritated the lords temporal and spiritual by his despotic and indiscreet actions,

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GIRLS OF RÄTTVIK, SWEDEN



A GRANDMOTHER OF LEKSAND, IN SWEDEN



A CHARACTERISTIC VIEW OF LAPLANDERS AND THEIR PRIMITIVE HOME



A TYPICAL WOMAN OF LAPLAND



A SWEDISH GIRL IN BRIDAL DRESS

TYPES OF PEOPLE IN SWEDEN AND LAPLAND

Valentine

whilst he allowed his bailiffs and nobles to oppress the people; complaints were made about the bad administration and the heavy taxes, which were enacted with the utmost rigour. As all complaints were in vain the peasants of Dalarnen rose up in 1434 against the foreign yoke; they found a capable leader in Engelbrekt

**Deposition
of King
Erik**

Engelbrektsson, and the rest of the people joined them, including the nobles, who hoped to recover the power of which they had been deprived by Margaret. The foreigners were driven out and Engelbrekt was extolled as the liberator of his country in 1435. The nobles, however, feared the powerful leader of the people; they had attached themselves to the movement in order to obtain a diminution of the king's power, but they did not wish to share that power with the peasants and their leader. They were accordingly not displeased when Engelbrekt was murdered on April 27th, 1436, by a personal enemy, and the Council of State agreed with the Danish Council that the union should be maintained. Erik, with whom the Danes were also discontented, was deposed in September, 1439, and his sister's son, Christopher of Bavaria, who willingly agreed to all the conditions, was elected king in 1440.

This was a victory for the aristocracy; they had obtained a king after their own heart, and made use of their triumph to limit the privileges of the peasants. There were, however, a few even among the nobility who either from ambition or patriotism joined the popular party; thus there arose two parties, one national, the other attached to the union, which were strongly opposed until the beginning of the following century. After Christopher's death, in 1448, the national party triumphed and placed a Swede, Karl Knutsson Bonde, who had been vice-regent from 1438-1440, on the throne of Sweden, while the Danes chose Christian,

**The Tragic
Heritage
of Union**

Count of Oldenburg, as their king. The latter wished to maintain the union by force of arms. The war was carried on by both sides with great bitterness and cruelty; and it sowed the seeds of that national hatred which was the most tragic heritage of the union.

Christian I. succeeded, in 1457, in gaining the crown of Sweden with the help of the union party, at the head of which was Jöns Bengtsson Oxenstierna, Arch-

bishop of Upsala; however, he could not keep it permanently. Eventually, in 1467, Karl was still king of Sweden, and continued ruling till his death, in 1470. He was succeeded by the Stures. Sven Sture the elder (1470-1503), his kinsman, Svante Nilsson (1503-1512), and Nilsson's son Sten Sture the younger (1512-1520), were successively, as regents, the leaders of the national party and the defenders of Sweden's liberty and independence; they were supported by the people, had several of the nobles on their side, and successfully opposed the attempts of the union kings to conquer Sweden.

The Stures, however, found their most dangerous opponents among their own countrymen—friends of the union who had entered into secret negotiations with the Danes. Sven Sture the younger quarrelled with the leader of the party, the malicious and vindictive Archbishop of Upsala, Gustav Trolle, who was convicted of high treason and by the orders of the regent dismissed from office and arrested. Thereupon Pope Leo X. excommunicated Sven Sture and his followers and commissioned Christian II. to execute the bull of excommunication by force. Christian gladly sent an army into Sweden in 1518.

**Nobles
Massacred at
Stockholm**

At the second attack, in 1520, Sture's troops were beaten, and he was mortally wounded. Christian received homage as hereditary king, and was crowned on November 4th by Gustav Trolle in Stockholm. Christian believed that he would secure his supremacy by severity; he wished to destroy the spirit of independence among the people and also the defiance of the nobles; and therefore some days after his coronation a number of nobles, clergy, and citizens were beheaded in the market-place at Stockholm, a tragedy known as the Stockholm Massacre or Bloodbath. The corpse of Sture was burnt at the stake; the estates of those who had been beheaded were confiscated.

Christian however succeeded in accomplishing exactly the reverse of what he had hoped the massacre would effect, for, at the instigation of the youthful Gustavus Eriksson Vasa, a nobleman who had escaped from the massacre, the Dalkarlar, the inhabitants of the province of Dalarna, revolted in 1521. The Danes were driven out, and, on June 6th, 1523, the Swedes elected their deliverer, Gustavus, as their king.



GUSTAVUS VASA PROCLAIMED KING OF SWEDEN AT THE DIET OF STRENGNÄS IN THE YEAR 1523
From the painting by Louis Hersent, in the Palais Royal



AN ASSAULT AT ARMS BETWEEN THE MEN OF LOUIS AND HIS BROTHER CHARLES, GRANDSONS OF CHARLEMAGNE



THE DEVELOPMENT *of* THE NATIONS

THE REVIVAL OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

AND THE REIGNS OF THE GERMAN KINGS

THE treaty of Verdun in 843, between Lothair and his brothers, the sons of Louis the Pious and grandsons of Charlemagne, arranged that Lothair should retain the empire and a formal supremacy, together with the Italian dominions and a piece of territory extending from the Aar and the Rhine on one side, the Rhone, Saone and Scheldt on the other, to the North Sea, and including Friesland to the right of the Rhine. Charles the Bald secured the district to the west of this boundary, and Louis, whose separate kingdom had originally consisted of Bavaria, gained the territory on the east. He therefore was in charge of the main body of the future German nationality.

There was here no question of any nationalist idea, even though at the confirmation of the Strasburg Oaths, on February 11th and 14th, 842, the troops of Charles spoke Romance and those of Louis German. A man who had been educated under the general lay instruction initiated by Charles, and who was still

Translations of the Strasburg Oaths

inspired with this spirit, the historian Nithard, acted in a nationalist spirit, and transcribed the oaths in the dialects of each people; but no such thoughts or ideas inspired the general policy of those affected. The compact of Verdun was a purely geographical division of territory. Louis' share was not intended to include "Germans," but the Bavarians, Alamanni, Franks, Thuringians and Saxons who happened to be in

that district; other Alamanni—in Alsace—and other Franks—further away on the left bank of the Rhine—were, like the Frisians, assigned to the artificial Middle Kingdom. The word "Thiudisk," "German," was first intended to explain that a man spoke no Latin but only a vernacular dialect. For convenience of

Foundation of German Empire

distinction, Louis is styled by students the "German." The rights of the royal family as recognised in the compact of Verdun made their influence felt, both in the realm of Louis and in the East Frankish portion, and also in the share of Lothair. The compact of Verdun began to be imitated at every individual point, and its effects were multiplied in correspondence with the justice of the claims of the victorious communities; it seemed that the empire of Charles would be broken up more quickly by his own family than by the existing forces of disruption. In the imperial districts of East Francia the Bavarians were assigned to the share belonging to Carloman, the Alamanni to Charles the Fat, and Central and Lower Germany to Louis the Younger. Of the foundation of the German Empire by their father, Louis the German, there can be no question.

These events were largely conditioned by the fact that Lothair's family soon became extinct, and that the questions of imperial succession and title were therefore revived. As regards the latter, Louis the Pious and Lothair had given the

Pope the right of coronation at his desire ; the former had been recrowned at Rheims by Pope Stephen, as he thought the first coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle was inadequate, while Lothair had received the imperial crown at Rome itself. An understanding between Charles the Bald and the papacy secured to the former the

**Struggle
for Imperial
Crown**

imperial crown after the death of the Emperor Louis II., son of Lothair I., in 875, though it actually belonged by right of succession to Charles' elder brother Louis the German. The latter and his sons maintained their rights against Charles the Bald and his West Franks by energetic military and diplomatic measures. Hence they gained a considerable share in the plunder from the desolate and shattered central kingdom.

After 870 the convention of Mersen advanced the boundary of the East Frankish Empire to a line running from Geneva along the Upper Moselle, the Ourthe, and the Maas, while in 879 the brilliant victory of Andernach extended their powers beyond the Upper Maas to the Scheldt. The East Frankish Empire thus included not only almost all the unmixed "German" tribes, but also a number of Romance subjects, and even now it was not regarded as natural that the boundaries of nationalities should coincide with those of states. Metz and its immediate neighbourhood formed at all times an isolated centre of Romance language and civilisation. There were, moreover, Romance peoples in the Eastern Empire, further to the west of the upper Lotharingian district in modern Belgium, from the Central Scheldt to the Maas ; these were the Walloons, a Romance people, speaking a language of Keltic origin with many Frankish additions, and clearly distinguished from the later French. The Low Frankish

**Charles
the Fat on
the Throne**

Flemings, who were Germans, inhabited the coast beyond the Scheldt, in the West Frankish Empire, to Dunkirk. Eventually the imperial throne was recovered by the most successful son of Louis the German, Charles.

In the East Frankish Empire the Carolingian family disappeared, through death and misfortune, as rapidly as in the two other lines. After 882 the Emperor Charles III., known as the Fat, found himself master of the whole kingdom.

Even then, however, no uniform national German empire was developed. Before long, Charles merely became once again the chief of the whole Carolingian Empire, as in Western Francia German help was urgently required against the Northmen. The present incapacity of Charles made it impossible for this help to be rendered, and a final solution of the problem thus became inevitable. West Francia and the new kingdoms of Burgundia and Italy went their own way, while the leading tribes of East Francia combined to break away from the dishonourable government of Charles. It is through this somewhat negative enterprise and this military agreement that the German Empire and nationality was really founded. The German representatives united to elect a leader in place of the legitimate emperor, and chose from his family, as his nearest blood relation, Arnulf, the illegitimate son of Charles's deceased brother, Carloman, who had held a Bavarian office in Carinthia.

This change introduced the principle of royal election into German history—a principle which was better than the joint succession of the most nearly related families, though not so good as dynastic primogeniture. The elections were not conducted upon any revolutionary principle ; it was not demanded that the succession should remain undetermined until the death of the existing king, or that all other considerations should be disregarded. The traditional feeling that the succession ought to be vested in the reigning family continued to exercise a hardly diminished influence, and remained preponderant until the interregnum, and indeed for some time subsequently. The innovation, however, that the successor was subjected to general recognition by a process of election which might take place even during the lifetime of the reigning monarch, modified the dynastic idea, and led to a connection of the two theories.

In the case of Arnulf's son, Louis the Child, the anointing and coronation were carried out by the hand of the bishops for the first time in the history of the East Frankish kings ; in West Francia this transference of the ceremonies usual at an imperial coronation to the coronation of an emperor had been employed to confer greater distinction upon Charles the Bald.

THE REVIVAL OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Arnulf (887-899) was distinguished for his brilliant victory of October 20th, 891, at Löwen on the Dyle. This prevented the Northmen from plundering or fortifying positions in Germany, which was then defenceless by sea. Henceforward North-west France and the British Isles remained the sole areas open to their enterprises and establishment. These raids, like the settlements of the Northmen in Russia, are to be regarded as a sequel of the general Teutonic migration, and point to a series of related causes and events in the same manner as the great migration proper. Arnulf's interference

act for themselves, were able to impose any permanent check upon these invaders.

The stage was now clear for the appearance of the tribal duchy; the election of Arnulf to the kingship had definitely established the elective theory and superseded the partitions of the kingdom among the royal families. Arnulf's illegitimate son Zwentibald, the namesake of the great Moravian despot Sviatopolk, while joint king of Lotharingia, had succeeded only in discrediting this form of partition and in driving his subjects from himself to Louis the Child. Tribal particularism as such was far from abolished.



THE REGALIA OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE GERMAN NATION

in Italy and his assumption of the imperial crown have but a temporary importance. Immediately after his reign the crown became the object of petty papal intrigues with Burgundia or native rulers who were aiming at a dominant position in Italy, and had secured their independence as officials under the empire's vanishing power.

Under Arnulf's successor Germany was terribly ravaged from the south-east by the Magyars; neither the government, which ruled in the name of Louis the Child (899-911), nor the bold individual resistance of the tribal duchies, which now began to

In place of the partition kings—no longer members of the royal stock—native rulers attempted to make themselves supreme with the goodwill of the people; these traced their descent from families possessing hereditary estates and prestige; their importance was increased by the tenure of high offices. It was not immediately clear in every case which family was the most capable of rule, or would be able to maintain its ground if appointed. In Franconia, for instance, there was a keen rivalry between the Conradiner family, which was settled in the Lahn district,

and the eastern family of the Babenbergers, which held property on the Upper Main. The imperial government itself favoured Conrad and helped him to secure a definite victory over the Babenbergers, permitting him also to adopt the somewhat indefinite style of duke. Under Louis the Child, the title of duke became, in Saxony, Francia, Alamannia and Bavaria, the ordinary method of denoting a popular leader. The same was the case in Lotharinga, where the original sense of Frankish relationship had been modified by historical events.

Church Leaders in Imperial Government

About 900 the imperial government consisted chiefly of the leading ecclesiastics of East Francia, Archbishop Hatto of Mainz and Bishop Salomo of Constance. Under Louis the Pious, the clergy had attempted to secure all possible political unity in order to preserve their ecclesiastical unity; so now, when the division of the empire into halves had proved definite and irrevocable, they attempted to pursue some policy of union within the East Francian division. There were at the same time more direct motives to influence their action. The results which the upper clergy might expect from the division of the empire among the leading princely families were also to be expected from the more obvious and tangible power that the dukes either claimed or exerted over the bishoprics which lay within their spheres of government.

Thus, in 911, when Louis died in childhood, leaving no heir, the episcopate immediately undertook the choice of an East Frankish king; the laity offered no opposition, as this seemed the surest means of breaking away from the hereditary claims of the West Frankish Carolingians and from the collective monarchy. Whether they would obey the new ruler of their choice was another question. The Frankish count or duke, Conrad, was

Conrad Receives a Crown

elected. He was a suitable character in the eyes of the leading ecclesiastical princes, and he was also related to the Carolingians, so that the breach with the old dynasty seemed less violent; and by the choice of Conrad the crown remained "among the Franks." Upon all these questions people thought as tribesmen; therefore the crown was regarded as the property of the Frankish tribe. A request was sent to the most powerful duke, the

Saxon Otto, of the house of the Ludolfings, which was declined; this was but one of the preliminary negotiations which preceded the election at Forchheim, on Frankish soil, on November 8th, 911.

Such was the indifference with which the revival of the monarchy was viewed; its existence was made conditional upon individual consent, and its power was yet further diminished. None the less it remained in existence, and, precarious as that existence was, it yet became a traditional and historical idea. If its practical power decreased, it secured an influence less easy to estimate, which eventually enabled it to surmount the considerable dangers which were yet to threaten its existence. Hence, we observe that the passage from Charles the Great onwards through German history is by no means direct, and is explicable solely by the partitions between 843 and 870. Of his immense, statesmanlike work, many achievements disappeared entirely and with unmerited rapidity. The permanent element in his work, which exercised an enduring and decisive influence upon Germany, is the fact that Charles united a large number of diverse Teutonic tribes on the right bank of the Rhine with his own empire; by administration, by civil and ecclesiastical government, he bound them so firmly together that they were unable to separate in spite of their mutual animosity. Their crown, however, their political union, their common institutions, and their future nationality were plants which either withered or grew with difficulty, and for a long time could be preserved from extinction only by the most careful attention.

Charlemagne's Influence on Germany

These new growths would certainly have perished had not Conrad I., or whoever advised him, taken a step in the hour of death which produced a profound and salutary impression. The proud and powerful Saxons were extremely anxious that the crown and the leadership should fall to themselves, the youngest members of the imperial alliance. Expediency and generosity, on the other hand, urged the Franconians to give their consent. In this way they remained the supporters and preservers of the power of the crown, though this was a pleasure which they did not exaggerate. Thus, in the midst of general indifference, these two tribes at last elected a king, the son of the deceased

Duke Otto. The most dangerous moment in the existence of the German crown had been passed, and henceforward all was progress.

The methods of Henry I. (the Fowler) consisted largely in a policy of humouring the particularist spirit as far as possible. He acted like the layman he was, granting neither the right of coronation nor any obvious influence to the imperialist section of the clergy; their influence would not have suited him personally, and his energies were expended chiefly in cases where others would have been glad of his help, entirely for the benefit of his Saxons, in whose duchy the Thuringians were incorporated. Thus it was only his own duchy that he liberated from the Magyars in 933 by means of a truce and a victory, acting as if this were the course of action generally approved. He proceeded very cautiously to secure the recognition of the supreme royal authority in Bavaria and Alamannia (Swabia); he even left the appointment of Bavarian bishops in the hands of the Bavarian duke. As soon, however, as the Swabian duchy fell vacant

The Saxon Policy of Henry I. and a leader was required, he immediately chose a foreign duke for the country from among the Franconian supporters whom he wished to reward. Lotharingia alone, which with its duke, Gisibert, had given offence to all the other Germans, he proceeded to treat severely on the first favourable opportunity, which he also seized to secure his recognition as East Frankish king by the West Frankish government, though he was not himself a Carolingian. He carried on his former Saxon policy, with the military power of his well-trained Saxon troops, by making an advance into the Slavonic lands of Eastern Europe. He thus pointed out the road for the future, which was to be a German and not merely a Saxon line of advance, so soon as the tribes co-operated and the gain of the individual became that of the nation. The same remarks apply to his creation of a Saxon frontier against the Danes, the mark of Schleswig.

The succession of his son, Otto I., which he had personally secured, began in 936 with a kind of manifesto against Henry's careful policy of retirement. The new generation and the imperialist clergy were anxious to announce their theory of the constitution. Otto was crowned in

Aix-la-Chapelle with great solemnity and reaped the fruits of Henry's silent successes. The great dukes acted as his household officers during the coronation feast, thus admitting their position, not only as servants of the empire, but also as servants of the king. Otto further announced his general position as *primus inter pares* and a crowned tribal duke by immediately entrusting the Saxon government to the hand of a representative, Hermann Billung, who was specially commissioned to guard against the Danes and the Baltic pirates. With Hermann the great Margrave Gero administered the frontiers and directed the Saxon policy of expansion upon the Slavonic side.

Otto was anxious from the outset to appear as the universal king, equally supreme in every matter. The natural reaction took place; there were dissensions between Saxons and Franks; revolts were joined by two of Otto's own brothers, who had been unable to understand why Otto should be elevated rather than themselves, at this moment when the dynastic theory was only nascent; there were complications with several of the dukes and with the superior clergy in the course of these revolts. Otto had some difficulty in averting these dangers, and as among the Danes, Burgundians, and West Franks, or French, there was no lack of tribal or dynastic tendencies, a kind of protectorate over their kings was immediately offered him.

Otto's system of placing the duchies in the hands of personal friends or immediate and younger relations was not carried out in every case. His son, Ludolf of Swabia, was no exception. He, like his Bavarian uncle Henry, Otto's brother, was carrying on an independent foreign policy beyond the south frontier, exactly as the duchy had done during the weakest period of the German crown. Henry, however, having learned wisdom

Ludolf's Challenge to his Father by many attempts at revolt and past favours, maintained friendly relations with Otto,

whereas Ludolf was inclined to act out of jealousy with his uncle. Hence the Swabian duke was induced to challenge his father prematurely to a trial of strength. The latter's interference in Italy was urged upon him by the necessity of showing that the king himself was master of his foreign policy. The Saxons thus followed

the paths leading beyond the Alps which had been used by the old Merovingians and by their successors, the Carolingians, of whom Arnulf was the last.

At length the claims of East Francia to Italy and the imperial crown, which had long been allowed to lapse, were revived. Otto acted like Charles the Great by pro-

**Otto's Bid
for the
Italian Crown**

claiming himself "Rex Francorum et Langobardorum" at Pavia, and by demanding the imperial crown at Rome

shortly afterwards. Between these two steps he married Adelheid, the sister of his protégé, Conrad of Burgundy, and the widow of Lothair, one of the kings who for some decades past had occupied Italian soil by usurpation. She was a pleasing and distinguished lady, though she did not bring with her the Italian crown—a gift which Otto, indeed, had never expected.

The imperial crown was refused him by the timorous Alberic, who had made himself governor of Rome and lord of the papacy; in Germany the old revolts were for a moment revived with the help of Ludolf. Otto therefore returned and agreed to a convention concerning Italy, which satisfied no one except Henry of Bavaria, who gained the old Friuli with Verona and Aquileia for his duchy. Among the dissatisfied parties was Berengar of Ivrea, who had regarded his own kingdom in Italy as secure upon the death of Lothair, and who had now received only a diminished feudal kingdom; dissatisfied also were Otto's son-in-law, the Frankish duke, Conrad of Lorraine, and Ludolf and his partisans.

A new and formidable revolt broke out, the danger of which was increased by a simultaneous invasion of the Magyars, but public opinion declared in favour of the king. After 954, Otto suppressed the revolt and initiated a new policy, entrusting to the bishops a certain share of the secular government in the duchies and counties,

**The Clever
Policy
of Otto**

and securing that close personal connection with them which he had desired to introduce in the case of the dukes. His

capable brother Bruno, the Archbishop of Cologne, was given the supervision of Lotharingia, always a thorn in the side of the empire, and it was henceforward divided into two duchies. For the help of the Saxon policy against the Slavs, and the Germanisation of the country beyond the Elbe, he proposed to support

the power of the army and the margrave by making Magdeburg on the old frontier a metropolitan seat, and thus a centre of ecclesiastical activity. Upon the Magyars' return in 955, Otto inflicted upon them at the Lechfeld, near Augsburg, a heavy defeat which finally liberated Germany from these marauding raids, and was regarded throughout the empire as an exploit which had secured the salvation of the common monarchy.

The consequence and power of the energetic German king were now obviously in their maturity both at home and abroad; all his activity and all earlier events were turned to some account. The splendour of the age of Charles the Great either revived or was surpassed; Greeks and Saracens sent embassies with presents of honour from empire to empire, according to the forms of courtesy in use at the period. This fact was an invitation to consider the possibility of reviving the imperial power of Charles. It was a possibility further implied by the fact that the Saxon dynasty had attempted and failed to unite its interests with those

**A Policy
that Pointed
to Rome**

of the tribal dukes, had transferred its favour to the upper clergy of the empire, and was in close sympathy with the missionary and universal aims of the Church. The Church and its wide influence possessed at that time as its head Pope John XII.; and it was therefore all the more important to withdraw no longer from the Roman ecclesiastical centre of gravity the influence of an imperial power which could make ecclesiastical policy its own and become the ally and patron of the Church. Moreover, the revival of the empire would provide a definite solution of those Italian problems which had been raised by the behaviour of Berengar and of his son, Adalbert. Every recent development of Otto's later policy seemed to point the way to Rome. The foundation of the archbishopric of Magdeburg could most easily be arranged at Rome, since it was opposed by the Metropolitan of Mainz, who could, from Rome, be prohibited from further extending his great ecclesiastical province eastward.

It therefore appeared that the most tangible national object, the extension of the empire and of the nationality upon the Baltic and in the eastern interior, could best be furthered by measures undertaken in the distant country of Italy.



BISHOP BERNARD RECEIVING EMPEROR HENRY II. AT THE CATHEDRAL AT HILDESHEIM ON PALM SUNDAY, 1003

From the painting by Professor Herrmann Prell, in the Town Hall at Hildesheim, by the artist's permission

The expedition to Italy was begun in 961; in the course of it Otto accepted the Lombard crown, and was finally crowned as emperor at Rome by the Pope on February 2nd, 962. Henceforward the imperial power was not thought to have been fully acquired until this form was carried through. Shortly afterwards the papacy was altered by a forcible change of Pope under the judicial supervision of the emperor himself. Northern and Central Italy immediately became new districts of the empire, as formerly under Charles the Great; the Pope became the chief imperial bishop, even as the Metropolitan of Mainz had been the chief bishop of the German kingdom. The latter was obliged to assent to the bestowal of archiepiscopal rank upon the new see of Magdeburg.

Like Charles, Otto proceeded to effect a composition with Byzantium, which was indignant at his rise to power. After much ill-feeling an understanding satisfactory to both sides was secured by the marriage of the emperor's niece, Theophania, with Otto's son and namesake, whom he had already, in 961, appointed to succeed him. Like Louis the Pious, this second Otto became emperor during his father's lifetime, in 967, for the purposes of the Greek marriage contract. The Saxon dynasty thus calmly established itself, both in its old and new positions, and it seemed that Otto the Great was about to resume the Carolingian traditions in their entirety, when he died on May 7th, 973.

The government of Otto II. (973-983) is remarkable in Germany rather for the continuance than the extension of his father's work. The centre of gravity for the empire shifted so far that it no longer remained in Germany. The existence of the imperial crown made the Lombard crown a superfluity, and this later theory of

**How German
Affairs
Were Decided**

the situation secured the complete uniformity of the whole empire. Imperial assemblies upon Italian soil decided

the affairs of Germany. For the coronation, the emperor's successor, the child Otto III., who was designated at Verona the Archbishop of Ravenna, as well as the Archbishop of Mainz, travelled to Aix-la-Chapelle. The relations of this son of Adelheid and husband of Theophania with the Mediterranean thus differed widely

from those entertained by the successor of Henry I.

The conquest of Græco-Saracen Lower Italy — an enterprise threatened by Otto I. in order to put pressure on Byzantium — became for Otto II. the most important object of his reign. His carelessness brought down upon him the appalling defeat of July 15th, 982, at the modern Capo di Colone, south of Cotrone, which inflamed the slumbering hostility of the Lombards, Wends and Danes. The emperor died before he could repair these heavy losses. The difficult work of restoring the prestige of the empire devolved upon the regent Theophania. With the help of Archbishop Willigis of Mainz she defeated the intentions of the younger Henry of Bavaria, a grandson of Henry I. and a Ludolfing, who considered himself as much better qualified to rule than a queen-regent of alien nationality and dynasty, or even, in the last resort, than Otto III. himself, who, though crowned, was still a minor.

Otto III. suffered more than any other German ruler from the consciousness that he

Otto III. was nothing but a German.
"Nothing but a German" We learn from reliable evidence that Theophania was inclined to manifest her personal scorn and contempt for the Germans, and even for the German characteristics of her own husband. Otto III. complained of "the rudeness of his Saxon character," which had not been entirely overcome by his tutors, who were chiefly foreigners, or by the foreign friends with whom he surrounded himself. He changed his capital to Rome, and thus to the neighbourhood of his friend Gerbert, whom he made Pope Sylvester II. in 999. He fulfilled that theory of the empire which had already been manifest at the court of Otto II., by organising his court upon Byzantine models. He proclaimed himself upon his seal and otherwise as the first real restorer of the Roman Empire in the full sense of the term; for this reason he added "Romanorum" to the title "Imperator." He regarded the Germans merely as a nation subject to the empire, which had its capital in Rome. He assumed the secondary title "Saxonicus," by which he meant not "the Saxon," but "the Governor of the Saxons," after the pattern of the old triumphal titles of Africanus, Germanicus, etc. Believing that the prestige of this empire was but

THE REVIVAL OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

increased by powerful vassals, he bestowed ecclesiastical independence upon Poland by founding the archbishopric of Gnesen over the grave of his Czech friend, Woitech. This measure destroyed the usefulness of Magdeburg. In the same spirit he freed the Poles from their obligations to the German Empire and to the Saxons. He helped the Hungarians to secure a royal crown as a papal fief, and to found the archbishopric of Gran. By the latter measure he destroyed the position of the Bavarian Church among the mixed peoples of the Hungarian territory.

Otto was himself to feel the bitterness of beholding the collapse of the empire thus modelled upon antique forms. The Romans drove out the German who had renounced his nationality from his pampered "aurea Roma." He died in 1002, while he was attempting to make a forcible re-entry, and the transference of his corpse to Germany was completed amid the revolt of Italy.

King Henry II., a Ludolfing of the Bavarian line, whose election was not secured without the opposition of rivals, is, more than all others, the restorer of the royal power in Germany and the German sphere of interest. Although personally a South German, he resumed the policy of the Saxon rulers. He averted the danger of a great Slav Empire, under the energetic Duke Boleslav Chabry, maintained German supremacy over Poland and Bohemia, and founded the bishopric of Bamberg,

in order to secure the transformation of the Slavs on the Upper Main into true Germans. His interference in Italian affairs in 1004 was merely confined to preventing the foundation of a national supremacy by Arduin, or Hartwin, of Ivrea.

Instead of treating Germany and Italy as one kingdom, after the example of Otto II., he followed that of Otto I., and accepted the Lombard crown which Arduin had temporarily lost. In 1014 he made a rapid journey to receive the imperial crown. This restoration of the German monarchy as ruling separate kingdoms led to the acquisition of Burgundia for the German crown through a treaty which promised German protection to the childless king, Rudolf III.

The latter in return promised the royal succession to Henry in his territory. This acquisition, which could not be refused, and also Henry's close but entirely political relations with the Church, which were maintained not so much through the worldly-minded bishops as through the reformers, obliged him to enter the paths of imperial policy. In 1019 and 1020, at the request of the Pope and at the appeal of the faithful Lombard episcopate, he was begged to return to Italy. He undertook the journey in 1021 and 1022, and re-organised the affairs of the north and centre. In his case, however, all these resumptions of imperial policy had a prospect of permanence and success, as he had previously been careful to secure the predominance of Germany.



KUNIGUNDE AND HENRY II.

The Emperor Henry II. and his wife Kunigunde, from their tomb in the Cathedral at Bamberg.



"RESTORER OF THE EMPIRE"

The Emperor Otto III., who suffered from the consciousness of being "nothing but a German," changed his capital to Rome, and proclaimed himself as the first real restorer of the Roman empire.



THE POPE'S HUMILIATION OF THE GERMAN EMPEROR HENRY IV.

In the course of the bitter struggle between Pope Gregory VII. and King Henry IV., the former excommunicated the emperor and deposed him from the imperial dignity. Henry, unable to bear the social results of the papal ban, scrambled over the slippery slopes of Mont Cenis, in the depth of an unusually severe winter, that he might make his peace with the angry Pope. Gregory retired to the castle of Canossa, and to that fortress high up in the Apennines he was followed by the humble emperor. For three days Henry, clad in the thin white robe of a penitent, shivered in the courtyard of Canossa, and absolution was at length granted to him only on humiliating terms of submission.



THE FRANCONIAN EMPERORS AND THEIR LONG STRUGGLES WITH THE PAPACY

THE policy of the childless Henry II. was continued in many respects by Conrad II., a Rhineland Franconian of Salic extraction. His dexterity in crushing a Franconian rival of the same name secured his success in the royal election of September 24th, 1024. The empire had thus passed out of the hands of the Saxons, who had practically lost it in 1002; such, at any rate, was their own opinion when the Bavarian Duke Henry secured the crown, although he was a Ludolfing. The fact that it now returned to the Franconians was due not so much to a regular resumption of the old principle of succession as to the closer relations subsisting among the great Rhine ecclesiastical princes. Conrad, though not educated by court chaplains like most future emperors, but by laics, like Henry I., did not reject the imperial ideas which were forced upon his notice in the most varied directions. He attempted to combine them with an essentially German policy. Hence after the Italian bishops had visited him at Constance during his royal progress and had invited him to come to Italy, he accepted the invitation in 1026, received the imperial crown in 1027, and extended the power of the empire from Lombardy, where it was urgently required, to the south, including the position of the Normans, who were now settled in Lower Italy. As the legal successor of Henry he was able to renew the compact with the king of Burgundy and to resume the government of the country in 1033, after Rudolf's death, being formally elected and crowned in this case as in Italy. The Imperium of the Germans thus comprehended three separate kingdoms, with a guarantee for their permanent union.

Imperial Crown Given to Conrad

The alliance of the Polish duke, Mesko II., with his uncle Canute of Denmark and England threatened danger to this government, which Conrad was able to

avert by immediately contracting a friendship of his own with the Danish king. This was consolidated in 1035 by the marriage of the emperor's son, Henry III., with Canute's daughter Gunhild, or Kunigunde, and by the surrender at that moment of the mark of Schleswig. The brave Saxons settled in this mark remained none the less Germans, and even advanced their nationality beyond the Schlei, further northward. This friendship made it possible to retain the imperial supremacy unimpaired in Poland and Bohemia, and in 1036 to bring to a triumphant conclusion certain complications with a people who had been useful as allies against Poland, the Slav Liutizes.

Royal Houses Joined in Marriage

Polish and Burgundian affairs gave rise to certain difficulties, with which was connected the revolt of Conrad's stepson, Ernest, the heir of the Swabian duchy, and Count Conrad, who in 1024 had been over-reached in the royal election by the adroit management of Archbishop Aribio, who wished to secure the election to the elder Conrad. However, Conrad II. surmounted all these difficulties in 1030. In the constitutional and social development of the empire Conrad proved himself a practical and creative administrator. Both in Germany and in Italy he supported the vassals of the great feudal lords in their efforts to secure a hereditary title to their fiefs. By this action he united the interests of that class with those of the crown, and by this means also in Italy the allegiance to the empire, which was recognised by most, if not by all the bishops, was laid upon broader foundations.

Conrad's Successful Policy

The success of this policy was most obvious in the powerful position which it gave to Conrad's heir, Henry III. He restored the balance between the conflicting powers of Bohemia and Poland—Bohemia in this case being the aggressor—

and secured the obedience of both to the empire; in Hungary the monarchy recently established by Stefan was involved in the fierce confusion of a struggle with old Magyar conservatism. Here the emperor was able to assert the feudal supremacy of the empire in 1044-1045, though it was a relationship which soon afterwards

Henry's Ascetic Character was very loosely interpreted. On the ecclesiastical side Henry's position was determined by an education in spiritual principles and practices which had given an ascetic turn to his character; he was accustomed to lament the secular nature of his father's character and policy. After Gunhild's death he was confirmed in this point of view by his marriage with Agnes of Poitou; she was a zealous pupil of the strict reforming movement which originated at Cluny. The struggle had begun against simony—that is to say, against the purchase of offices, or the return of ecclesiastical revenues to the patron—and against other secular influences within the Church, which were the consequence of its enormous temporal possessions. Henry considered this business the empire's special task, and placed himself entirely at the service of the high aims which had been pointed out to the Church and the papacy. He checked the tendency of the German episcopate to form an independent national Church; and partly in the interests of the authority of the crown he repressed the simoniacal leanings of the bishops, who had become temporal princes of wide power, by emphasising the ascetic theory of the worthlessness of earthly possessions and by supporting the monasteries founded upon the principles of the Cluniac reforms in which Henry II. had already shown special interest.

Three Popes who were fighting simultaneously for precedence in Rome were deposed by Henry in 1046. His action aroused considerable surprise, but it was

Three Popes Deposed by Henry not a difficult task, and was anything but a victory over the Church. He thus made room for a papacy conducted in opposition to simoniacal principles and with a higher conception of the importance of its office. He chose, as occupants of the Holy See, Germans upon whose pure zeal he could rely, men unbiassed by the nepotism of Roman competitors. Although in every individual case he exercised the free and independent right

of the emperor to choose his own Popes, his object was rather to secure a proper occupant for the Apostolic Church than to fortify the interests of the crown. After Swidger of Bamberg, who died in 1047, and Poppo of Brixen, who died in 1048, the Alsatian Bruno of Egisheim, Bishop of Toul, was appointed Pope as Leo. IX. Henry then allowed his nominee to submit his election to the approval of the Romans, and thus to recover the right of confirmation or election for the "clergy and people of Rome." Leo then arranged that the papal election should be made by the college of cardinals; he also secured the help of the Norman conquerors of Southern Italy as the protectors of the papacy, and left to future Popes his scholar Hildebrand as their adviser and practical guide. In 1054 Leo was succeeded by another German Pope, Gebhard of Eichstätt, whose appointment was also confirmed by an election at Rome. Thereupon Roman interests proceeded to break away from all German influences, even from that which had most zealously striven to secure the elevation of the papacy through the

Germans on the Papal Throne agency of German Popes. Henry's imperial supremacy was also expended in conflicts with the German princes.

Until 1049 he had a severe struggle to wage with the capable Duke Godfrey of Upper Lorraine, who, after the loss of his duchy, had gained a new position by his marriage with the widowed Countess Beatrice of Tuscany, the mother of the famous Countess Matilda. The wide possessions of this family in North Italy, the Italian home of which was the castle of Canossa, tended more than ever to alienate it from the imperial power, and to incline it to political co-operation with the papal struggles for independence—a tendency fostered by the ecclesiastical leanings of the two countesses. After 1055, when Henry III. was making a further stay in Italy, the existence of the empire was threatened by a great conspiracy of the South German princes, who had traitorously entered into alliance with the Hungarians. An open breach was averted rather by the death of important participants, such as Wolf of Carinthia and Conrad of Bavaria, than by the measures of the emperor; it was, however, a bad omen for the reign of the six-year-old boy, whose succession the emperor had acknowledged in 1053.

and whom he left to hold his crown in 1056.

Henry IV. had many weak qualities, which, however, being entirely human, were insufficient to extinguish his manly characteristics and his capacity, and made him not unworthy of his later popularity; he is, to an extent rarely so obvious as in this case, a product of the conditions under which he grew. In women so entirely estranged from worldly desires as was the Empress Agnes the feminine desire for support and friendship finds expression

The great struggle for regency and supremacy was then continued between Anno and Adalbert, the brilliant Archbishop of Bremen; he was anxious to be the founder of a Low German patriarchate and to become the temporal administrator of the empire. This he preferred to the papacy, which he might have attained at an earlier date. Between these two leaders, Anno and Adalbert, the factions of the remaining princes wavered as their inclinations varied. The reasonable nature of their policy gradually disappeared, as neither of the



KING VERSUS POPE: KING HENRY IV. AND THE CITIZENS OF WORMS

When the bitter antipathy existing between Pope Gregory VII. and King Henry IV. broke into open war in 1076, Gregory summoned the emperor to appear before him at Rome, there to answer for various breaches of the ecclesiastical law. To that Henry retorted by convoking a Synod at Worms at which the bishops who supported the emperor renounced their allegiance to Gregory, and served upon him a summons, couched in insulting terms, calling upon him to leave the apostolic throne which he had usurped. Henry's humiliation soon followed.

only in tenderer forms. The competing influences of ambitious bishops and energetic laymen, among whom the Burgundian Rudolf of Rheinfelden held an initial advantage, ended in a victory for the clergy. The stern, harsh Swabian Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, was by no means a man who could compete for the favour of a great lady with a Gunther of Bamberg or a Henry of Augsburg. In conjunction with some princes, he pushed the queen-mother aside and secured forcible possession of that valuable hostage for power, the young king.

two archbishops hesitated to use the royal prerogative for their own purposes, and many a powerful layman was seduced by the idea that he could himself be a better king. As regards the young king himself, his character was destroyed by Anno's unsympathetic training, which made the boy mistrustful, reserved, and suspicious. The ill-advised flattery and epicureanism of the cheerful and self-satisfied Adalbert were equally pernicious, since they only resulted in producing in Henry a precocity of the very worst kind.

Such being the state of affairs, Rome proceeded to aggression at an early date. Hildebrand was the real author of the election decree, issued in 1059 by Nicholas II., which placed the election of the Pope in the hands of the cardinals and left only an unimportant right of appeal to the people of Rome; in other words, the decree

A Pope who Elected Himself deprived the great Roman families of that useful implement they had formerly enjoyed, a friendly pontiff. For the crown was reserved only the show of responsibility; but the royal representatives, Agnes and her advisers, replied to this blow merely by an expression of discontent. Very different was the action of the Roman factions and the bishops of Upper Italy. But Hildebrand was ready for any attack. He secured the friendship of the Normans, to whom the papacy had granted investiture of their conquests, in virtue of the suzerainty conferred by the donation of Constantine; he encouraged the democratic and reforming party of the "Pataria" in its opposition to the Lombard bishops, and entirely disregarded the ordinary forms of election if they seemed likely to delay the immediate appointment of the Pope. When the time came, he himself, in open disregard of the decree, assumed the pontificate in 1073 as Gregory VII., without any formality whatever.

Meanwhile, it had become clear that, together with the Normans and the Pataria, a third resource was at his disposal in Germany—namely, the princes and the laity. The king had now attained his majority, and was proceeding to deal with the insubordination of his chief vassals; he took Bavaria from Otto of Northeim. Otto's Saxon friends and kinsmen revolted as a result of long-growing irritation with the Salian dynasty, which they could regard only as alien. Its imperial prerogatives, its demesnes and its Saxon palaces seemed the outward signs of a

What the Saxons did Not See foreign despotism. Fortunately for Henry, the narrow particularism of the Saxons blinded their eyes to the alliance that was awaiting them among the malcontents of Southern Germany and in the Roman Curia. Their political wisdom had not increased since the time of their own wars with Charles the Great. On the other hand, the Swabian duke, Rudolf of Rheinfeld, and Welf, who had received through Rudolf's influence the Bavarian duchy for-

feited by Otto of Northeim, and Berthold of Zähringen—the greatest secular lord in Swabia and duke-elect of Carinthia, though he was unable to make head there against local revolts—all sought the friendship of Gregory VII. After a severe struggle, with varying success, Henry IV. finally conquered the humiliated Saxons in the autumn of 1075. His sole secure support was the citizen class, now rising to power and beginning in many quarters the struggle with the territorial lords, ecclesiastical and princely, in order to secure the autonomy of their own towns.

Hitherto Henry had based his opposition to the Curia upon no broad political principle. All his energies and resources were engrossed by the war in Germany; in view of this main object he considered that the task of explanations with the Pope might be deferred. To the Pope he sent a superfluous and extravagant expression of homage, without considering the political or constitutional dangers which this act might imply; in fact, to all complaints of Gregory he replied only in terms of the most extreme submission.

The Bold Stroke of the Pope Gregory accepted these overtures quietly; and at a moment when Henry's attention was occupied entirely by domestic troubles, in February, 1075, he declared his policy by prohibiting lay investitures—that is to say, by forbidding the king to make appointments to bishoprics and abbeys within the empire, or invest their occupants with lands and revenues. This papal policy implied that the class which might be regarded as the most valuable support of the monarchy was entirely emancipated from its allegiance, and could henceforward be used upon the side of the opposition. Only at this moment did Henry recognise the full extent of the danger which was entailed by an understanding between the papacy and the revolted South German princes.

After his victory over the Saxons he proceeded to secure his position against Hildebrand. Upon this question he was supported by the German bishops, who were by no means anxious to surrender their previous connection with the empire for incorporation in the close hierarchical system with its powerful and aggressive Pope. Thus a violent and perhaps premature counter-stroke was delivered by the imperial diet of January, 1076. Only one duke was present, the younger Godfrey of

Lorraine; he was the son of the above-mentioned Godfrey, whose unhappy marriage with Gregory's friend, Matilda of Tuscany, had driven him to the king's support. On the other hand, twenty-six ecclesiastical princes were present, and were inspired by comparative unanimity. Gregory's papacy was declared to be illegitimately acquired and he himself was deposed, while his friendship with Matilda was also misrepresented.

Gregory relying upon the principles of the false decretals, replied by deposing the king, and releasing his subjects in the three realms from their fidelity and allegiance to Henry. Upon this occasion and in this situation the excommunication of the emperor, which had never before been attempted and had not therefore lost its power, produced full effect. The hostile secular princes carried the sentence of deposition to its logical conclusion, while several bishops recognised, though they had been present at the Diet of Worms, the stronger position of Gregory, and deserted to him. The old secular spirit of the Saxon peasantry could

**Emperor
Deposed by
the Pope**

not be induced to look beyond the special interests of Saxony alone, and was brought only with difficulty to take action upon the wider question. Concurrently with this determined action of the hierarchy, a parallel movement of Cluniac reform was proceeding throughout Germany. The central point of it was the Swabian monastery of Hirsau; clergy educated in this school and inspired with its spirit were gradually placed in the various bishoprics. The election of a new king in place of the Salian monarch who had been deposed by the Pope was deferred, for the most part owing to the selfishness and ambition of the leading parties. Moreover, Pope Gregory, though anxious to secure the subjection and humiliation of the actual monarch, who was at the point of ruin, was not desirous to set up a new king supported by some powerful faction, who might oblige him to begin his work again from the beginning. Against the strong opposition of the princes, he proceeded to discuss the question of Henry's absolution from the sentence of excommunication, and secured an armistice. In order to secure his control over details, which were greatly complicated by the opposition of the princes, he set forth to visit Germany in person.

The king hastened to meet him on his way at Canossa, the castle of Gregory's fellow-traveller, Matilda. Here Henry IV. secured his release from excommunication by a display of unwearied and extreme humility and by a readiness to make atonement which Gregory in vain strove to break by the severest measures. In

**Henry's
Humiliation
at Canossa**

this way the Pope was able to separate the chief penitent from the hierarchical politicians, who were anxious to make themselves masters of the whole situation in Germany. But this was not all. Gregory merely absolved the king in his private capacity, and expressly retained his right to influence the situation in Germany: The vexation and impatience of the princes now came to the support of King Henry and justified his expectations that in this way he would most speedily emerge from his difficulties.

Gregory again joined the opposition to Henry for the reason that the king was growing too strong in Germany. He excommunicated Henry a second time, but the latter upon this occasion was less disturbed at the sentence. On October 15th, 1080, Rudolf was mortally wounded at Grune, near Pegau—according to others, at Hohenmölsen. His death was due to the loss of that right hand with which he had once sworn fidelity to his king, though victory remained with him through the bravery of the Saxons, who remained faithful through all the increasing embarrassments of their favourite and leader, Otto of Northeim. The opposition thus became more confused and less effective, while the new opposition king, Count Hermann of Salm (1080-1088), proved of no importance. Henry was able to travel to Italy in 1084 and to receive the imperial crown at Rome in St. Peter's from the hand of the imperialist anti-Pope, Clement III.; the true Pope was so closely besieged in the neighbouring Castle of St. Angelo that

**The King's
Indifference to
Papal Ban**

he welcomed the relief brought by the Normans at his summons, under Robert Guiscard. Gregory retired to Lower Italy, and died at Salerno on May 25th, 1085, embittered by the thought that he had been defeated in a great and righteous cause. In Germany the Guelfs and Zähringers made peace with the emperor; the latter party for the second time renounced the ducal power in Swabia—which they had claimed after

the extinction of the Rheinfeld family—though they received certain compensation and retained the ducal title in 1098. The duchy remained in the hands of the house of Hohenstauffen, to which it had been given by King Henry immediately after his journey to Canossa in 1079.

Meanwhile, in 1090, a new opponent to the emperor arose from the Zähringen family. This was Gebhard, formerly a monk of Hirsau and now Bishop of Constance, a man of unusual energy and tenacity. He was also the confidential adviser of Pope Urban II. (1088-1099), upon whose accession the papacy, despite the despondent words of Gregory upon his death bed, reaped the fruits of that great statesman's labours and resumed his aims. At an earlier date the revolt of Conrad, the emperor's eldest son, and his opposition kingdom (1093-1101) led to no great result; the rising of the future heir, Henry, who had already been crowned in 1099, began in 1104, as a result of disagreement and intrigue, and became important owing to the co-operation and conduct of Gebhard of Zähringen. He accompanied the young king to Saxony, where the bishop secured not merely full political agreement but also the accomplishment of Gregory's reforms. The result was a very confused campaign of father against son; eventually, in 1105, their quarrel was settled by more reliable measures of treachery and violence. The younger man proposed a meeting with the hope of reconciliation, and took his father prisoner by a breach of faith.

At an imperial diet, summoned to Mainz at Christmas, 1105, the papal legates, Cardinal Richard of Albano and Gebhard of Constance, who were entrusted with full powers, successfully intimidated the numerous princes who supported the emperor and were indignant at the son's action by reiterating old personal charges and producing the former bull of excom-

munication. At the same moment the chief gaoler of the emperor—who was kept in the castle of Böckelheim—the former Abbot of Hirsau, then Bishop of Speier, succeeded by some means in securing his abdication. The son and his advisers, however, did not venture to bring this act of abdication before the imperial diet, an intention which they had originally pretended.

Henry IV. was forced to abdicate on December 31st, at Ingelheim, amid a gathering of his deadly enemies and under threats of excommunication from the legates. Afterwards, relying upon the fidelity which he knew to exist in many quarters, he attempted to reverse this last of the many defeats he had suffered in his restless life, but died before the appeal to arms, at the early age of fifty-six, in Liège, on August 7th, 1106.

Henry V. was a ruler of ability in whom the deceitful and treacherous elements so alien to his father's nature reached their full development and were combined with stern determination. As soon as he became king—that is to say, when he had secured the recognition of both parties—he pushed aside his ecclesiastical teachers and guides, to whom he had been profuse in his promises of important concessions. He invested newly appointed ecclesiastical princes, and calmly informed the Pope, Paschal II., that the custom was traditional and that lay investitures were absolutely essential to the crown. In 1110 he marched to Italy with two formidable armies, himself going over the St. Bernard, through Burgundy, while the duke of Bohemia went over the Brenner Pass.

Paschal, who was a hot-tempered doctrinaire, when confronted with this inevitable difficulty, suddenly discovered the most remarkable of all solutions, the actual accomplishment of which was an almost inconceivable achievement, and to this Henry V. quietly agreed on February 4th, 1111. It was arranged that the



KING RUDOLF OF SWABIA

Elected as an opposition king by the German princes when Pope Gregory VII. and Henry IV. were fighting their protracted duels, Rudolf enjoyed but a brief reign, dying in 1080. This illustration is taken from a bronze plate in the cathedral at Merseburg.



AN EMPEROR ON HIS DEATH-BED : THE LAST MOMENTS OF HENRY IV. OF GERMANY

The life of Henry IV. was full of troubles. He had enemies on every hand, greatest among them being the Pope, who excommunicated the emperor on more than one occasion. At an imperial diet, summoned to Mainz at Christmas, 1105, Henry was forced to abdicate, but his old fighting spirit was by no means quenched, and, relying upon the fidelity of his friends, he determined to reverse this last of many defeats. But he did not live to make his appeal to arms, his restless life ending at Liège, on August 7th, 1106

From the painting by Von Arnim, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

crown should resume all the imperial fiefs held by the ecclesiastical principalities, together with the remaining regalia, with the result that no form of property requiring lay investiture would remain to them. This was a measure of secularisation analogous to that completed to the horror of the Church in the Roman Catholic portions of Germany in 1803, though without inflicting any damage upon the spiritual power and inward strength of the Church. Had any attempt been made to accomplish this enormous transference of property and power in the year 1111, it would have been an event remarkable in

from the old Countess Mathilda a bequest of her property.

No permanent victories are ever secured by such violent measures as Henry had used; the forces of the opposition remained unimpaired. An archbishop, Guido of Vienna, made himself leader of the ecclesiastical resistance in the Burgundian principality, while the secular opposition centred round Lothair of Supplinburg, who had succeeded the Billungs as duke of Saxony. He was a capable administrator of the Low German duchy, and had successfully revived the policy of a political expansion to the Baltic and



MAKING THE POPE PRISONER: AN INCIDENT IN THE CAREER OF PASCHAL II.

In the long struggle for supremacy between the two potentates, Emperor and Pope, little quarter was shown on either side. When Henry V. ascended the throne he invested newly appointed ecclesiastical princes, and calmly informed the Pope, Paschal II., that the custom was traditional and that lay investitures were absolutely essential to the crown. It was arranged that the crown should resume all the imperial fiefs, and when this measure of secularisation led to an uproar, the crafty emperor laid all the blame at the door of Paschal and arrested him at Rome in 1111.

the history of the world; but the secular and ecclesiastical princes made a tremendous uproar at the immense loss with which they were threatened—the secular princes in so far as they occupied ecclesiastical fiefs, while the dominant position which the crown would acquire was no less a cause of dissension.

Henry made the Pope responsible for this indignation, and threw him into confinement. On April 11th he forcibly abolished the prohibition of the investitures and secured his coronation as emperor two days afterwards. On the homeward journey he was clever enough to secure

beyond the Elbe—a policy the more successful as it coincided with the economic interests of his subjects, the rising spirit of nationality, and the energetic character of the laity.

On February 11th, 1115, the opposition defeated Henry V. at the Welfesholz at Mansfield; a series of concessions and attempts to secure peace culminated on September 23rd, 1122, with the Concordat of Worms, which was concluded with Calixtus II. and with the secular and ecclesiastical princes. The episcopal elections throughout the empire were left to the cathedral chapters, in

imitation of the Pope's election by the cardinals. The enfeoffment of the nominees with the regalia was to take place, though only in Germany, before their consecrations, which were thus far made dependent upon the consent of the crown; this enfeoffment, as distinct from investiture, was to be carried out so as to exclude the theory that it implied appointment to ecclesiastical office. Henry V., who was personally an unattractive character, died on May 23rd, 1125, too early to secure the restoration of order, or to reconcentrate and revive the powers of the crown.

The Hohenstauffen Frederic of Swabia would have received the crown, for which he came forward as a candidate in August, 1125, had he not been the private heir and nominee of Henry V. The duke of Saxony was therefore preferred to the succession, notwithstanding his strong position and in spite of, or on account of, his indifference. Thus the kingdom returned to the Saxons, and Lothair in consequence undertook a burden of responsibility and a policy analogous to those of Otto I. At the same time his

**How
Lothair Won
the Guelfs**

consciousness that he was a servant of the Church proved even more inconvenient than before 1125, during his membership of the alliance. It was necessary for him to gain some support against the Hohenstauffen, who were continuing the struggle. They had elected the younger brother, Conrad, duke of a portion of Franconia, as opposition king, for the reason that Frederic of Swabia was suffering under a bodily infirmity. Lothair therefore won over the Guelfs by the marriage of his daughter and heiress, Gertrude, with Henry the Proud in 1127, while the Zähringers were bought with the concession of the imperial governorship in Burgundy. In this quarter they had secured considerable wealth as heirs of the Rheinfeld family and also by a second inheritance of a county in North Burgundy which Lothair assured to them; they were unable, however, to turn to the best account the important position of governor, which they held at the same time. The old single-headed eagle of the empire which these dukes had added to their coat of arms, in virtue of their office, was transferred, after their extinction in 1218, to their heirs of Fürstenberg, on whose shield it is still to be seen. It was under the rule of Lothair (1125-1137)

that the great families of the empire consolidated their power and became of importance owing to the extent and locality of their possessions. The nucleus of the old allodial estates of the Guelfs was situated on the north of Lake Constance; in the meantime they had entered upon the inheritance of the

**The Imperial
Crown Given
to Lothair**

Billungs in Saxony, and were next in succession to the property of the family of Supplinburg, with which were closely connected the inheritances of Norheim and the Ludolfings.

Lothair opposed the enterprise of the Hohenstauffen in Italy, where he received the imperial crown in the Lateran on June 4th, 1133. He attempted to alienate the property of Matilda from her Salian heirs by acknowledging it as a possession of the Pope, who placed this interpretation upon previous promises of Matilda, and received it from the Pope as a fief. He evaded, however, the form of the oath of allegiance, and did not acknowledge himself the Pope's "vassal" (*homo*), as the Curia maintained at a later period. A reconciliation was effected in Germany, under which the Hohenstauffen renounced their claim to the crown in October, 1134, and in September, 1135. A second journey to Rome, in 1136-1137, emphasised by its splendour the unity of the empire and the freedom which the emperor had acquired. Pope Innocent II. regarded the change thus betokened by the emperor's action and his expedition as highly inconvenient. The old imperial rights were enforced throughout the country, and the feudal supremacy over the Normans of Lower Italy was reasserted.

On his homeward journey Lothair died, on December 4th, 1137, in the Alpine village of Breitenwang on the Lech. The empire was again at the height of its power; intellectually and materially a period of prosperity was beginning, to which a considerable impulse was given by the Crusading movement, and it was promoted with surprising rapidity by the laity, who were now awaking from their long torpor.

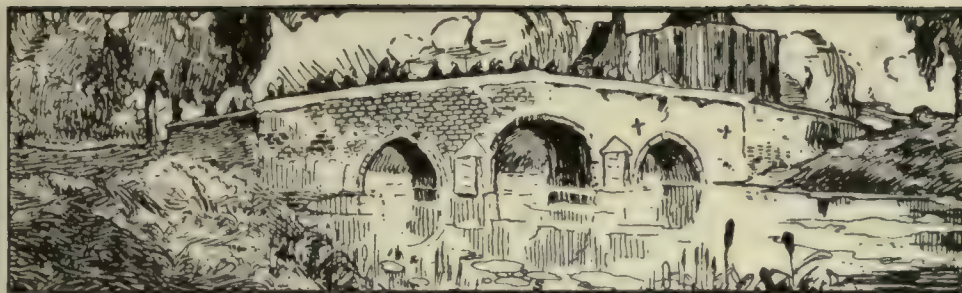
**The Dawn
of a
Great Day**

Western Europe as a whole outstripped Byzantium after this decade, and no longer stood in need of Byzantine civilisation when it had learnt the method of drawing inspiration from the sources of classical civilisation.



FINDING THE BODY OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR, FREDERIC BARBAROSSA

The first of the Hohenstauffen dynasty, Frederic I., Holy Roman Emperor, had an eventful career. He was one of the leaders of the Third Crusade, which was, perhaps, the most famous of the Holy Wars, and during that enterprise met his death by drowning in Pisidia, in the year 1190. From the painting by Bruckmann, in the Stuttgart State Gallery.



THE TRIUMPHS OF BARBAROSSA AND THE PASSING OF THE HOHENSTAUFFEN DYNASTY

IN view of the situation existing from 1137 to 1138, many have asserted that the Guelfs ought to have succeeded in securing the throne with the other inheritance of Lothair; in that case the German nation would have entered upon a period of straightforward North German rule instead of the Swabian government, which eventually lost its vigour in Italy. Conjectures of this kind are invariably to be mistrusted. Otto I. extended the imperial policy to Italy. Otto II. and III. forgot the claims of Lower Germany in view of their desire to advance to the Mediterranean and Italy. Though Lothair had grown old in the politics of Lower Germany, he had devoted the end of his life to warfare and organising work in Lower Italy. We shall find the Guelf Otto IV. pursuing the policy of the Hohenstauffen as soon as he is emperor. It was, in any case, no mere imperial dream which induced the Hohenstauffen to attach such importance to the Italian possessions. It was, on the contrary, the imperative necessity of augmenting the resources of the crown, even more than the power of their own family, by means of Italian wealth.

Why Henry Lost a Throne

The reason why Henry the Proud did not become king, after his step-father Lothair, is to be found in the apprehensions which the princes entertained of his growing power in Swabia, Bavaria and Saxony, and still more in the disappointment which the Church had suffered through Lothair's action. The elevation of Conrad III. was primarily due to the Church. Against a candidate and a wearer of the royal insignia who was so firmly established as Henry, all that could be done was to support the rival and his independent power; a third unimportant claimant would have been useless. We may, indeed, venture to say that the fact that the Guelfs did not then succeed to the crown preserved for them the fruits of those efforts which the

son of Henry the Proud carried to a successful conclusion in the north.

King Conrad considered that it was impossible to break up the power of the Guelfs, and to divide among his Babenberger and Ascanian friends the offices which they were holding. Thus the

The Struggle that Split the Empire

struggle began which divided the empire, and especially the Swabian territory, between the Guelfs and Ghibellines—that is, Waiblingen. In May, 1142, the question was temporarily settled—that is to say, deferred. Henry died on October 20th, 1139, before attaining the age of thirty-two. His son of the same name (the Lion) was allowed to inherit the Saxon duchy; but the margrave, Albert the Bear, became immediately dependent upon the empire, and was given the imperial post of chamberlain. This high office and Albert's exploits laid the foundation of that position which Brandenburg afterwards enjoyed as an imperial electorate; the old duchy of Saxony could thus be represented by two votes among the ruling nobility of the imperial principalities, while to the other hereditary duchies of Germany not even a single vote was accorded.

Between 1147 and 1149 Conrad, much against his will, undertook his fruitless crusade to Damascus. At the same time a crusade against the Wends was undertaken by the princes of Lower Germany, and those who were somewhat hostile to the king, after a loyal agreement had been concluded between the two parties. The

Crusades that Failed

results did not indeed correspond with the amount of energy displayed, though the position of the young Duke Henry in this district was thus confirmed from the first. The alliance between the Guelfs and Zähringers was renewed at the Lake of Schwerin in the course of this crusade; about the year 1147 Henry married the Zähringer Clementina.

The election of Frederic Barbarossa on March 4th, 1152, as the successor of Conrad III. was an attempt to heal the opposition between the Waiblingen and the Guelfs. So great importance was attached to this object that no difficulty was made in passing over Frederic of Rotenburg, the surviving son of Conrad III. Frederic Barbarossa, the Swabian nephew of the deceased king, was a son of a Guelf mother, and occupied in some respects a position midway between the two parties, though not entirely coincident with the position of Conrad III.

The hopes of both parties had been placed upon him during the last crisis, immediately after the Crusade. He had distinguished himself upon the Crusade no less than in a rapid series of exploits at home; he was ready to become king, and his desires were accomplished without difficulty and with the help of various agreements. His choice is a sign of the recognition given to bravery and of the effort for unity during this period, in which the spirit of chivalry was upon the increase.

These influences made Frederic's position firm and powerful from the outset, though he succeeded a transition government which had been marked by great irresolution. Hence his foreign policy was able to make the ideal of Imperial suzerainty effective. In the usual domestic struggle between Danish families for the succession in that kingdom, he was able to secure the success of one competitor, Sven, by accepting him as an imperial vassal. Between 1154 and 1155 he secured the imperial crown, after a rapid expedition with a few men—an achievement for which Conrad had

been too incompetent. In 1154 Bavaria was given back to Henry the Lion, the result being that Austria became the special duchy of the Babenbergers, with certain exceptional rights, affecting its obligations to the empire, secured by the "Privilegium Minus" of September 17th, 1156. The result of this fifty-second election was thus to secure the equipoise of Guelf and Hohenstauffen, though for the moment under a reconciliation which guaranteed peace upon both sides.

Since the time of Charles the Great, no king had been inspired with so keen a desire to secure peace and prosperity for his country as Frederic showed in his measures of organisation and legislation. He proved that his electors had been perfectly correct in their choice of him as successor to the throne. The constitution of the empire was almost entirely remodelled by his action; but the transformation was effected without difficulty.



BARBAROSSA'S AMBASSADORS BEFORE THE POPE AND THE DOGE

Even under the revived "Holy Roman Empire" it was no uncommon occurrence for emperor and Pope to be in violent opposition to one another; and Frederic Barbarossa was not free from trouble with the Papacy, as the following pages and illustrations show. Here we see the ambassadors of the emperor being received by the Pope and the Doge,



THE ELECTION OF FREDERIC BARBAROSSA AS GERMAN KING

In choosing Frederic Barbarossa as the successor of Conrad III., in 1152, the electors selected a man well worthy of their confidence and support. His measures of organisation and legislation were proof of his great ability, and it was generally recognised that no man since the time of Charlemagne had been inspired with such a keen desire to secure peace and prosperity for his country. After settling the affairs of Germany, Frederick paid his first visit to Italy, received the Lombard crown at Pavia, and in 1155 was crowned emperor in Rome by Adrian IV.

He did not, like Charles, attempt to secure the immediate administrative powers of the monarch against the feudal system, but remodelled that system by introducing a series of military gradations. The spirit of patriotism which was then passing over the nation, the sense of nationality among the Germans which was arising to consciousness throughout all classes, enabled him to make the episcopacy the mainstay of his throne; such men as Archbishop Rainald of Cologne and Christian of Mainz proved themselves most reliable princes among the German nobility, and became Frederic's best advisers and generals. On the other side, he turned especially for support to the "ministeriales," both to those of the empire and of his own family, and to those of the German Church.

In continuation of the policy begun by Conrad II., he helped the class of the more important "ministeriales" to become free vassals and to incorporate themselves with the lower nobility. The chivalrous

spirit of the time, which made these social modifications possible, was marked by a high conception of the loyalty due to the position and person of the chief overlord. The secular princes might join this temporal hierarchy of feudal retainers as they pleased; loyalty was expressly demanded by Frederic only of individuals in close dependence upon him, or of those whom he used to counter-balance the great dukes. The chivalrous and national spirit of the age rapidly brought these temporal princes to the emperor's side, often in consequence of loss and irritation, as is shown, for instance, by the history of Berthold of Zähringen.

To the end of his reign, Frederic continued his policy of dividing the old duchies and of reducing the position of the imperial princes, with the result that only the spiritual lords, the diminished dukes, and the more important princes of the Wends were reckoned among the "principes," with the exception of certain

palatine counts and margraves, and the counts of Anhalt—these last as Ascanii. Hence this order was limited to those secular princes who were actually of supreme importance, while the remainder, the chief body of the counts, were reduced to the rank of free lords without sovereign jurisdiction. Thus, in addition to the old hereditary dukes, a generation of younger, more vigorous, and more loyal princes received a new accession of consequence; at the same time the preponderance of the spiritual lords in conjunction with the emperor was secured throughout the empire.

The new class of burghers remained undisturbed by the modifications and the new demands of this chivalrous empire.

Certain distinctions had been purposely created by legislation to separate the merchant and the knight, while the regulations of the public peace, which provided against speculation in corn and other possibilities of the kind, seemed to indicate some animus against the burgher class. On the other hand, other princely houses were, or became, careful to advance the prosperity of the burghers. Of these, the Zähringers were the most important, while the Guelfs also did much by their creation of new cities from Munich to Lübeck; their economic resources were based more or less upon the revenues which they received in their capacity of landlords from the towns and from commerce. This new social organisation of the



THE EMPEROR FREDERIC BARBAROSSA ENTERING MILAN

The old duel between emperor and Pope broke out once more during the reign of Frederic Barbarossa, whose quarrel with the occupant of St. Peter's chair began in 1157. In the following year Frederic crossed the Alps, and after compelling Milan to submit, held a triumphant diet at Roncaglia. Revolts succeeding, Milan was besieged, and more than three years elapsed before the opposition was overcome and the town finally captured and destroyed.



FREDERIC BARBAROSSA RECEIVING THE DELEGATES OF THE POPE AND THE DOGE

The Lombard League, which was an outcome of the enmity of the Italian cities to the emperor, took final shape in 1168, and in the battle of Legnano, in 1176, it defeated Frederic, who was compelled to make submission to Pope Alexander III. by the Peace of Venice. Frederic and the Pope became reconciled, and the bitter struggle with the Lombard League was brought to an end with the Peace of Constance in 1183.

From a painting in the Ducal Palace at Venice.

empire developed rapidly in every quarter. The terms "prince," "lord," "citizen" and "peasant" came into general use; the terms "free" and "unfree" had not entirely disappeared, but became antiquated, while their meaning was often inverted, though the conservatism of Lower Saxony preserved them for the longest period.

Notwithstanding all these regulations, the crown still needed some secure source of revenue, as the private and public revenues of the empire had fallen too largely into the hands of the princes. Such a source could be found in Italy. Even in that country the royal revenues

had largely been alienated from the crown. They had fallen into the hands of the towns, the individual prosperity of which had steadily increased their importance. In Italy national and feudal organisation had almost disappeared. The bishops and imperial officials of former times, together with their vassals, had seen their prerogatives undermined by the development of the town and had accommodated themselves to this development. The blow delivered by Frederic I. against this state of affairs, shortly after his first expedition to Italy, was no doubt an act of oppression and implied a sudden overthrow of what had grown by degrees. The

impoverished condition of the crown and of the empire in the midst of a general and growing prosperity was a bitter experience, while the impossibility of opening other sources of revenue increased the seriousness of the financial situation. The crown, moreover, was theoretically justified in vindicating its former rights.

To the famous imperial diet of Roncaglia in November, 1158, Frederic had summoned from Bologna a number of doctors learned in the civil law, which had lately been revived as a study in the Italian universities, and was still the basis of common law in the towns. These experts advised the emperor to adopt the decisive course of declaring all the royal dues payable to himself, and their actual recipients to be dependent upon him and obliged on their side to prove their rights individually. This assembly of civilians is also of importance in another direction. It marks the beginning of a classical renaissance which was to permeate mediæval thought and civilisation and modify the imperial theory; it is also a proclamation of the revival of Roman law, which was demanded by the imperial interests. The idea of using the antique imperial law for the advantage of the mediæval crown had long before occurred to the acute Henry V.; the diet of 1158 had merely put it into tangible shape.

The long war between the empire and the rich Lombard communes soon broke out, and was prosecuted with appalling animosity. After 1170 the towns were forced into close alliance with the papacy, which was also intimidated by the spectacle of an empire of wide influence conducted upon secular principles by a band of spiritual princes. However, the bishops and the secular princes of Germany continued their fidelity to the emperor. On the one side stood German feudalism and chivalry, and on the other the power of the Italian cities; these parties were in violent opposition, and had no point

whatever of common interest. However, the most powerful of the German princes, Henry the Lion, refused his help to the emperor when it was urgently required. Shortly afterwards Frederic lost the battle of Legnano on May 29th, 1176, though not for want of the duke's help; with a sudden change of plan, he attempted to secure an armistice and a settlement in Italy.

It was most important for him to come to an arrangement with the Guelfs; and at the cost of some sacrifices he secured a reconciliation with Pope Alexander III. in the Peace of Venice, in the summer of 1177. The royal revenues in the Church states and the inheritance of Matilda were guaranteed to him after a lapse of fifteen years, and Alexander was relieved of the presence of Calixtus III., the imperialist anti-Pope. An armistice was also concluded with the Lombard communes; a peace with them was finally arranged at Constance on June 25th, 1183. The emperor saved his territorial supremacy, his judicial rights, his influence upon the administration of independent communes, the *fodrum*—the payment for the expense of maintaining the emperor and his armies—and a yearly sum as compensation for his fiscal rights in the territory of those communes which would not, or could not, prove their rights in accordance with the principles formulated at the diet of Roncaglia. Within their own walls the towns were in undisputed possession



HENRY THE LION

With his following of vassals this duke acted as an independent king. For disloyal action toward Frederic Barbarossa, the latter, in 1180, declared his lands forfeited.

of the revenues and the supreme power. Thus was removed all opposition on the emperor's side to the development of free and independent city states which was then taking place in Italy. At the same time, the influence of the crown in Italy was now far greater than in 1152; and after the conclusion of peace, the splendour of the empire as head and front of the knightly organisations, which Barbarossa's vigour in these struggles and negotiations had maintained, was further advanced.

THE HOHENSTAUFFEN DYNASTY

Among those violent adversaries the emperor himself secured a popularity and a distinction which the leading commune, Milan, soon strove to share as an honour of special importance.

The destruction of Henry the Lion falls between the peace of Venice and that of Constance. Since 1156 Germany had been practically divided into two empires, that of the west and south, extending towards Burgundy and Italy, and the Bavarian-Saxon Empire, with a Slavonic and northern policy. Henry the Lion had extended his conquests to Pomerania, and had founded Lübeck as a permanent Saxon harbour on the Baltic. This duke, with his independent vassals and his "domestic disturbances," acted as an independent king; more than once the abbots and bishops within his territory, who were possessed of territories or dioceses,

his town of Brunswick a ducal residence of unparalleled splendour. Upon the occasion of a breathing space from his domestic work, he made independent expeditions eastward, like a great king, in 1172. We must also mention the fact that about 1174 Frederic obtained the reversion of the estates of Henry's uncle, Welf VI., which consisted of the old Swabian Guelf lands to the north of Lake Constance.



VIEW OF BRUNSWICK

This must be added to the points of difference and division between the two great cousins, although it might eventually lead to the further consolidation of the two monarchies.

The crisis was initiated by the refusal of this uncrowned monarch in Lower Germany to place his army at the disposal of the Hohenstauffen in the hour of danger; his help had been requested as a favour and not as a matter of feudal right. The Emperor Frederic regarded himself as paralysed in the



THE RESTORED DUCAL PALACE AT BRUNSWICK

had joined the temporal lords of Saxony against Henry. The histories of the empire and of this ducal power run almost in parallel lines. A further-line of demarcation was secured when Henry exchanged certain Zähringer estates in the Breisgau, which he had gained by marriage, for certain royal estates in the Harz district. Side by side with Goslar, and surpassing that royal town, Henry made

freedom of his own policy by this growing Guelf kingdom in the other half of Germany. The refusal to render military substance implied something more than a policy of mutual avoidance, and an understanding on the point was imperatively demanded. It must always remain a matter for our admiration when we consider the means by which Frederic, though simultaneously opposed by the

towns, the Pope and the Guelfs, extricated himself from these difficulties, came to an agreement with all three with no loss of supremacy, obliged his opponents to make peace and to grant concessions, and then advanced with determination upon the Guelfs. This was a daring resolution, but the best he could make,

Frederic's Struggle for His Rights as in any other case his action would be perpetually thwarted from the side of Germany. Had Frederic made concessions to his adversary to secure the help which he desired for reclaiming the utmost of his rights beyond the Alps, we should have every reason for blaming an empire which neglected its domestic power to secure supremacy in the south, and thereby destroyed the unity of the nation. Frederic made his plans for the decisive struggle with the greatest caution, availed himself of the weapons of formal right, and used them to the utmost by dexterous policy.

As soon as the whole position was transferred from the level of political force to the strict theory of constitutional and feudal law, the ground was cut from under the foundations of this second great state within a state, the existence of which had hardly been disputed. The emperor appeared not as an opponent but as a judge, and immediately sent the princes who had a grudge against Henry to the attack. The Guelf was thus handed over to the judgment of feudal and common law, was deprived of his ecclesiastical and imperial fiefs, of his rights of local justice, of his allodial domains, and was outlawed.

In November, 1181, the struggle concluded with some diminution in the severity of the sentence; the annihilation of this family would have been an unparalleled proceeding, and the effects of such acts of extirpation are often disastrous to the triumphant party. The sentence of outlawry was removed, and

Henry the Lion in Exile Henry received his Saxon allodial territory once more. He was, however, obliged to go for a time into exile in order that the new arrangements might be carried out without his personal interference, and for this purpose he chose England, where relatives of his family were settled.

The Saxon duchy was broken up; a number of its subjects were made immediately dependent upon the empire, while a ducal power over the west was given

to the archbishopric of Cologne and the remainder of the east was transferred to an Ascanian line. In 1180, as a reward of service, the Count Palatine of Bavaria, Otto of Wittelsbach, was created a duke, which implied a restoration of early historical family connections. The duchy was, however, further diminished by the fact that certain provinces were made independent or dependent upon the empire; these were Styria, Tyrol and Istria.

The highest point of imperial power is marked, after the comparatively favourable peace of Constance in 1183, by the brilliant festival of Mainz at Whitsuntide, 1184, when Frederic's elder sons, Henry and Frederic, were knighted. Equally obvious on the occasion of this festival is the enthusiasm of the nation and of the contemporary court poets—Walther von der Vogelweide and others—for the splendour which surrounded this great emperor and leader. The emperor's position was advanced even more by the general current of events in Europe than by his personal victories; and in the autumn of the same year, William II. of Sicily, the

Lombardy Between Two Fires Norman ruler of Lower Italy, though a sworn ally of the Guelfs since the Crusade of Conrad III., offered to the Hohenstauffen prince, Henry, the hand of his heiress, Constance, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the Pope.

There was a strange and general movement of lay feeling throughout the world, which tended to compose the difference between political opponents, between the chivalrous and the trading, and which even under the cassock of the distinguished prelate appeared in open or secret opposition to the principles of secular or hierarchical self-renunciation. As we have already observed, Milan requested the honour that within its walls, as a counterpart to the festival of Mainz, should take place the imperial celebrations of January 27th, 1186; it was a marriage destined to strengthen the hold of the Hohenstauffen upon Italy in an unparalleled degree and to bring Lombardy between two fires.

Henry was, then, crowned thus in Milan with the iron crown of the Lombards. It is remarkable that the emperor gave his successor the title of Cæsar, which the classical Augusti bestowed upon their presumptive heirs; Augustus and his imperial power had in point of time preceded Peter, the apostle of Christ. In 1165



CONFERRING KNIGHTHOOD ON THE SONS OF FREDERIC BARBAROSSA AT MAINZ IN 1184

A great festival was held at Mainz, at Whitsuntide, 1184, on the occasion of the knighting of the emperor's elder sons, Henry and Frederic. The brilliancy of the event was matched by the enthusiasm of the nation, and the ceremony is described as marking "the highest point of imperial power," the Emperor's position being then at its zenith.

Frederic demanded the canonisation of Charles the Great from the then Pope, Paschal III. This was a matter of political expediency, and the translation of the Frankish emperor's remains was carried out with due solemnity. Frederic now surpassed the energies of his model, and united the foundations of national German supremacy with the traditions of the universality and magnificence of the old classical empire.

The Curia despaired of the laity, but not of itself or its ideal of the predominance of the Church. It placed its hopes, in spite of all, upon the possibility of recovering the ecclesiastical, military

and political power which had belonged to the episcopate. Its opposition to the fiscal rights of the crown was a clever move in the interests of the ecclesiastical princes. According to these rights, when an episcopal chair fell vacant, the personal property of the deceased and the enjoyment of his revenues reverted to the crown, until a successor had been appointed; and this was a source of income which had recently assumed a value unforeseen by the simplicity and poverty of the past.

The evil results of the overthrow of Henry the Lion, which had relieved the Low German ecclesiastical princes of a burden, were further announced in the

self-seeking policy of Philip of Heinsberg, Archbishop of Cologne. He forthwith grasped at the proffered friendship of Rome, and, abandoning his position as the high official and helper of the emperor, came forward as the representative of Rome and the hierarchical idea in Germany, and looked about him for political support. The

Destruction of Jerusalem tension was then relieved by the destruction of the kingdom of Jerusalem by Saladin and the Crusade of the emperor; he was the supreme head of European chivalry, and in conjunction with France and England he drew his sword on behalf of the eastern policy of the Church, an action which tended further to consolidate the ecclesiastical position. With imperial conceptions which were greater than any previous German ruler had entertained, but which were almost forced upon his notice, he appeared in the Slav states to the north of the Balkans, and on the East Mediterranean; he held out a prospect to the Armenian Leo II. of the grant of a royal fief by the empire; but his career was closed by his sudden death. The account of the Crusade will be found in the later section devoted to the Crusades.

Henry VI. had accepted all these practical and ideal conceptions of universal wide supremacy; but both before and after his father's death, on the River Salef on June 10th, 1190, he was obliged to secure his position in Germany and in Italy. The old Duke Henry of Saxony had already appeared upon German soil in October, 1189, in a defiant and revengeful spirit, which was stimulated by the English king, Richard Cœur de Lion.

This monarch in the winter of 1190-1191 entered into relations with the Norman revolt in South Italy against the husband of Constance, and opposed those claims of supremacy to which Henry was legally entitled by the death of William II., on November 18th, 1189. It proved possible, however, to secure a favourable change of position. The friendship of France was certain, and Philip of Cologne, who was intimidated by the appearance of the Lion, became a temporary helper and intermediary. Afterwards, indeed,

while Henry VI. was on his road to Sicily, a menacing understanding was begun between the Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz and the other princes; but, fortunately for Henry, the life and soul of the opposition at home and abroad, Richard Cœur de Lion, was trapped in Austria on imperial soil, on December 21st, 1192, by the Babenberger duke, Leopold, whom he had personally insulted before Acre. Leopold handed over his prisoner to the emperor, and the conspiracy was broken up.

On February 4th, 1194, the Emperor Henry, who had held that title since April 14th, 1191, surrendered the pledge which he possessed in the person of the adventurous Plantagenet for a ransom of 150,000 marks. In the spring of the same year, 1194, Henry the Lion



KING PHILIP OF SWABIA

Unable to secure the succession of Henry's son, Frederic, then but one year old, the Hohenstauffen party was forced to elect Philip of Swabia; he was murdered in 1208.

abandoned his hopeless attitude of defiance and became reconciled, after his son, of the same name, had received, as the son-in-law of the Hohenstauffen Count Palatine Conrad, the promise of the succession in this Rhenish principality, which was formed of Franconian lands, and the official revenues of Lorraine. In 1194 Henry gained a complete victory and shattered the resistance of the Normans in Southern Italy. On Christmas Day he received the crown at Palermo and secured his possession by the severity of his measures. After these

events there appears in German history, the imperial idea of amalgamating in one whole the German, Italian, and Burgundian kingdoms with the independent Sicilian monarchy, which was not subject to election, provided that the house of Hohenstauffen should be secured against the uncertainties of an election, or, in other

**Henry's
Proposals for
the Empire**

words, if the empire could be guaranteed to that family by right of hereditary succession. In return for this concession, Henry proposed to abandon the "Jus Spoliorum" in favour of the ecclesiastical princes, and to permit the secular princes to extend the rights of succession to include their female relatives. These arrangements are intelligible only upon the supposition that Henry, instead of abandoning his independence in the Norman kingdom,

proposed to subject the whole empire to a centralised administration of officials, for which purpose he had successfully employed the German Order of Knights in Italy. He must also have proposed to transform the German princely families into a class of high territorial nobles—an attempt which the French crown afterwards carried out successfully.

This tremendous innovation would have transferred the centre of gravity of the empire beyond question to the shores of the Mediterranean; and therefore the opposition beyond the Alps, in Lower Germany and in the territory of Cologne, with its relations with England and the North Sea, was especially keen.

The plan was repeatedly discussed in December, 1195, but was finally abandoned at the end of 1196.

There was one achievement visible to all the world, and standing as evidence of the universal and imperial, no less than the monarchical, tendency of this strong government; this was Henry's enterprise in the East—one of the successful Crusades, notwithstanding the fact that it was prematurely abandoned owing to the sudden death of the emperor on September 28th, 1197. Since the emperor took no personal share in the undertaking, his Arch-Chancellor, Conrad of Wittelsbach, the Archbishop of Mainz, acted as his representative. This crown

official led a number of high secular princes, and crowned Amalric king of Cyprus and Leo II. king of Armenia, accepting both as vassals of the emperor. The dangers of the electoral rights of the princes, which Henry had proposed to abolish, were never revealed with more appalling clearness than on the death of Henry VI.—one of the most decisive events, if not in German history, yet in that of the mediæval empire.

The Hohenstauffen party could not secure the succession of Henry's son, Frederic, the child of Constance, who had been chosen in 1196 and was then but one year old; they were forced to appoint Philip of Swabia on March 8th, 1198, at Mühlhausen in Thuringia, an election preferable under the circumstances, though not unanimous, and were obliged to leave Italy to itself. The opposition were at first in favour of Berthold V. of Zähringen; when, however, he declined, they chose, on June 9th, at Cologne, Otto, the second son of the deceased Henry the Lion. In the last reign the empire had reached an unexampled pitch of splendour and had



ANCESTRAL CASTLE OF THE HOHENSTAUFFEN BUILT IN 1080

reduced even Byzantium to the position of a vassal state; now two rival kings had suddenly reappeared, who would be likely to fritter the power of the crown away, in order to increase their own following. Pope Innocent III., who held the balance between the two parties, claimed the right of arbitration, which Otto at last

Two Rival Kings conceded to him in the hope of securing his support. Philip, however, who championed the rights of the secular power, gradually asserted his position, but only to be murdered in consequence of a private quarrel immediately after his success, on June 21st, 1208.

Otto IV. immediately proceeded to effect a reconciliation with the party of the Hohenstauffen, and to reassert the royal and imperial rights wherever possible, and even in Italy. Upon this sudden change in 1210 the Church again proceeded to play off the Hohenstauffen against the Guelfs, as it had done in 1138, the Guelf candidate being Frederic II., king and heir of the two Sicilies. The Hohenstauffen proved victorious, supported as they were by Otto's enemies and by the opposition of France to the Anglo-Guelf alliance on the Lower Rhine.

Frederic, who had been present since the midsummer of 1212, remained completely master of Germany after the Emperor Otto had been defeated by Philip Augustus at Bouvines on July 27th, 1214. For more than three decades he was able to use this position to overcome all difficulties by the surrender of the German crown rights, while working to secure the expansion of the monarchy in Italy and its close connection with the fully centralised official power of the Norman kingdom; he also added the crown of Jerusalem to that of Sicily on March 18th, 1229.

As early as July 12th, 1213, he had renounced in writing at Eger the crown rights resigned by the Concordat of Worms,

The Cunning Policy of Otto IV. and had also surrendered the "Jus Spoliorum," the property of Matilda and the possessions in the Church states claimed by the Curia. The importance of the document was increased by the addition of letters of consent from the princes, a further constitutional development. On March 22nd, 1209, Otto IV. had made the same concessions at Speier to secure his election as emperor, but had afterwards cunningly explained that the consent of

the princes had not been secured. For this reason more careful measures were taken for the future. In May, 1216, Frederic surrendered the regalian rights; in 1220 he was anxious to exchange positions with his son Henry, who had been originally intended for the kingdom of Sicily.

Frederic now proposed to administer Sicily himself, while bringing his son as regent to Germany; for this purpose, at Frankfort-on-Main, on April 26th, he guaranteed the territorial rights of the ecclesiastical princes, limited the sphere of the royal jurisdiction, and renounced all fiscal claims upon towns, castles and customs houses. The regency of his crowned son gradually developed into a kind of opposition kingdom, and in order to deprive Henry of his friends, Frederic threw the German towns entirely into the power of the princes by the Privilege of Worms of May 1st, 1231, removing their powers of self-administration and of concluding alliances with one another; at the same time he recognised the territorial power of the secular princes. The empire

Suppression of Heresy thus became a loosely connected congeries of ruling princes under a royal or imperial head.

In 1233 he also threw Germany open to the prosecution of heretics by the Church, which proceeded to torment the alienated laity with inquisitions and martyrdoms. The Dominican inquisitor, Master Conrad of Marburg, and his assistants, were given full power of jurisdiction until the indignation of the people and of the secular princes put an end to the persecution after a few years of terror.

After the youthful policy of King Henry had clashed with that of his father in July, a certain return to the centralising policy was implied by the measures of August 15th, 1235. These were a great ordinance for the public peace, by which the Teutonic right of prosecuting private war was considerably limited, and the foundation of a permanent high court of justice. At that time the allodial possessions of the Guelfs were made immediately dependent upon the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

While this period is almost void of imperial exploits of successes, German independence, as such, was beginning to develop. Otto IV. in his necessity, and also Frederic, to gain support against Otto, had surrendered Holstein and the German Baltic districts to the Danes in



AFTER THE BATTLE OF BOUVINES, IN WHICH PHILIP AUGUSTUS DEFEATED THE EMPEROR OTTO ON JULY 27TH, 1214
From the painting by Vernet at Versailles.

1201 and at the end of 1214; the courageous blow delivered by Count Henry of Schwerin in May, 1223, and the bravery of the allied Low German estates in the brilliant fight of Bornhövede, recovered these territories from their foreign ruler on July 22nd, 1227.

In the distant country of the Prussians the Teutonic Order of Knights, founded before Acre on March 5th, 1198, began in 1228 a series of conquests under the leadership of the great Hermann of Salza, who was a faithful counsellor and a kind of German conscience to Frederic II. On the battlefield of Liegnitz the Mongols were repelled on April 9th, 1241, by the bravery and heroic death of Duke Henry II. of Lower Silesia. From Silesia to Prussia and Jutland, industry and culture, accompanied by a full consciousness of German nationality, proved invariably triumphant, and transformed the native dynasties of the Slavs into German princely houses. Hungary, which had been severely ravaged by the Mongols, recovered her prosperity through the efforts of the new German colonists, who were summoned to the country. It seemed that Bohemia

and even Poland would be peacefully overcome by the powerful growth of the German nationality; the Bohemian court, like the Silesian, was already German.

Frederic proceeded to wage his wars against the Lombards in Italy. He relied upon his Sicilian troops rather than on German support. He asserted the rights of the empire, not through the German knights whom his father had employed, but through the support of great civic families on whom he counted to end the period of self-government. His successes threatened to become a danger to the States of the Church in 1241, but resistance in that quarter was encouraged by the determination and the statesmanship of Sinibaldi Fieschi of Genoa, Innocent IV. (1243-1254).

At the Council of Lyons, on July 17th, 1245, this Pope excommunicated the emperor and deposed him from all his kingdoms. He then offered the Norman kingdom to some new vassal and secured the election of an opposition king even in Germany. On May 22nd, 1246, Henry Raspe, the landgrave of Thuringia, was elected, and upon



AFTER THE BATTLE OF BENEVENTO: CAPTURE OF THE FAMILY OF MANFRED

The illustration represents an incident that followed the battle of Benevento in 1266, in which the German King Manfred was defeated by Charles of Anjou. Manfred was slain, and his family fell into the hands of the conqueror.

From the painting by Eduard von Engerth in the Art Museum at Vienna

his death before Ulm in February, 1247, Count William of Holland was appointed in September.

The transference of the imperial power to the princes is clearly expressed in the fact that their tool, the counter king, was not necessarily possessed of princely rank or power of his own. On December 13th, 1250, during the preparations called forth by the defeat of Vittoria on February 18th, 1248, a misfortune due to carelessness, Frederic II. died—where we do not know. He carried with him to his grave the empire of Charles the Great, Otto I., Barbarossa and Henry VI.

For the revival of that empire he had never made the smallest effort. He had little or no personal sympathy with the German nationality. He was a product of Italian and Saracen education, a poet in the Italian language, the independent monarch of a centralised government, the champion of a closely organised monarchy upon modern lines in his own hereditary kingdom; and in Upper Italy he was "the first of the moderns," standing on the threshold of the future Italian renaissance.

Death of

Conrad IV.

German feudalism and chivalry had no attractions for him; he was equally out of sympathy with the rich and joyous development of Central European culture as exemplified in Germanic civilisation, with the home of the Nibelungen, of Wolfram, of Walther, and of mediæval romanticism.

Conrad IV., son of Frederic II., had been already crowned in 1237, and attempted to maintain his kingdom by securing his possessions in Sicily. There he died at Lavello on May 21st, 1254. His half-brother, Manfred, in opposition to Conrad's son, Conradin, to whom he was opposed, as Philip of Swabia had been opposed to Frederic II. in 1198, sought to preserve the Sicilian monarchy by making himself its representative, after 1258, but was defeated at Benevento on February 26th, 1266, by Charles of Anjou, who was in allegiance with the Curia. Charles, the capable but ruthless brother of Louis IX. of France, continued the traditions and the work of the Emperor Frederic II. among that motley collection of peoples which formed the Norman state.

In Germany a change of circumstance was marked by the continued rise of the

citizen class. Privileges had been hastily granted to this class by Frederic II. after 1242, when he began to feel the pressure of the princes, especially of the ecclesiastical party. The great town federation which began in 1254 with Mainz and Worms, and speedily reached Regensburg and Lübeck, included numerous members and relatives of the princely class. King William was satisfied to remain the patron of the alliance and to increase his prestige by this position; it was, indeed, rather fostered than diminished by the early decay and the growth of disunion within the federation.

Rise of the German Citizens

In January, 1256, William died in the course of a local Frisian quarrel, and a year afterwards a more restricted body of the princes, who had preserved this right against the rising power of the third estate and wished to turn it to pecuniary account, chose two masters who were able to pay for the distinction. Of these, Richard of Cornwall and Poitou, brother of the English king, Henry III., was a man of straw; on the other hand, the bold Alfonzo X. of Castile pursued the Italian and Mediterranean policy of the Spaniards, which materially influenced the Apennine peninsula in the course of following centuries, and seized the opportunity of basing his plans upon the inheritance of the Hohenstauffen.

Side by side with these mock governments proceeded the enterprise of Conradin. He had been educated by his uncle, Duke Lewis of Bavaria, and though not elected to the German crown, he was duke of Swabia, with a hereditary claim to the crowns of Jerusalem and Sicily. He hoped to reconquer the latter state, and then possibly to change the course of events in Germany. The downfall of this courageous youth, on October 29th, 1268,

The Sad End of Conradin

conjoined with the permanent imprisonment of Enzo by the people of Bologna, from May 26th, 1249, to March 14th, 1272, caused the extinction of the male line of the Hohenstauffen and the dissolution of the duchy of Swabia. The last Hohenstauffen were avenged upon the house of Anjou by the instrumentality of Manfred's son-in-law, Peter of Aragon, and the Sicilian Vespers of March 30th, 1282.



THE EMPERORS OF GERMANY

AND

THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE PAPAL POWER

Independent Teutonic Federations ABOUT the middle of the thirteenth century all continuous influence on the part of the crown had practically ceased. The idea of national unity and of common authority was again overshadowed by the old invincible Teutonic tendencies to separatism and to the formation of small independent federations. Thus, when these broken forces found themselves inadequate to secure their own purposes, help was sought in temporary alliances and in unstable connections. The primitive characteristics of Teutonic constitutional life—individualism on the one hand, completed or voluntarily extinguished by a process of federation upon the other—reasserted themselves in the face of the later or foreign conception of uniformity, though they reappeared in changed form and in different stages. There is no doubt that the manner in which the monarchy had been finally administered contributed largely to the triumph of these tendencies. We enter upon a period of alliances and peace unions, of town leagues and Hansas, of noble and chivalrous societies, of princely alliances and electoral diets.

Among these movements appears a remnant of the royal power which is not absolutely extinguished, but is used now for this purpose and now for that. The kingdom has revived, but its means of subsistence are refused whenever it threatens to become a real force. With the exception of the leading civic offices, which continually call for a change of occupancy, all else had become hereditary. The restricted class of the high nobility, though not predominant, was able to retain within its limits the power to confer the crown; and this it exercised in different directions, taking full care that the remnants of monarchical influence should never put forth new roots.

The German history of this period consists of territorial aims and events, of capacity and effort applied to local enterprises. It was not the imperial government but the rivalry of individual forces in the most varied localities that secured the great increase of material prosperity and culture with which a detailed history of the nation must deal, and the evidence of which is still to be seen in the north and south of Germany, in her Gothic churches and warehouses, her sumptuous palaces and lordly castles, or in the collections which illustrate the progress of artistic taste in manufacture and the development of civilisation.

Meanwhile the crown was utterly impoverished as compared with those who should have been its subjects. In this position it was retained by the repeated elections of monarchs who possessed no means at all, or only so much as would prevent a more important personality from grasping the monarchy. Under such circumstances the various emperors naturally attempted to find support for themselves and for their houses; in other words, they regarded their immediate object as the task of making themselves distinguished and prosperous princes, like their electors. On occasion they attempted to divert the wealth of the towns to their own coffers, but a more successful method was the seeking or the using of favourable opportunities to make themselves strong territorial lords. But all attempts to exalt the conception of the monarchy proved fruitless. Moreover, their efforts were marked by a general individualism. Among other points we observe that the interests of an individual emperor were practically confined to the geographical boundaries of the district which he had inherited or might acquire. During

**What the
Emperors
Aimed at**

THE EMPERORS OF GERMANY

the period of rivalry between the Saxons and Hohenstauffen this had not been the case to the same extent. The Sicilian Frederic II. is an exception; he was no more a German than Alfonso of Castile. Upon the whole, however, rulers like Lothair of Saxony or Otto IV. had raised the crown above the sphere of mere territorial politics and given it a more imperial significance.

After the interregnum, it was the house of Capet which chiefly aimed at that imperial and universal position vacated by the fall of the Hohenstauffen. This family was established by Charles of Anjou in Provence, in Lower Italy, and in the Arelate province of the kingdom of Burgundy, which belonged historically to the Germans. It embraced Italy upon two sides, and afterwards, when established in Hungary, upon three. It began to resume the policy of Frederic I. and Frederic II. in Lombardy. It then surrounded the papacy, whose power the French strove to use as an instrument of their imperial designs, in a mean spirit of aggrandisement which is wholly

**Shattered
German
Empire**

alien to that of the former German emperors, with their devotion to ecclesiastical ideals. Towards the close of the thirteenth century the Capets began to cast glances upon the shattered body of the German Empire, to consider the possibility of acquiring and incorporating it in their own world power. Nor, after the elections of 1257, can we feel any surprise when we find enthusiastic Frenchmen proclaiming the advantage offered by this prospect to the peace of the world and to civilisation in general.

The man who averted these comprehensive foreign ambitions and recalled the Germans to their own course of development was not one of themselves, but a foreigner, Pope Gregory X. The entire change of political circumstances had forced upon his notice the necessity for a German monarchy worthy of the name, which he could use as a counterpoise to the imperialism of the Capets. He therefore threatened the princes with a choice of his own making if they did not elect a king of their own after Richard's death on April 2nd, 1272.

Since Frederic I. had proposed to limit the number of the princes, and therefore of the electors, certain events which were taken as precedents, certain

theoretical and literary formulæ, including the precedent of the cardinal bishops, had tended to produce an isolation of the electoral body and had secured a certain recognition for the theory that seven princes were the special electors to the empire. However, the rise of the electoral college is by no means a simple process, and it was

**The Golden
Bull
of 1356**

only the Golden Bull of 1356 which defined the existence of this new element in the constitution. Among the princes who belonged to this corporation the wish for a native king had been gaining ground since 1272. The most powerful of the lay princes in the empire was King Ottokar of Bohemia. After the extinction of the Babenbergers, in 1246, Ottokar had emerged triumphant in 1251, notwithstanding the tortuous intrigues of the Emperor Frederic II. and of other princes to secure this inheritance. He had ruled over Austria and Styria with Carinthia and Carniola since 1269. It was his earnest desire to open Bohemia and Moravia to German immigrants, to found towns and to introduce civilisation of the German type, and so to raise the level of their civilisation. In the east a great and uniform power was in process of formation under the Premyslids. He also extended his influence to the north-east, where he was in close connection with the pioneers of German expansion; the young town of Königsberg in Prussia adopted his name in his honour and in memory of his co-operation with the Teutonic Order. Hence in every respect it was intelligible that he should not be the king the electors desired and that they attempted to exclude him from all influence upon their choice.

On September 28th, 1273, they elected a man who was not a prince, but a Swabian count, Rudolf of Hapsburg, the candidate of Archbishop Werner of Mainz. Rudolf's hereditary lands lay in the Sundgau and

**Rudolf
Called to
the Throne**

Aargau; his family had inherited a considerable portion of the large territories of the Zähringers, who became extinct in 1218, through the house of Kyburg and in conjunction with their property; this important Swabian and Burgundian territory had been further increased by the cleverness and foresight of Rudolf. Thus it was not an entirely unimportant personage who was brought forward from the south-west to confront the new Henry

the Lion in the east. Moreover, from the outset Rudolf was resolved to assert his position as king. The relation between himself and Ottokar was analogous to that which had formerly existed between King Conrad I. and Duke Otto the Illustrious of Saxony; there are many points of similarity in their respective relations to the electoral princes.

**Rudolf's
Bold
Measures**

Conrad, however, had avoided the stronger territorial lord, who did not care to be king, as his candidature was not seriously considered, and had finally offered the empire to his son. Rudolf, on the other hand, formed the bold resolve of overthrowing Ottokar and securing his territorial power for himself. Here, again, we see points of resemblance with the destruction of the rival Guelf by Frederic I. Rudolf utilised the legal pretext of unfulfilled feudal obligations, and summoned the Bohemian in due form before his court. Ottocar, like Henry, had to deal with risings at home and with the opposition of the Bohemian superior clergy, whom Rudolf again turned to his own account. He was also helped by the Bohemian particularist movement against the Germanising territorial lords and the opposition to the Hungarian king, Ladislaus. With their help Rudolf secured the upper hand in the fierce decisive struggle on the Marchfeld at Dürnkrut, in which Ottokar lost not only the battle but also his life at the hand of his subjects on August 26th, 1278. It was not the princes of the empire who helped Rudolf to this success; on the contrary, Ottokar found valuable allies among them wherever the king revealed his purpose. These purposes, however, were attained by calmness and dexterity. The Premyslids were restricted to Bohemia and Moravia, to the satisfaction of other rulers; at the same time the policy of German immigration, which had been fostered by the native rulers, was now brought to an end. The

**Rise of
the House of
Hapsburg**

process of Germanisation and immigration came to a standstill, and the policy of the succeeding Premyslids was now turned from its former paths to Poland and Hungary—that is, to paths which did not affect Germany. In Austria and Styria, which were at first governed by an imperial vicar, the house of Hapsburg quietly seized the territorial supremacy. Carinthia and Carniola were transferred to Rudolf's

supporter, Duke Meinhard of Görz and Tyrol, whose daughter, Elizabeth, was married in 1276 to Rudolf's eldest son, Albert.

Austria being thus secured, Rudolf then attempted to lay his hands upon Hungary. In the west, within the hereditary property of the Hapsburgs, he was anxious to restore the duchy of Swabia and the royal prerogative in Burgundy for the benefit of his house. These efforts, however, proved fruitless. The achievements which he had secured by bravery and care conferred too great a distinction upon his son, Albert of Austria, to secure the latter the favour of the electors. His third son, Rudolf, might have been a possible candidate, as the old view of the hereditary rights of a chosen and reigning family was not altogether dead, and as Rudolf was to inherit only the old Hapsburg possessions; he, however, died in 1290 before his father. Moreover, Albert was rejected by the adoption of a new theory, to which the force of precedent was given; as Rudolf I. had not been emperor, it was asserted that no king of the Romans or

**The King's
Concessions to
the Papacy**

successor could be elected during his lifetime. As regards the imperial rights in Italy, Rudolf had renounced Lower Italy and Sicily and also the "recuperations" of the Patrimony in favour of the papacy, in 1275 and 1279, but had renewed the contracts of Otto IV. and Frederic II., made during their time of alliance with the papacy, and had secured the recognition of his title by Gregory. In Upper Italy, therefore, the possibility of restoration remained open to the German imperial power, and homage was there offered to Rudolf through his ambassadors.

Upon the death of Rudolf I., on July 15th, 1291, an even less important personality than Rudolf had been in 1273 was elected on May 5th, 1292; this was Count Adolf of Nassau, who had to buy his election by heavy sacrifices from the remnants of the imperial demesnes. The new king could see no other way of asserting his position than that which Rudolf had followed—to secure control of some principalities. For this purpose he thought he might turn to account the violent family quarrels of the Wettins. This family, which belonged to Meissen, had secured Thuringia after the death of Henry Raspe, in 1247. The Hessian portion of the province had gone as a special

THE EMPERORS OF GERMANY

landgraviate to an heiress of Brabant, belonging to the family of the landgraves of Thuringia, which had become extinct in the male line in 1263. Adolf now interfered in the family quarrel of the Wettins by purchasing the lordship of Meissen and Thuringia, which were the property of the aggrieved party; this he was enabled to do by using the subsidies which England had been sending since 1294 in return for

Austria. Three of his six married sisters brought him into connection with the princes of Bohemia, Wittenberg in Saxony, and Brandenburg; these relationships offered more or less tangible prospects to his relatives, calmed their opposition, and induced them to take sides against the king. The electors of Adolf had grown dissatisfied with their choice, and Albert was therefore chosen king on June 23rd, 1298, at the instance of Wenzel II. and Archbishop Gerhard of Mainz, while Adolf was simultaneously threatened with the sentence of deposition from the electoral body. The matter was decided by Adolf's overthrow at the battle of Gölheim, not far from the Donnersberg, on July 2nd.

It was naturally only to be expected that the powers which had created the opposition king should quarrel with him as soon as he was sole ruler. It proved impossible permanently to satisfy all his helpers, though Albert had hoped to secure this end by renouncing his duchies, which he placed in the hands of his sons as his vassals. In other directions he showed that the Hapsburg lust of territory was by no means appeased. He took upon himself the claims to Meissen, which Adolf had bought, and attempted also to appropriate Holland, Zeeland, and Frisia upon the death of the local ruler, John I., in 1299; here, however, he was obliged to retire in favour of the Hainaulter,

John II. of Avesnes, who derived a hereditary right from the female line of succession.

Rudolf I. had originally and unsuccessfully attempted to burden the towns with heavy direct taxation to supply the royal privy purse, but had afterwards courted the friendship of these mercantile republics. This latter policy was continued by Adolf, and followed by Albert, who



RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG ACCEPTS A CROWN

When the Swabian count, Rudolf of Hapsburg, was elected Emperor of Germany, in 1273, the country was the scene of many disorders, and these he at once proceeded to suppress. By defeating and killing Ottokar, the powerful Bohemian king who held Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, he laid the foundation of the future greatness of the famous house of Hapsburg. Rudolf died in 1291.

the promised co-operation of himself and the German chivalry against France. This proceeding was highly questionable, and was also an enterprise beyond his powers, as he was wanting in that calm, clear strength of calculation which had distinguished Rudolf I.

Meanwhile, Adolf was opposed, not only by the Wettins, whom he was attempting to oppress, but also by Albert of

abolished, in favour of the towns, in 1298, all the territorial customs-houses which had been illegally erected since 1245. In his relations with the lower nobility and the knightly classes he followed in the steps of Adolf, whom he had overthrown. Thus the jealousy entertained by the electors towards the crown, which,

**Archbishops
Fall Before
the King**

with the help of the other orders, seemed likely to recover its position, became steadily accentuated, until the decision could no longer be postponed.

As usual, the three Rhine Archbishops of Treves, Mainz, and Cologne, together with the Wittelsbach Count Palatine, Rudolf the Stammerer, asserted the electoral power against the crown and the Hapsburgs. Brandenburg, Saxony and Bohemia clung to that side which they considered most important for their territorial position; during the various elections their votes were simply placed at the disposal of one or another of the electoral archbishops. These four archbishops now met on October 14th, 1300, at Heimbach, near Bingen, and deposed Albert, but in the following years he rapidly overthrew them one after another.

The king's relations with France and the Pope were dictated solely by the desire to avoid interference with his German policy. The papal biretta had lately been changed by Boniface VIII. to the double tiara, denoting the supremacy of the world. This ambitious successor of Gregory and Innocent opposed the imperialism of France by advancing those pontifical claims which had already raised the papacy above the empire. The struggle between the supreme powers in Church and State now lay between Rome and France, as a result of the change in the political situation. In reference to Germany, the papacy needed only to complete the acquisitions already made. For this purpose Albert, after the end of 1302,

**The Great
Triumph of
the Pope**

steadily offered every opportunity. On April 30th, 1303, he received the papal confirmation of his title, which, much to his disgust, had hitherto been withheld; he made no difficulty in declaring that both the electoral rights of the prince and the military power of the chosen king or emperor were subject to the supremacy of the Pope as overlord. These direct concessions were the greatest triumph which the hierarchical theory ever gained over

a generally recognised German government. At the same time they implied very little in actual practice, and affected the independence claimed by the electors in greater measure than the power of the king. Immediately afterwards the French monarchy pronounced its theories upon the subject, and the papal sentence of excommunication was followed by the imprisonment of the Pope in his own territory on September 7th, 1303. From the time of Boniface's successor, Benedict XI., the papacy long continued to be a tool in the hands of the French monarchy, and was resident, not in Rome, but at Avignon.

Albert had in 1306 secured the succession of his son Rudolf to Bohemia upon the extinction of the Premyslids. Rudolf, however, died on July 4th, 1307, and the Bohemian crown fell, against the will of the German king, to Henry of Carinthia. On March 31st, 1307, his general, Henry of Nortenbergh, was defeated at Lucka by the Wettins, Frederic and Diezmann. It must, however, be allowed that the position of Albert was solid and powerful. He might

**King Who was
Murdered by
His Nephew** have been able to transform the electoral crown into a monarchy had he not been murdered, on May 1st, 1308, by his nephew John, son of the above-mentioned Rudolf, who had demanded his old Hapsburg inheritance, and interpreted the king's reluctance as an intention to withhold it entirely. As upon the death of Henry V., the premature death of this stern and ruthless man must be regarded as a severe loss to the cause of the German monarchy.

Upon the death of Albert the work of the practical Hapsburg politician, the strengthening of the monarchy, was handed over to the political idealism of his successor, Henry VII. This petty count of Luxemburg, born between 1274 and 1276, was brought forward as a candidate by his brother Baldwin, who was but twenty-two years of age, and had just been appointed Archbishop and Elector of Treves, and by the Archbishop of Mainz, Peter of Aspelt, who was of a Luxemburg family. Henry was successfully elected on November 27th, 1308. The opposition candidate was Charles of Valois, brother of the French king, Philip IV. Thus the ambition of France, which was now determined to lay hands upon the German crown, was frustrated by this means, and the turbulence

of the Rhineland princes was abated. Meanwhile, however, though Henry's land was entirely Frankish, early residence, education, and connections made him half a Frenchman.

A true product of Romance civilisation, Henry now proceeded to revive the splendour of the Romano-German Empire to the full extent of its historical theory, as if there had existed no obstacles or overwhelming difficulties in Germany or Italy. He viewed the position with the eyes of a Capet rather than an electoral prince. His enterprise was favoured at the outset by many facts. Though he was half a foreigner and possessed but little territory, he had no great or united opposition against him in Germany. Neither Pope Clement V., who was dependent upon France, nor the French king was disinclined to leave him unfettered within certain limits; it was possible that he might be useful for their purposes, and he might also be able to organise for the Pope that great final crusade upon which the Curia, untaught by two centuries of experience, continued to rely for the fulfilment of its old hopes of universalism. If successful, he might break the bonds in which France had confined the papacy.

Italy found that after her liberation from Hohenstauffen despotism, far from securing peace, she had been involved in the local feuds of the Guelfs and Ghibellines; these animosities had increased so rapidly that a mediator from beyond the Alps would be welcome to the Ghibellines, as the realisation of hopes which were either far-reaching or selfish. Every German who could see beyond his own immediate convenience was at once attracted by this return to the traditions of the Hohenstauffen, which still survived among the nation, though these feelings were now manifested rather as a form of enthusiasm

than as an effective determination. In Bohemia, where Peter of Aspelt possessed long-standing connections, the Carinthian had not been able to establish himself, and in the summer of 1310 the crown of the Premyslids was offered to Henry's son John, born in 1296 together with the king's daughter Elizabeth; the offer was accepted, and a compromise with the house of Hapsburg was then facilitated.

Such were the prospects with which the Luxemburger crossed the Mont Cenis and appeared in Lombardy at the end of October, 1310, accompanied by 3,000 troops. There, however, the same theory of imperial supremacy which gave its character to the whole enterprise and provided it with both moral and intellectual strength, eventually hampered and destroyed a success which had at first seemed easy. Henry refused to accept the support of the group which stood ready to help him. He would not purchase their homage at the price of his help. He wished to be not a partisan king, but an all-powerful mediator, the one and only emperor of peace. He thus seized the opportunities which he found here and there, chiefly among the Ghibellines, to attract even his most distant opponents and to secure their adherence, as opportunity offered, by friendly overtures and concessions. In this way the

general body were thrown into confusion. He was soon obliged to abandon festivals and tournaments for siege operations and punitive courts.

The king was also obliged, whether he would or not, to avail himself of the partisan help offered in the country. The calculating Angevins of Naples had never found it so easy to secure the allegiance of their inheritance in most important towns in Upper Italy and Rome. Henry's coronation as king of Lombardy, on January 6th, 1311, was easily



THE ARCHBISHOP OF MAINZ

This illustration, reproduced from the tomb of Peter of Aspelt, Archbishop of Mainz, in the cathedral of that city, represents him with the three kings whom he crowned—Henry VII., Lewis the Bavarian, and John of Bohemia.

and rapidly secured. His imperial coronation by three cardinals in the Lateran on June 29th, 1312, was a less brilliant affair, as he could not secure entrance into St. Peter's. Meanwhile he had now recognised Naples as his most formidable opponent, and had begun a war in alliance with the Aragonese king, Frederic of Sicily. At this point Pope Clement V. interpreted his action, not as securing his position in Upper Italy, but as an attempt to revive the policy of Manfred and Conradin, and as an open breach of the guarantees which Henry had given. Possibly Clement was correct in thinking that this emperor would have become a second Frederic II. in the event of success, and would have eventually left Germany unsecured. King Philip of France was naturally no less excited than the Pope. The Pope and the emperor fought by means of legal experts and publicists, discussing the correctness of their respective theories. The imperial theory, which Henry was bound to define by the exigencies of his position, undoubtedly shook the justice of French and papal imperialism and its recent achievements. A powerful fleet started from Italy and began the appeal to arms, with much promise of success. The emperor himself, who had formed an armed camp in opposition to Florence, which was ruled by the Guelfs and Angevins, and constituted the central point of hostilities in Upper Italy, started southward from the faithful town of Pisa. While this state of tension was continuing, he succumbed to an illness on August 24th, 1313, midway between his friends and foes, after triumphs and disappointments.

In Germany the Austrian party and that of Luxemburg and Mainz now made their preparations for the elections. These parties were too comprehensive to leave room for the existence of a third. As the youth of John made a Bohemian candidature impossible, for this and other reasons the Bohemian party supported the candidature of the Wittelsbach against the Hapsburg. Before the gates of the election town of Frankfort in Sachsenhausen, on October 10th, 1314, Frederic III. the Fair, of Austria, son of Albert I., was elected by the exiled Henry of Carinthia, representing the Bohemian court, and by Saxony, Wittenberg and Cologne ;

Theories of King and Pope

Electing a King at Frankfort

but on the following day, on the right bank of the Rhine, Lewis IV., of Upper Bavaria, was elected by Mainz, Treves, Brandenburg, Saxony-Lauenburg, and by John of Bohemia. The Hapsburg side was joined against Lewis by his brother Rudolf (the Stammerer) of the Palatinate, with whom he had quarrelled.

Lewis was forthwith opposed by the resistance which had thwarted the Swabian ambitions of the Hapsburgs since the middle of the thirteenth century—a resistance offered by the federal communities of the Forest Cantons. This opposition became a local war, in which Leopold, Frederic's brother and best champion, suffered the heavy defeat of Morgarten at the hands of the Swiss and the peasants of Uri, on November 15th, 1315. Modern Switzerland rightly considers this federal alliance, the earliest attested by documents, between Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, on August 1st, 1291, as the initial date, or, better, the jubilee date of its origin. It must be remembered that neither upon this nor upon other occasions of the kind was there any proposal to break away from the empire. On the contrary, the question at issue was the maintenance of that immediate dependence upon the empire which, in the case of Uri, was indisputable; in other words, it was resistance or revolt against the Hapsburg supremacy. In this struggle the Forest Cantons saw, on March 29th, 1316, the confirmation of Henry VII's promises of June 3rd, 1309, which Lewis of Bavaria now considered as equally important to himself.

His war against Frederic, which became a struggle of skirmishes and attempts to secure allies, was considerably advanced, on September 28th, 1322, by the battle of Mühldorf, in which Frederic was beaten and taken prisoner before Leopold's arrival with fresh forces. It was not a decisive battle, as neither party was overthrown. Frederic himself, who was released from the fortress of Trausnitz to secure the retirement of Leopold, returned home without accomplishing anything. After a personal interview Lewis granted him the rights of co-regency by the treaty of Munich on September 5th, 1325. The situation was not clear until Leopold's death, on February 28th, 1326; thenceforward Frederic remained in peace, as the master of his hereditary territory, with the title of King of the Romans, which

Resistance to Hapsburg Supremacy

THE EMPERORS OF GERMANY

was very little more than personal. He died on January 13th, 1330.

With the battle of Mühldorf begins the supremacy of Lewis in Germany, although he entirely lost the Luxemburg and Bohemian friendship by his friendship with Hapsburg. He had already greatly offended John. After the extinction of the Ascanians in Brandenburg in July, 1320, he had invested the Bohemians

Pope John XXII. in Avignon. The object at stake was to secure the same submission to the papacy of the Wittelsbach, which had been gained from Frederic's father, King Albert I., though John did not feel himself bound to the Hapsburgs. On October 8th, 1323, this Pope proceeded to complain that though Lewis did not possess the papal recognition, he had yet assumed the kingdom of Italy,



LEWIS THE BAVARIAN CROWNED EMPEROR AT ROME

Elected Emperor of Germany in 1314, Lewis the Bavarian proceeded to Rome, where he was anointed by a bishop who was not a cardinal—a strange innovation—and crowned by the capitano of the city. Lewis quarrelled with Pope Benedict XII., and was excommunicated for denying papal authority in Germany. His stormy career ended in 1347.

with the fiefs of Bautzen, Löbau, and Kamenz, but in the spring of 1323 he had placed his own son Lewis in possession of that electorate.

For Brandenburg itself the Wittelsbach government was an interim with no particular influence upon the prosperity of the country or the people, but rather tending to impoverishment and internal disruption. The more Lewis strengthened his position, the stronger became the opposition of

and invited him to answer personally for his conduct at Avignon on July 11th, 1324. The king and his legal advisers were supported in the struggle thus forced upon them by a valuable body of helpers, the Minorites. In particular, a certain fanatical section of the Franciscan friars called zealots or "fratricelli," who were condemned for heresy (November 22nd, 1323), attacked the papacy, and not only the papacy, but all clergy who declined to

endorse an extreme Franciscan doctrine of poverty. This sect of friars proceeded to offer a bold and clever literary defence, criticising the foundations of the papal position and claims. It made the cause of Lewis its own ; and as it was widely spread and popular in the towns, it easily persuaded the people to feel no apprehension

Lewis Crowned at Rome of excommunication or papal interdict. Lewis, who had no cause for fear respecting the attitude of Germany, appeared in Italy and advanced to Rome. He was anointed by a bishop who was not a cardinal—a strange innovation—and crowned by the capitano of the city of Rome, a Colonna, on January 17th. He then pronounced the deposition of the Pope as a heretic in April, 1328. No other important consequences resulted from this Roman journey, which ended disastrously in December, 1329, apart from the new impulse given to Roman animosity by imperial claims and demands.

The action of John, who died in 1334, and of his successor, Benedict XII., in Germany, eventually led to the famous electoral conference of Rhens on July 16th, 1338. At this meeting the electors laid down the principle that their choice conferred the title and power of king upon the successful candidate, as well as a claim to the empire ; that empire and kingdom were therefore independent of the papal power, and were rather derived immediately from the grace of God. These resolutions were accepted by a diet which met at Frankfort in August of the same year. It was then proposed to make war on France in alliance with England, since the king of France was the protector of the papacy. King Edward III. appeared at Coblenz on August 31st and seated himself on the steps of the throne, upon which the emperor appeared in full imperial splendour. Thus a further impulse was given to a wider conception of German imperial

Papal Claims on Germany power, and the papal claims to control the German crown were eventually shared in common by every order in the empire.

Lewis might have had an opportunity of refounding the power of the crown at this moment, had not the efforts of the crown been rather directed to territorial acquisition. Its subsequent attitude was that of feeble conciliation towards France in 1342, and the Curia in 1343, followed by illegal infringement upon their privileges.

John of Bohemia had married his son John Henry to Margaret Maultasch, the daughter and heiress of Henry of Carinthia and Tyrol ; she was older than her husband and therefore preferred the emperor's eldest son, Lewis of Brandenburg. The Pope, however, who was an enemy of the Wittelsbachs, would not do them the favour of dissolving the earlier marriage or of providing the dispensation necessitated by the near relationship of the contracting parties ; these acts were therefore performed by the emperor himself, who thus simply superseded the rights undoubtedly belonging to the spiritual authorities.

The further extension of territory at which the Hapsburgs had long been aiming was secured by the Emperor Lewis, upon the death, in 1345, of William, Count of Hainault, the ruler of Holland and Zeeland. Lewis had married the sister of Count William, by name Margaret, as a second wife, and to her as his heiress he transferred the government of the vacant imperial fiefs, which were then held in trust for her son William. The Wittelsbach territory thus extended

The New Pope Clement from Hainault and Brandenburg to Tyrol, and the succession of a son of Lewis to the empire was therefore inconceivable ;

attempts to turn the electors in his favour proved hopeless. The new Pope, Clement, resumed the struggle from Avignon, after 1346, with considerable vigour. Charles of Moravia and Bohemia had been ruling in place of his father, who had gone blind in 1340 ; he was the Pope's personal friend, and to do him a favour Prague had been made an archbishopric in 1344, and the metropolitan influence of Mainz thus withdrawn from Bohemia and Moravia. On April 13th, 1346, Clement solemnly banned the Bavarian. Charles came to Avignon in person, renounced the electoral decrees of Rhens, admitted all papal demands for supremacy, promised that the emperor should spend no further time in Rome than the single day of coronation, and that the Pope should decide all complications with France, etc. Besides his great-uncle Baldwin of Treves the electoral votes of Mainz, Cologne, and Saxony-Wittenberg were secured for Charles, while the votes of the Palatinate and Brandenburg were refused, as these electors were under an interdict ; thus Charles was proclaimed king on July 11th, 1346, at Rhens.



THE GERMANIC EMPIRE

RIVALRIES OF THE EMPERORS AND THE POPES

CHARLES IV. had not been long recognised as emperor when, in the winter of 1347-1348, he made a triumphant progress through South Germany and received homage in Regensburg, Nürnberg, and even in Ulm, and was favourably met by a number of princes. The powerful Wittelsbachs, headed by Lewis of Brandenburg and Tyrol, were still bitterly hostile to him. At their instigation King Edward III. of England was, in January, 1348, elected emperor by four electoral votes. But Charles induced Edward by skilful diplomacy to renounce his election, and he made at the same time great advances in North Germany, in the immediate neighbourhood of Brandenburg, a Wittelsbach possession.

Not unconnected with this was the appearance of a man who gave himself out as the Waldemar who had been dead for nearly thirty years, and, supported by the enemies of Lewis, was universally acknowledged in the march to be the old lord. Charles, who certainly had nothing personally to do with the imposture, naturally took the matter, so favourable to him, in a serious light, ordered the stranger to be solemnly proclaimed as the real Waldemar by people who had known the latter, and gave him the fief of the march in return for the concession of Niederlausitz. The prospect, at the same time, was held out to the dukes of Saxony and the counts of Anhalt that they would succeed to Waldemar's land in the event of his dying without issue.

In any case Lewis had lost his support in the north; he could hold his own only in Frankfort-on-Oder. He did not wish to enter into negotiations with Charles. Indeed, he set up a rival candidate, the energetic Count Günther von Schwarzburg, a petty lord, known as a valiant warrior. On January 30th, 1349, Günther was chosen emperor on the plain before Frankfort by the votes of the

electors of Mainz, the Palatinate, Brandenburg and Saxony; a few days afterward the town allowed him to make his entry. But his following did not increase, and Charles made great advances in the empire, especially when in March he married the daughter of the palgrave, and thus not only drew the latter over to his side, but at the same time broke up the hostile alliance of the Wittelsbachs. Since Günther refused negotiations with Charles, a short struggle for Castel and Eltville ensued, from which Charles derived considerable advantage.

Before matters came to a decision, however, Lewis of Brandenburg himself sued for peace. Günther was abandoned by his party, and very soon died at Frankfort, after he had formally relinquished his claim to the empire. Charles now gained the recognition of the princes by making concessions to them. The electors of Mainz, the Palatinate and Brandenburg declared publicly that they had elected Charles emperor after Günther's death, and he was solemnly crowned, together with his consort, at Aix-la-Chapelle, by Baldwin of Treves.

In Brandenburg, meantime, fortune had favoured the side of Lewis. In a diet at Bautzen the princes declared that they could not consider the claimant as the genuine Waldemar if they were called on to swear to it. Charles, therefore, enfeoffed Lewis the elder once more with the march as well as with Carinthia and Tyrol, and promised to take steps toward releasing him from the ban. Lewis delivered up the insignia of the empire. The renewed ban did him little harm. He reconciled himself with his neighbours by concessions of territory and payments of money, and, finally, in 1355, with the counts of Anhalt. But he transferred the march as a whole to his younger brother, Lewis the "Roman," in 1351. Tranquillity and

**The Fate
of a Rival
Emperor**

**How Charles
Treated
an Impostor**

**Peace and
Order in
the Empire**

order again reigned in the empire. Charles was the only and universally admitted king.

Charles was doubtless aided by an event which bore on politics only through the feelings with which it inspired princes and statesmen. Toward the end of 1347 there first appeared on the shores of the Mediterranean an epidemic which had never yet been known in Germany. It spread with inconceivable rapidity over all Western Europe and spared very few districts.

The pestilence was called the "Black Death," and men thought to explain it by accusing the Jews of having poisoned the wells. Although Pope Clement, as well as the Emperor Charles, gave no credence to the report, a universal sanguinary persecution of the Jews followed, accompanied by hideous acts of cruelty.

The loss of life caused by the plague cannot now be even approximately stated. Goswin, a monk of the Convent of Marienberg in Tyrol, considers that hardly a sixth part of the whole population of the country survived. Of his convent brethren only two lived through it, himself and another. Similar results may have been found in other districts. For years afterward the deficiency in population was noticeable.

The event made a marked impression on contemporaries. Since many people saw a divine punishment in this terrible pestilence, a course of life acceptable to God seemed to be the best means of propitiating the wrath of heaven. Brotherhoods were formed, especially in the Netherlands, and set before themselves the duty of mortifying the body and of doing penance by lacerating their flesh with scourges in the presence of the whole population.

The "Flagellants" obtained everywhere so many followers that this new mental disease caused for some time as much excitement in Germany as the physical disease of the Black Death. In the strain of this terrible time the new

emperor had little to contend against: men's minds were fixed on supernatural issues. Charles now wished to be duly crowned and consecrated; but Clement, who had been bitterly deceived in his protégé, refused his request. It was only after Charles, in 1353, had taken for his third wife Anne, daughter of Duke Bolko of Schweidnitz-Jauer, and after Innocent VI. had mounted the papal throne, that the journey to Rome took place in 1355.

In Rome great hopes were entertained of

the grandson of Henry VII. Rienzi hoped to revive his power by help of the new emperor; but Charles gave no encouragement. The title of emperor satisfied him. He marched over the mountains with a small retinue, received the crown of Lombardy, and was crowned emperor at Rome. He left the Eternal City the same day in order to return soon to Germany, laden with large sums of money. By the beginning of July he was once more at Augsburg, proud of the imperial title.

A few months later, he entered Bohemia, and summoned an imperial assembly at Nuremberg, at which the first part of the new state charter, afterwards called the Golden Bull, was discussed and solemnly published on January 10th, 1356. The second and shorter part was made law in the diet of Metz on December 25th, 1356. The Golden Bull in all essential points ratified the existing condition of affairs, and only in isolated sections

decided for one of two antagonistic parties. It was the foundation-stone of the German constitution up to the peace of Westphalia and still later, and was of great importance in the development of constitutional ideas.

With Poland and Hungary Charles made political arrangements, but with France and with Pope Innocent his relations became troubled, as he made promises to both which he could not possibly fulfil.



THE EMPEROR CHARLES IV.

Charles IV. was not well received as Emperor of Germany by all parties; and a rival emperor in the person of Edward III. of England was elected. Charles, however, induced him to withdraw.

So, too, the question of the castle and lordship of Donaustauf, which Charles had acquired from the Bishop of Regensburg, soon led to a bitter struggle with the Bavarian Wittelsbachs. But the glory of the Wittelsbachs was passed, and the Hapsburgs in Austria had become the leading southern power of Germany, under Duke Albert, who died in 1358. His son Rudolf, son-in-law of the emperor, managed by forgeries of imperial grants to secure to himself and his house the rights which the Golden Bull had conceded to the electors. Charles was obliged finally to make some concessions, although he was very little disposed to acknowledge the claims of Rudolf or to agree to his acquisition of Tyrol, which Margaret Maultasch handed over to him in 1363 as a gift.

To settle political dissensions he chose Elizabeth, the daughter of the duke of Pomerania, for his fourth wife. The marriage took place at Cracow in May, 1363. At the beginning of the next year a full peace was concluded with Lewis of Hungary and Rudolf of Austria, and a little later followed the important agreement as to the succession between the houses of Luxemburg and Hapsburg.

When Innocent VI. died, in 1362, without having accomplished any great results as far as his Italian policy was concerned, and without having advanced the reform of the Church, Urban V. was raised to the papal chair in order to continue the efforts of his predecessor in Italy. It now seemed to the Emperor Charles a favourable opportunity to enforce the return of the Pope to Rome. The close connection of the papacy with France implied a danger for the whole of Western Europe. In the eyes of contemporaries, who, without exception, attached great weight to externals, the imperial dignity itself was bound to be impaired if merely a legate and not the

Pope himself performed the ceremony of crowning.

Urban was not opposed to the proposal of leaving Avignon, but could only point out to Charles the quite incalculable obstacles in his way. Charles therefore resolved to go himself to Avignon in order to remove the difficulties and to guide the whole policy of Western Europe into another channel. He entered Avignon at the end of May, 1365, and was crowned as king of Burgundy, thus proclaiming his insistence on his right and title. He then began negotiations with the Pope and the brother of the French king about a crusade which was intended especially to clear the country from the roving mercenaries who lived in France.

When Charles left Avignon he had made every sort of arrangement with Urban about the removal to Rome. In the diet of Frankfort he obtained the consent of the princes to an expedition to Rome, and Urban promised to start in the spring of 1367, and in the first instance to live at Viterbo. He sailed, in fact, from Marseilles on April 30th in an Italian ship, took up his residence at Viterbo, and entered Rome on October 16th.

But the preparations for war in Germany met with obstacles. Sickness and famine delayed the assembling of the army so that the emperor did not appear in Italy before May, 1368. The war with Bernabo de Visconti of Milan was un-

successful, so that a peace was concluded by the end of August. Charles, however, marched on with only a few followers, had a meeting with Urban in Viterbo, and both made their entry into Rome. The emperor stayed this time two months in the city. During this period his consort Elizabeth was crowned empress. He found many fresh complications on his way back, especially with the Milanese, who had broken the peace. He had also forfeited



A RIVAL EMPEROR

Count Günther von Schwarzburg was set up as a rival emperor to Charles IV. in 1349; but he was soon deserted, and his death at Frankfort quickly followed.

Engraved from the tomb in Frankfort Cathedral

the friendship of Urban long before he reappeared in Germany in August, 1369. For the Pope did not find in Rome what he wished, and in 1370 returned once more to Avignon, where he died in December of that year. His successor was Gregory XI., nephew of Clement VI., a learned man, who was regarded as an especial friend of Charles. The good understanding between Charles and the princes had terminated even before the expedition to Rome. His matrimonial policy made it only too clear how he hoped to enrich his family. In any case the rival princely families saw their hopes deceived. There could be no doubt now that Charles's fervent wish would be to secure the royal crown for his son Wenceslaus, or Wenzel, who was betrothed to the Hungarian princess Elizabeth—a splendid prospect, which would have raised the Luxemburgs high above all other princely houses.

Charles' Matrimonial Policy

Charles, on his return home from Italy, saw himself confronted by a confederacy to which the Count Palatine Rupert, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, Poland, and Hungary belonged. From this a danger threatened him in the east of his dominions, especially because the march of Brandenburg, which was pawned to him, no longer afforded any real support. Fortunately for him, Casimir of Poland, whose realm was now united with Hungary, died at this time; so, too, did Gerlach of Mainz, and the emperor succeeded through papal favour in elevating to the important episcopal throne one of his relations, the bishop of Strassburg, a man of no independence of character.

Now, however, a new quarrel about the march of Brandenburg broke out. At the beginning of the year 1371 Otto declared his nephew Frederic to be his heir in the march, and thus prejudiced Charles's claims to inherit. War, therefore, began. On the side of the Wittelsbachs Pilgrim of

Kings Fight for Territory

Salzburg and Lewis of Hungary fought together against their inconvenient neighbour. But nothing came of it except plundering and devastation. An armistice was concluded in October, 1371, at Pirna; and shortly afterwards the king of Hungary, engrossed with the coming war against Venice, withdrew from the alliance. At the same time Charles's second son, Sigismund, was betrothed to Lewis's daughter. The Wittelsbachs now stood

alone. Soon after the expiry of the armistice, in the summer of 1373, an agreement was entered into at Fürstenwalde, by which Otto and Frederic renounced all claim to the march, and received from Charles in all the very considerable sum of 500,000 golden florins. The imperial cities must, indeed, have made gigantic efforts in order to raise this money.

Although Charles had not yet reached his sixtieth year, he now thought earnestly of the future of his empire and his dynasty. His fondest wish, that of seeing his eldest son Wenzel elected German emperor, was still to be realised, but could be so only if the adroit father took the appropriate steps during his own lifetime. Moreover, the opportunity was now presented, when for the first time an election could be carried out strictly according to the provisions of the Golden Bull. It was, indeed, a costly task to win over the three spiritual electors. But by October, 1374, the vote of Rupert, the count palatine, was secured, and at the beginning of the year 1375 Charles had all the votes for himself, for this time the

The Vain Threats of the Pope

election of the emperor was to be unanimous. The actual elective proceedings had to be postponed until Wenzel had completed his fifteenth year, and thus attained his majority.

When Pope Gregory heard of the intended election, he was astounded, but could not by all his threats produce any alteration in the adopted proposal. Without the papal sanction the election of Wenzel was settled on June 1st, 1376, and was solemnly confirmed on June 10th, in the sacristy of St. Bartholomew's, at Frankfort. The coronation followed on July 6th, at Aix-la-Chapelle. Pope Gregory refused his consent, but was finally satisfied when the emperor, in a document dated back before the election, asked for his approval.

Wenzel was now lawful emperor, together with his father. But the imperial cities of the south had a dread of new mortgages—naturally enough after their experiences so far—for Wenzel's election cost much money. Fourteen imperial cities of Swabia formed a league even before the coronation against "all who oppressed them with taxation or mortgage." The town of Ulm took the lead. Charles advanced with an army up to its walls, but could effect nothing.

and marched back again. Other towns joined in the league. Count Ulrich of Württemberg was killed at Reutlingen in 1373. Soon afterwards Wenzel, who meanwhile had become vice-regent of the empire, was compelled to promise the cities, in the Peace of Rotenburg, that he would not pawn them.

The emperor had meanwhile journeyed to the court of King Charles V. at Paris, and had prevented the threatening alliance of the king's second son, Louis of Orleans, with Mary of Hungary, but was forced in return to confer on the dauphin the vicariate of the empire over Burgundy,

devastations this fault had many compensations.

The policy of the young Emperor Wenzel showed itself in his first public act when he declared himself a supporter of Pope Urban VI. The princes supported him; so did Lewis of Hungary. Only Adolphus of Nassau, who was still at enmity with Lewis of Meissen about the archbishopric of Mainz, declared himself the friend of the Pope of Avignon, Clement VII. The unity of Germany was thus destroyed, and Clement soon found other friends as well. But the other electors on the Rhine, namely, Cologne,



THE BROTHERS OF THE CROSS DOING PENANCE FOR THE BLACK DEATH

The Brothers of the Cross, or Flagellants, appeared towards the end of the summer of 1349 in the Netherland towns, especially Doornik, and in the market-place did penance by scourging their bodies in order to free the world from the plague of the Black Death, or pestilence. As shown in the illustration, the Brothers marched barefoot; their bared backs were covered merely by a short cloak, while they held in their hands the scourges, the marks of which were to be seen on their backs. Their headgear was the hat with the cross, and thus they got their name, Brothers of the Cross.

From the Chronicle of Ægidius Li Musis in the Library at Brussels

and thus to renounce the imperial sovereignty in this district. Soon after his return, Charles fell a victim to fever at Prague, on November 29th, 1378. His reign marks a turning point in German history. He was the founder of the Luxemburg dynasty, and through skilful diplomacy left the empire in a more dignified constitutional position than he had found it. His reputation among his German contemporaries, and in later times, has suffered chiefly from the fact that he regarded every political step as a financial operation, and in an unknightly fashion avoided the fierce contest of the battlefield. But in the age of wars and

Treves, and the Palatinate, could not countenance the dissension about Mainz, and at the beginning of 1380 concluded a league at Oberwesel against all adherents of Pope Clement. By this, of course, Adolphus was primarily intended. The latter, when the archbishopric of Mainz was assured him, while Lewis was compensated with Magdeburg, returned to Urban. The electors had attained their object without the help of the emperor, and they suspected his policy, since he appeared so little in the empire, and always stayed in his hereditary dominions. Indeed, the chief efforts of Wenzel were directed toward the maintenance of

friendly relations with Hungary and Austria. He therefore abandoned any idea of armed conflict with Leopold of Austria, who openly sided with the Avignon Pope, although his partisanship caused a miniature schism in the bishoprics of Strassburg, Basle, and Constance. The espousal of Urban's cause by

**English King
Weds German
Princess**

Germany was mainly based on the opposition to France, although Wenzel had maintained with the French royal house the good relations which his father had promoted. In devotion to the Roman Pope, Germany agreed with England, which hoped by means of papal support to gain advantages in France. Wenzel cemented the friendship with England by giving his sister Anne in marriage to King Richard II., and at the same time he skilfully avoided any breach with France.

The favourable relations of the German king to Urban had from the first made a journey to Rome, in order to obtain the imperial crown, appear as a desirable object. There were, indeed, no difficulties in the way, and both Pope and Emperor would have derived from it an unmistakable accession of power. The journey over the Alps had been planned for the spring of 1383, when dynastic policy put obstacles in the way. There was a prospect of gaining Luxemburg.

Lewis of Hungary had died in 1382. In the last year of his life he had won Naples, and thus enlarged the extent of his authority. No one of his daughters was yet married; but Sigismund, as prospective son-in-law, was already living in Poland, a country unaccustomed to the Hungarian rule, in order to gain friends for himself there. Mary, Sigismund's betrothed wife, was elected Queen of Hungary; but in Poland the people did not wish for her—at any rate, they wanted another daughter of Lewis. In October, 1384, Hedwig, a girl of thirteen years of age, was actually crowned at Cracow, and the still pagan Grand Duke Jagiello of Lithuania became her husband. But Sigismund succeeded, through his stubbornness and skill, in procuring for himself the crown of Hungary by the end of March, 1387.

**The Girl
Queen
of Poland**

Up to this, Wenzel had been variously occupied, but his natural disposition to inactivity became more and more evident. His continued absence caused

dissatisfaction in the empire. His nearest relatives, especially Jobst of Moravia, intrigued against him in every way, and in Bohemia, his own home, the lords rose against his rule. The victim of the supposed conspiracy was the Archbishop of Prague, with his official and his vicar-general, Nepomuk. The Bohemian nobility now found a leader in Jobst, who had quarrelled with his brother Prokop.

Jobst, in conjunction with Sigismund, Albert of Austria, and the Margrave William of Meissen, pursued a policy of hostility against the king, and finally, in May, 1394, brought Wenzel prisoner to Prague. Since a movement was made in the empire to liberate the king, he was set free in August. Jobst, in his turn, was made prisoner, but he also was released. War raged in Bohemia, and Albert of Austria, during the confusion, aspired to the vicariate of the empire, in fact to the crown itself. Fortunately, he died soon.

Wenzel and Sigismund concluded, in March, 1396, a compact as to the succession. Sigismund became vicar of the empire, and now aimed at the German crown. His position was not indeed favourable at the moment. An army collected from all Europe under his command was defeated at Nicopolis by the Sultan Bajazet II. Hungary also threatened to be lost to him after Mary's death. Jobst made peace with Wenzel in 1397, and received from Sigismund's former domains a compensation in the march of Brandenburg.

Wenzel still longed for formal investiture as emperor, and Boniface IX., Urban's successor, would gladly have welcomed him to Rome. But his position in Germany at the same time became more and more precarious. He had never been in the empire since 1387, and alliances of the knights and the towns continually disquieted the land. The cities especially had cause to feel the evils entailed by the absence of the sovereign, and, notwithstanding all the appeals of the electors, Wenzel kept away from the empire.

Fresh disorders had broken out owing to the vacancy in the archdiocese of Mainz, from which finally John of Nassau emerged as archbishop. Before this the palgrave and the two other spiritual electors had convened a diet at Frankfort for May 13th, 1397. This was an unprecedented step; but the indifference

of the emperor to his duty made such a proceeding seem necessary. Wenzel had, it is true, summoned an imperial assembly at Nuremberg; but when he heard of the electoral diet he unwisely abandoned his own. At Frankfort, with the assent of numerous princes and towns, a vicar of the empire was demanded from Wenzel, and a regency of princes was proposed in the event of his absence. The question of the schism was also discussed. Complaints as to the government were sent to Wenzel. Great excitement was caused at Prague by the tidings of the proceedings in Frankfort; but nothing happened at the moment.

Wenzel did not appear in Nuremberg before September, and by issuing a "Public Peace" showed that he was in a position to conduct the affairs of government himself. During the course of proceedings at Frankfort the electors laid before the emperor, at his own wish, further complaints. The question of the Church stood in the foreground, and, closely connected with that, the policy towards France. The opinion was growing that the

settlement of the papal dispute would be most easily effected by a "cession"—that is to say, by the resignation of both Popes. Benedict XIII. was elected at Avignon, in 1394, on the express condition that he would resign his title to secure unity. The object of the French policy was now to persuade the followers of the Roman Pope, Boniface, to make him resign in turn. In March, 1398, Wenzel met Charles VI. at Rheims. The outcome of the meeting was only an exhortation to both Popes to abdicate, naturally without result. Wenzel stood by Boniface. France itself opposed Benedict; even the cardinals rebelled against him, and a long siege of the papal fortress at Avignon began.

Wenzel, on his return from Rheims, found the old disorders in Bohemia; the quarrel in the royal family still lasted. This time he did not omit the appointment of an imperial administrator. But the empire was not benefited at all by this step. The electors of Mainz and the Palatinate, who found the position of affairs obviously most irksome, looked for some remedy, and bound themselves with the elector of Cologne at Boppard in April, 1339, to a common policy *in all matters of Church and empire, with the one exception of electing the king*. On the

occasion of a meeting of the princes in May, when a compact against the towns was concluded, John, Archbishop of Mainz, attached new members to the Rhenish Confederation, which was clearly formed against the sovereign.

Everywhere, then, similar dissatisfaction with Wenzel prevailed. The charges brought against him were Wenzel's neglect of the realm, especially Neglect of His Duties through his long absence—he himself by the nomination of Sigismund to the vicariate of the empire had admitted his dereliction of duty—and waste of the crown lands, with special reference to the loss of Milan. In this latter case, it was a question of sacrificing a possession which could no longer be held, just as formerly under Charles IV. in the case of the surrender of Arles. The alleged reasons were very weak in so far that the real feeling of all, namely, that the royal power was being used exclusively for the aggrandisement of the Luxemburg dominions, remained actually unexpressed. Interest in the empire may have influenced many; others certainly thought of obtaining the crown for themselves. But all the princes considered that in any case no great loss could be sustained by an alteration.

Wenzel naturally heard of these proceedings, and wished to come into the empire and hold a diet; but the electors no longer assented to his proposal. On the contrary, the thought was already expressed in September, 1399, by many princes, that a new king should be elected; clearly, however, no one wished an elector to be king. Not until 1400 were the electors of Saxony and the Palatinate received at Frankfort among the candidates. When Pope Boniface had been informed of the proposed new election, a meeting of the princes and towns was summoned for the end of May at Frankfort, and many visitors put in an appearance. An agreement had already been made as to the person of the new king, Rupert of the Palatinate, when on June 4th, Wenzel, who on his part had forbidden any resolutions as to empire and Church to be passed during his absence, was earnestly requested to appear at Oberlahnstein on August 11th; otherwise the electors would consider themselves released from the oath which

they had taken to him. Wenzel did not come. On the day fixed the four Rhenish electors appeared at Oberlahnstein; Rupert's election was settled, and he swore to serve the empire loyally. His election was publicly announced on August 20th, 1400, and was ratified next day on the Königsstuhl in Rhens.

Wenzel Loses His Throne The deposition of Wenzel, although a benefit for the empire, was not constitutionally justified. The most weighty of the accusations brought against him was that he had alienated parts of the imperial dominions, and had done so for base lucre when he elevated Galeazzo de Visconti to be Duke of Milan and Count of Pavia. The new emperor had a wide field of operations before him. Without doubt, great expectations were entertained of him, and at any rate he had the point in his favour that he had not begun by buying the votes of the electors by a shameful traffic in crown lands.

Wenzel was infuriated at his deposition, but did not venture on any action or any defence of his rights by the sword. On October 25th Rupert of the Palatinate made his state entry into Frankfort as German king. Other towns had already joined his cause. Since Aix-la-Chapelle did not open its gates, the coronation took place at Cologne on Epiphany, 1401.

The crown was now acquired, but the difficulty was to keep it. The war against Bohemia had begun before France, Italy, and the Pope were won over. In France Rupert found a friend in Philip of Burgundy, while Louis of Orleans supported Wenzel, as did his German ally, the brave William of Guelders. Henry IV. of England hoped to secure the friendship of Rupert through ties of kinship, and therefore promoted the marriage of Rupert's son with his daughter Blanche. Rupert had also to obtain the recognition of the Pope; in fact, he hoped soon to gain the imperial crown. Boniface, far too engrossed to be able to interfere in German affairs, did not refuse to recognise the new emperor, and tried only to make sure of his help in the Italian policy. The conditions were: opposition to the counter-papacy, an immediate expedition to Rome for coronation, and political severance from France.

The emperor improved his position by making a progress through the empire. The important city of Nuremberg opened

its gates to him, and in May, 1401, the first diet met there. Rapid preparations for the expedition to Rome seemed desirable, as Florence offered 200,000 florins in gold if he would come that very year and begin the war for the recovery of Milan. The details of the imperial coronation were to have been discussed in Nuremberg; but since the attendance was too small, the matter was put off to a new diet at Mainz.

Rupert could now have shunned Germany. There were no further hostilities to be feared from Wenzel, Sigismund had been made prisoner by the Hungarian nobility, and in Hungary the election of a new king was contemplated. Jobst again believed that under these circumstances he had a favourable opportunity to gain the crown of Bohemia and renewed the agreement, which had never been entirely dissolved, with the Bohemian nobles.

A truce was arranged in July between Wenzel and Rupert at Amberg, when the new king formulated his demands, but without producing any effect upon the old sovereign. At the beginning of

Germany's Rival Emperors July the expedition to Rome for the coronation was discussed at Mainz. The Austrians, in return for a large sum—100,000 ducats—allowed a passage through their country and over the Brenner, and the departure of the army from Augsburg was planned for September 8th, 1401. There was, however, a want of money, and Florence did not wish to pay until the sovereign was in Italy. Wenzel, also, now returned an answer, but not such as Rupert had hoped. He consented to abandon his claim to the kingdom in favour of Rupert, but wished to become emperor himself. Besides this, his daughter Elizabeth was to marry Rupert's son, Hans, and in return for some support in holding Bohemia, a small cession of territory was planned. Rupert wanted a complete resignation of all claims by his rival, whose position soon became very favourable.

Notwithstanding the distress in the empire, of which his son Lewis was to be regent, Rupert prepared to start from Augsburg with an army of some 15,000 horsemen. But since no money was forthcoming, 5,000 horsemen had to be at once disbanded. An advance was slowly made to Trient, the proposed starting-point of the campaign against

Galeazzo of Milan. Small reinforcements came from Italy; the money difficulties increased, since Florence had for the moment sent only 55,000 ducats, to which another sum of 55,000 ducats—and only a small part in cash—was added in the middle of October. The war took an unfavourable turn, since they failed to take Brescia between October 21st and October 25th. Most of the German princes—Archbishop Frederic of Cologne, Count Frederic of Mörs, Duke Leopold IV. of Austria—now returned home. Rupert, under stress of circumstances, dismissed the greater part of his army, but himself waited on, and, on November 18th, appeared with 400 horsemen in Padua, still, of course, without money.

There was little inclination in Florence to pay the rest of the 90,000 ducats when the advance against Galeazzo had been entirely unsuccessful. Negotiations were still pending with the Pope as to the terms and the form of the recognition. Florence finally paid at the end of 1401, or the beginning of 1402, 65,000 ducats more—44,000 in specie, 21,000 in pay for mercenaries. But the little band

**Rupert's
Calamitous
Expedition**

of loyal followers round the king daily diminished. And so he remained after December 11th in Venice without any prospect of seeing Rome, for Boniface declared emphatically that the coronation could take place only if the war against Galeazzo was vigorously prosecuted, whether by the help of Venice or through royal mercenaries. This result was unattainable, for money was wanting. The king and his followers borrowed what they could, but that was soon spent. After a second stay in Padua, from January 29th to the middle of April, he went back to Germany through Friuli. On May 1st, 1402, Rupert was again in Munich, and one of the most calamitous expeditions to Rome that had ever been attempted, was thus terminated.

The state of affairs in Germany was equally gloomy. There was a want of money, and nothing was less likely than a general acknowledgment of the king. The Luxemburgs, above all, persisted in their refusal, although Sigismund, released from captivity, took his brother Wenzel prisoner and conveyed him to Vienna. The latter escaped towards the end of 1403, and his sovereignty in Bohemia was again established, while in all parts of the empire feuds raged, and the negotiations

with other countries about the Church question had not yet borne any fruit.

A change in the international relations was introduced by the death of Giovanni Galeazzo of Milan. He had, after the murder of Bernabo Visconti in 1385, become the head of the seigniories, and had bought from Wenzel the title of duke and

**Welcome
Death of
Galeazzo**

a position as prince of the empire in return for a large sum paid down. In 1399 he had extended his power over Pisa and Sienna, and had become a formidable opponent of the town of Florence, which for its part supported the electors in their action against Wenzel, in order to shake Galeazzo's position by the fall of his patron. This plan miscarried; for Galeazzo was too shrewd a diplomatist, and so his death on September 3rd, 1402, was all the more welcome to the republic.

The Pope at once entered into relations with Florence, and began war against the infant children of the Duke of Milan. He would, indeed, at this moment have been glad to see Rupert in Italy even with the reward of the imperial crown, and therefore held out to him, in the event of his marching immediately to Rome, the prospect of acknowledgment and coronation as King of Italy by a cardinal at Padua.

In return, of course, the king was to promise to take part with Florence in the struggle against Milan, and to represent the interests of Rome against Avignon and France. When Rupert answered in the spring, 1403, he demanded an immediate acknowledgment; the new expedition to Italy was, he said, impossible for the time being. Boniface, who now supported Ladislaus as rival king to Sigismund in Hungary, became anxious, since just then Benedict XIII. had again been acknowledged by France as lawful Pope. He was bound at all hazards to secure Rupert for his side, and therefore on October 1st, 1403, formally proclaimed his approval

**Poverty
of the
Emperor**

of Rupert, together with a ratification of Wenzel's deposition. For the coming expedition to Rome he granted the king two tithes of the German Church. Rupert did indeed seriously meditate the journey to Italy both in 1404 and again in March, 1405, but it was not carried out. His want of money did not allow him to put such desires into action; it rather drove him to oppress his previous supporters, the towns, whose hostility he thus

incurred. John of Mainz, who had formerly supported the king, joined the ranks of the discontented in the empire. The result was a confederation for five years between seventeen Swabian imperial towns, Baden, Württemberg, and the bishops of Strassburg and Mainz. A league was formed at Marbach in 1405, which was nominally aimed at all who should injure them in their liberties and rights. The point of it was really opposition to the king, although he was informed of the proceedings, and asked for his protection. He himself was clear on the matter, and wished in consciousness of his innocence to defend himself against the implied reproach in a diet; but the confederates did not allow that. The Archbishop of Cologne, formerly Rupert's friend, was still desirous of mediating, and at last gained his object in 1407. The confederation indeed remained undissolved, but without any special importance.

The king learned a lesson from what had happened, and was cautious in the future not to ask the states for pecuniary support. Without any assistance, he at last achieved some small successes. The town of Rotenburg, which had formed a secret alliance with Wenzel under its energetic burgomaster, Heinrich Toppler, was punished. The Duke of Guelders joined Rupert, and the town of Aix-la-Chapelle abandoned its resistance, paid 8,000 florins, and prepared a stately reception for the king toward the end of 1407. Lübeck also fell to him.

Shortly before this, Brabant had been lost to the empire. Anton of Burgundy, second son of Duke Philip, had become heir after the death of the Duchess Joanna. He took possession of his country, in spite of Rupert's protests, and in so doing enjoyed the favour of Wenzel, who gave him his niece Elizabeth to wife. Anton thus acquired the prospect of the hereditary lands of Luxemburg, and on the death of Jobst, in 1411, at once took possession of Luxemburg. Rupert's struggle against Wenzel was dormant, and little attention in the empire was paid to either. But in the momentous question of the council, which now excited Christendom, both once more came into opposition.

The crying distress of Christianity, the unhappy dispute about the pontificate, had already had a marked influence on the

politics of Western Europe. But as long as Rupert wore the German crown with little honour, the controversies had become more and more acute. The idea of a general council, which the University of Paris even in the lifetime of Clement VII. had quite timidly ventured to entertain, now seemed the only practicable solution.

With the overthrow of the German kingly power, which, illuminated by the splendour of the Roman imperial crown, had once represented the central point of civilisation in Western Europe, only in faith and doctrine was the universal character of the Catholic Church now visible. The rulers of Germany, Italy, England, and Spain were opposed to each, and the French Church outstripped all others in importance. We know how it succeeded in removing the seat of the papacy from Rome to Avignon, and what efforts the French crown made, with the support of French cardinals, to assert their power over the head of Christendom after the return of Urban VI. to Italy. Benedict XIII. in Avignon, as well as Innocent VII., the successor of Boniface IX., who died in

The Fruits of Papal Rivalries 1404, in Rome, were forced to promise the electing cardinals that under certain circumstances they would abdicate in the cause of unity. But neither acted according to his promise, although the healing of the schism was their most sincere wish. How, indeed, could the one have yielded without the other? The French policy, in fact, which for five years refused obedience to Benedict, proved itself quite mistaken, so that after May, 1403, he had again to be acknowledged.

The dispute had now lasted twenty years without any end to it being visible, and sowed discord in all sections of the population. As in Mainz, so in many other bishoprics, a bishop had been appointed by both sides; even in the vicarages the same spectacle was visible. Each of the two Popes tried to bring over the adherents of the other party by gracious concessions of every sort. The result was a series of disputes in which punitive measures, bans and interdicts, alternated in appropriate cases. Germany, Italy and England as a whole were in favour of the Roman Pope; France, Spain and Scotland of the French Pope. A college of cardinals supported each of them. The struggle between the two

representatives of the universal spiritual power was to a large extent only the result of the miserable position of the Church in general. In particular the Curia, since its migration to Avignon, appeared as an international financial body for the impoverishment of the countries, since the sale of preferments and the accumulation of benefices for the profit of the papal treasury were daily occurrences.

The ordinary revenues of the papacy were no longer sufficient for the enormous demands of the Avignon court establishment, to which were added the claims of the French king. It was necessary to procure fresh means. In theory, all ecclesiastical property had for centuries been claimed as the property of the Pope, who in the fourteenth century put the theory into practice, and began to grant all benefices as coming from him, and naturally expected some return. At the same time the doctrine of Indulgences was developed, and after the end of the fourteenth century the virtues of these compositions in discharge of penitence, which became a never-failing source of profit, were continuously preached. At the same time the practice began of conferring several benefices on one person, so that his income was greatly increased, while the parsonages themselves were filled by vicars. It was the usual rule that canons belonged to several chapters; they naturally resided only at one place, and simply drew the income from the others, in order, often, to live on it in a very ostentatious and even luxurious way.

**The Opposition
Between Pope
and Church**

Just as the electors in the empire still entertained the idea of setting up the king in opposition to the empire, so the more advanced part of the clergy felt more or less clearly the opposition between Pope and Church. The former claimed to represent the Church; the clergy thought they ought to contest this claim, for they knew another real representation of the Church—namely, a general assembly of the Churches. In this lies the fundamental significance of the movement, which ends with the concordat of Vienna in 1448, that the idea of the Church, as it appears embodied in the council, was realised by each individual member of Christianity. The question throughout was not about the faith, but about the constitution of the Church; not about the refutation of false doctrines—the discussion of the

doctrines of a Wycliffe and a Huss was only an incident of small importance—but about the moral regeneration of the clergy. The fifteenth century was not able to reach this goal. It was only the mighty shock which the universal Church experienced in the sixteenth century, when the discussions of questions of

Rival Popes faith estranged great masses
Fail of the nations from its
to Agree bosom, which led to its moral
revival at Trent. Benedict XIII., at Avignon, a Spaniard by birth, was an able and learned man, of strictly moral life, inflexible in his resolution, and the keenest champion of the view that the Church was embodied in the Pope. At Rome, Innocent VII. had died in 1406, after only a two years' pontificate; and the cardinals chose for his successor a grey-haired Venetian, who took the name of Gregory XII.

He was a weak man, and in spite of his declarations to the contrary, did not seriously trouble himself to settle the dispute. He showed himself apparently favourable to an offer of Benedict, that the two Popes should meet to arrange the dispute. When the Avignon Pope really came to Sarona, he raised all kinds of difficulties. He removed to Lucca at the beginning of 1408, but by so doing was not really nearer Benedict. Everyone now saw that nothing was to be expected from the two Popes; only a council could help.

Fortunately, the two colleges of cardinals, who were earnestly striving for unity, separated from their Popes. Gregory, in order to be rid of the insistence of his cardinals, nominated a number of new ones, whereupon the old ones broke off with him and went to Pisa. Not long afterward a French provincia synod declared Benedict an obstinate schismatic and heretic. Thereupon the French cardinals also went to Pisa. Both colleges

Claims now jointly issued the invita-
of the Two tions to a general council. It
Popes was important to win at once the consent of the temporal powers. France was inclined to begin, and England's consent was finally won; but the German king, Rupert, who was invited as defender of the Church, did not answer, and thus favoured his rival, Wenzel, who immediately acquiesced in the welcome notion, and towards the end of 1408 demanded that his envoys

should be regarded as those of the lawful king. Rupert and his learned councillors were distinct opponents of the council. In their eyes Gregory was the legitimate Pope, and the action of the cardinals seemed to them rebellion against the spiritual head; the archbishops of Cologne and Mainz thought otherwise.

The Great Council at Pisa

Yet their plan did not succeed in the Frankfort diet of January, 1409, although the envoy of the cardinals was sympathetically greeted, especially in the towns; while the plenipotentiary of Gregory, who also issued invitations to a council, found full support from Rupert. The king finally appointed three envoys, who in combination with Gregory were to raise protests against all decrees of the council, and they were thus employed when punctually, on March 25th, 1409, the council at Pisa was opened.

The assembly, contrary to all expectation, was largely attended. More than 200 bishops stood by the side of the representatives of fully 100 cathedral chapters, and more than 300 doctors of theology and of the canon law represented, together with the deputies of fifteen universities, the authority of Western learning. At the head of a small body of temporal princes from Germany stood Wenzel, who gave the inconsiderate promise that he would help the newly-elected Pope to his rights by force of arms. The negotiations proceeded quickly.

By the beginning of June, both the Popes, Gregory and Benedict, were declared deposed as heretics, and toward the end of the month a new Pope was chosen in the person of Alexander V. Neither of the deposed Popes, it is true, contemplated any resignation. Three Popes, each with a considerable following, now reigned over Christendom. At the beginning of July, Alexander V. dismissed the council, and a new one was proposed

Three Popes at the Same Time

for 1412, when the suggested ecclesiastical reforms were to be discussed. In Germany Rupert still supported Gregory. On the other hand, Wenzel, most of the princes, and the towns, stood by Alexander. But in Prague itself there was a large party under the direction of the archbishop and the cathedral chapter opposed to any separation from Gregory, while within the university the opposite view was held. A violent dispute broke out

between the Bohemian and the three other nations, who had long had a feud with each other, as only the first, in accordance with the king's wish for the neutrality of the university, expressed its views on the question before the council, while the Saxon, Bavarian, and Polish nations wished, considering the importance of the matter, to take sides, and support the Pope chosen by the council. In order to gag the Germans, Wenzel, by imperial dispensation, changed the conditions of voting in the senate of the university so that the Bohemians should have three votes, and the combined Germans only one vote. The majority of the body of German students, indignant at this insult, left the town, together with their teachers, and went to the recently founded university of Leipsic, which received its charter from Pope Alexander V.

Open war was now threatening in the empire on account of the Pope. The archbishops, John of Mainz and Frederick of Cologne, united for the common defence of Alexander's rights, while Gregory handed over to the king,

Death of the Emperor Rupert

as his loyal supporter, the revenues of the dioceses whose bishops supported Alexander. The towns, it is true, still stood by Rupert, but showed no wish to espouse the cause of Gregory with him. Rupert had already allied himself with the lords of Hesse and Brunswick for war against John, when death cut his plans short on May 18th, 1410.

However unimportant and unsuccessful Rupert may have been in his policy, his death was an important event. The declared enemy of the council, from which alone, as matters then stood, a solution of the difficult problems could be expected, had now disappeared. The last representative of the papal-absolutist constitution of the Church was in the grave. The regular council could now come into life as a Church institution, as a representation of Christendom, supported by the German sovereign, the born defender of the Church. In comparison with the councils or synods of the early Middle Ages, the field of operations as well as the composition of the council was enlarged. The world, therefore, could hopefully look forward to the intended assembly, which, as the successor to the Council of Pisa, should undertake the reform of the Church in head and members.



REIGN OF THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND

THE COUNCILS OF CONSTANCE AND BASLE

AFTER the death of Rupert it was necessary to elect afresh an emperor for Germany. Wenzel, it is true, still claimed to be the lawful sovereign, but he took no serious steps to secure this position for himself. The vote of the Bohemian electorate was for him, Rudolf of Saxony was his friend, and Jobst of Moravia, as holder of Brandenburg, stood by him too.

These three, however, agreed only on the advancement of a Luxemburger. Of the remaining electors, those of Cologne and Mainz wished in any case for a supporter of the Pope chosen by the council, while those of Treves and the Palatinate would choose only a friend of Gregory's papacy. Sigismund of Hungary had hitherto taken very little part in the papal question. He could be reckoned as much an adherent of Gregory as of Alexander, and he was a Luxemburger by descent, although at present no friend of Wenzel.

Germany's New Emperor His election would help the cause of all three parties. Sigismund was still vicar of the empire and acted in this capacity. He was desirous that Wenzel should be crowned emperor, and did not directly trouble himself to become kaiser. But he forfeited the electoral votes of the Palatinate and Treves by supporting the successor of Alexander, John XXIII., the Pope elected by the council. However, he had a claim on the electoral vote of Brandenburg in place of Jobst, and he commissioned Frederic VI. of Nuremberg, the burgrave of the Hohenzollern house, to vote in his stead.

Though the other electors did not agree to this, the burgrave was admitted as representative of Sigismund to the election in Frankfort at the beginning of September, after he had induced the electors of the Palatinate and Treves by his declarations on the papal question to favour his principal. The electors of Cologne and Mainz wished to wait for the

envoys of the three other electors before the election should be made. But Frederic, with the electors of the Palatinate and Treves, insisted on the election and held it in the churchyard of St. Bartholomew's Church, for the building

Jobst Refuses a Crown itself was closed in consequence of the interdict. The three chose Sigismund, and soon afterward left the city.

The electors of Mainz and Cologne, however, applied to Jobst and offered him the crown, although he had declined the invitation to vote on the ground that there was a sovereign already.

On October 1st, the electors of Mainz, Cologne, and Saxony, in the interior of St. Bartholomew's, finally chose Jobst as emperor. But he took no steps at all to secure the possession of the kingdom, and died in January, 1411. Sigismund now proclaimed that he accepted the choice which had fallen on him in September and entered into negotiations with Wenzel. The latter was conceded the title of King of the Romans, with the prospect of the imperial dignity, to which Sigismund was to help him, and Sigismund was tacitly acknowledged as emperor by the electors.

This was Sigismund's first appearance in the empire, the conditions of which had become strange to him, and soon after his recognition he went back to Hungary. Before doing so he carried out another arrangement which, insignificant as it seemed, became of the greatest importance for the history of Germany. In

Frederic of Nuremberg Rewarded return for the support which had been given him in Hungary and at the first election, he conferred on the burgrave, Frederic of Nuremberg, as representative of the sovereign, the disordered march of Brandenburg, where a wide field was open to him for uninterrupted activity. His heirs were destined to remain in possession of this lordship, and the empire

could buy it back only at a high price. In the year 1417 the Hohenzollern was formally invested at Constance with the march and the electoral vote thereto appertaining. Brandenburg now had a family dynasty, and from that time the empire was no longer disturbed by the disputes about that country which had lasted almost a century.

Alexander, the Pope elected at the Council of Pisa, died before he could enter Rome. His successor, John XXIII., had been legate of Bologna, and was a man of small intellectual capabilities, but a shrewd politician. His first object was to fight King Ladislaus of Naples, who continued to support Gregory XII. But the campaign against him was attended with little success, for Rome and the states of the Church fell into the hands of the Neapolitans. Sigismund took advantage of the Pope's plight at a time when prudent and quiet conduct would have won for him the gratitude of the whole Christian world. At the end of October he announced to the world that the council planned at Pisa was to meet on November 1st, 1414, at Constance, a place which lay beyond the jurisdiction of one of the three Popes. John, who on his part also issued a Bull

of summons in December, was asked to appear, and so was Gregory, and Spain, like France, even if unwillingly, had to obey the summons of the German sovereign.

Sigismund was all this time in Italy, and was engaged in a war with Milan, which he

wished to recover for the empire; but before the opening of the council he had to receive the German crown at Aix-la-Chapelle, and therefore marched in the spring of 1414 to Germany. After the death of Frederic of Cologne a dispute arose about the succession to the archbishopric between Dietrich of Mörs and William of Berg.

Sigismund favoured Dietrich and allowed himself to be crowned by him at Aix-la-Chapelle. Pope John also favoured him. But an episcopal dispute threatened, since William's succession was ratified by Gregory XII. This added another complication.

Pope John entered Constance about the end of October, 1414; Sigismund appeared at Christmas. An immense crowd was now collected in the city on the lake of Constance. In addition to the high spiritual dignitaries and doctors of theology there appeared princes and knights, jugglers and loose women. The laity, who found amusement and profit there, far



THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND

Sigismund, king of Hungary, was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1410, and was the author and protector of the Council of Constance, called together for the purpose of ending the Hussite and other schisms.

stance. In addition to the high spiritual dignitaries and doctors of theology there appeared princes and knights, jugglers and loose women. The laity, who found amusement and profit there, far

outnumbered the body of real members of the council. Sigismund was everywhere regarded as the chief personage. He honestly exerted himself to perform his duties, and, above all, to restore the unity of the Church; and he had already come to an understanding with England and France that John must surrender his papacy. The numerous Italians would have easily been able to turn the scale. But the system of voting by nations, which was then usual, prevented this. The German nation and the newly recognised English nation acted together; by them stood the French, Italian, and Spanish

immediate consequence that the assembly in a resolution of immense importance, declared on April 6th that their official authority was derived immediately from Christ, and that even the Pope was obliged to submit to it. By these decrees the council took upon itself great duties, especially since it had been expressly declared that the assembly could not break up before the schism in the Church was healed and the reform of the Church completed. Frederic of Austria, owing to his action, fell under the ban of the empire, and Sigismund intended to crush him completely. However, as Benedict's

claims were too great, Sigismund broke off communications with him and arranged with his former supporters, the kings of Aragon, Castile, and Navarre, that they should attend the council and there agree to his deposition. This was duly carried out on July 26th, 1417.

Meanwhile, at Constance, other questions had come forward for discussion, at the express wish of Sigismund. Measures were taken against heresies which were disturbing the land, and especially against Wycliffe and his Bohemian followers, at whose head stood John Huss. He and his sect had caused much discontent in Bohemia.

At Prague, ever since 1403, it had been clearly seen what dangers lay hidden in the doctrines of Wycliffe, and the University resolved to forbid forty-five articles out of his writings to be taught. The examination of his writings in 1410 showed distinct heresy in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Hitherto no stronger measures had been taken against Huss than against any other follower of Wycliffe. Not until 1409 was he summoned to answer for some alleged utterances. The occasion for further steps was given by the appeal of some students, certainly at the instigation of Huss, to Gregory XII. against the decrees of the Archbishop of Prague, by



THE REWARD OF FREDERIC OF NUREMBERG

As a reward for the services which Frederic of Nuremberg had been able to render to Sigismund in Hungary, the emperor conferred on him the march of Brandenburg; and, insignificant as this arrangement might seem, it became of the greatest importance in the history of Germany. Frederic's heirs remained in possession of their lordship, and the empire could buy it back only at a high price.

nations, each with one vote only. John could not fail to see that he had no support in the assembly. To secure unity, the two other Popes must be won, and negotiation would have implied the admission that he was not the only lawful Pope. He promised on March 1st, 1415, to resign his office, but recalled his declaration, and with the help of Frederic of Austria secretly escaped from Constance.

Gregory XII. voluntarily abdicated, John was pronounced by the council to be deposed, and only Benedict XIII. was now left. The departure of John had the

which every supporter of Wycliffe's teaching on the Lord's Supper was threatened with penalties as a heretic. Gregory summoned the parties before him, but the archbishop had Alexander V. on his side, and he authorised him, at the end of 1409, to act in the spirit of his former decrees, and expressly charged him not to countenance an appeal of the parties concerned. When Huss and his companions, nevertheless, appealed to John XXIII. against the archbishop's measures, John excommunicated him for disobedience on July 18th, 1410. But the question came before the papal court, and an inquiry was made into the breach of church discipline by Huss, without entering into the charge of heresy which was raised at Prague. Wycliffe himself had not yet been declared a heretic.

Huss was now summoned before the Curia; but in the summer of 1411 efforts were still being made to end the proceedings by an agreement between the archbishop and Huss, a proof that until then the charge of heresy had not been raised against Huss. On the complaint of the opponents of Huss at Prague his trial was put into other hands, and the judgment of the archbishop which declared Wycliffe a heretic and Huss his follower was confirmed. Nothing was actually done, but the ban for disobedience was strictly enforced, and in October, 1412, an interdict was suspended over all

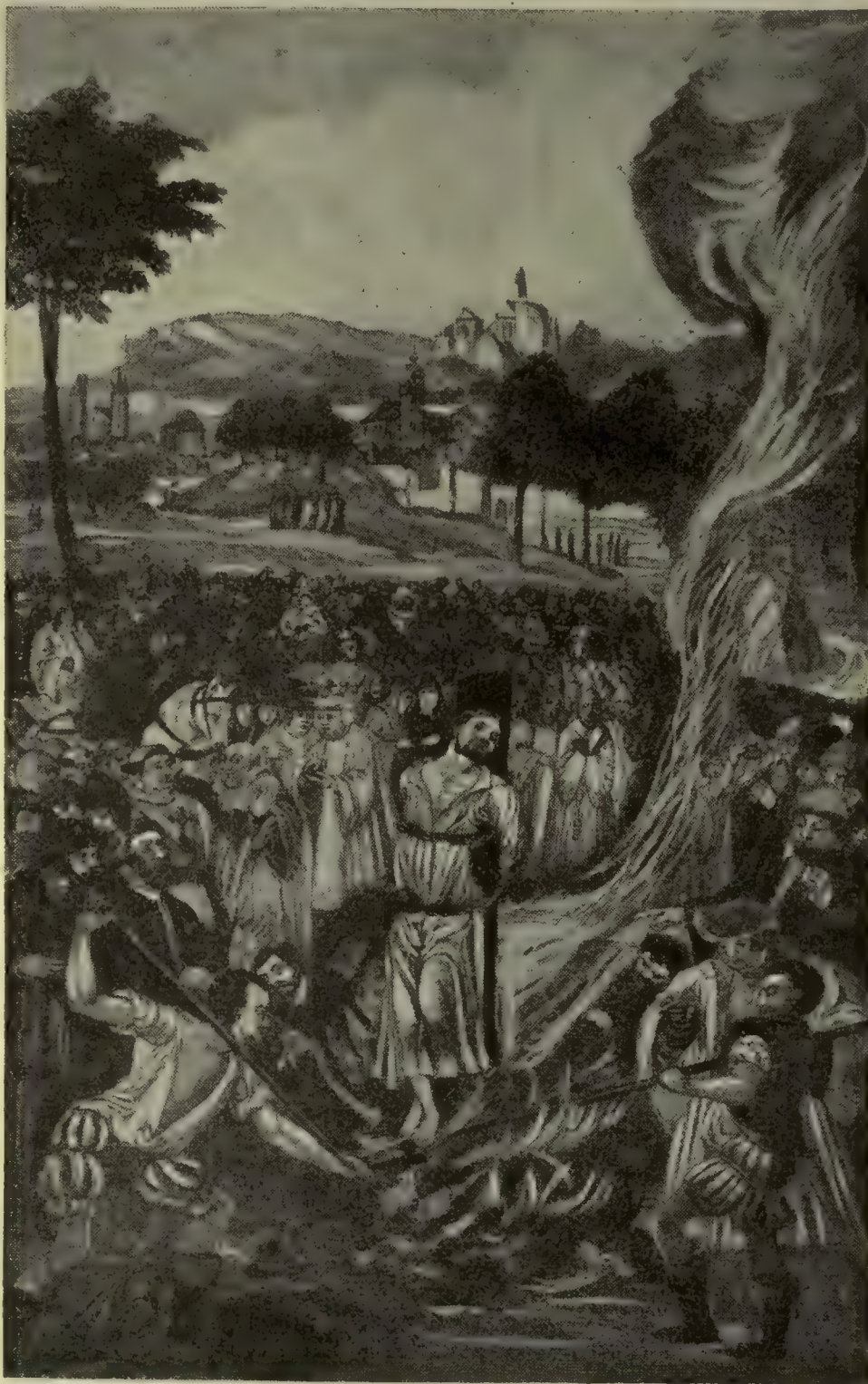
places where Huss might remain. Nevertheless, he preached in Prague as well as in the country. Up to 1413 neither there nor at Rome had any official sentence been issued against him on matters of faith.

The events in Bohemia were probably well known in the empire. Sigismund, who hardly had any intimate knowledge of them, zealously tried to quiet all disturbances in his own country. He hoped that he would attain this result if he summoned Huss before the council at Constance, in order to put him on his defence. Sigismund, in so doing, did not propose an ordinary trial for heresy, in which the punishment in event of condemnation always amounted to death at the stake, but a declaration of faith before the whole council, when anyone might put questions, and Huss might answer them. With this understanding he promised the defendant his support, and although Huss had already started from Prague on September 28th, drew up for him, on October 18th, 1414, a safe-con-

duct—that is to

say, a simple passport allowing him an undisturbed and fair journey there, as well as a safe return journey.

Huss imprudently entered Constance long before Sigismund on November 3rd. The Pope remitted the ban under which he lay, and also removed the interdict and granted him complete liberty until the cardinals, at the instigation of Michael de



THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HUSS, THE REFORMER

John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, summoned to attend the great Church council at Constance [see page 3167], travelled thither under the security of a free imperial pass. In spite of this, however, he was arrested, and, on refusing to recant doctrines which the council pronounced heretical, he was burned at the stake on July 6th, 1415.

From a sixteenth century MS. in the Bohemian Museum at Prague



REPRESENTATIVES OF BERLIN AND COLOGNE SWEARING ALLEGIANCE TO FREDERIC IV. AS KING OF THE GERMANS IN THE YEAR 1415
From the painting by J. Schrader in the National Gallery, Berlin

Causis, the old opponent of Huss, treacherously arrested him without the Pope's knowledge. This took place contrary to the express command of Sigismund and the pledge of the Pope; but the cardinals had gained their point. Then for the first time Huss was charged as a heretic, though the council of John had condemned the

**Arrest of
Huss, the
Reformer**

writings of Wycliffe in January, 1413, and had even proposed to institute proceedings against his dead person. Sigismund, mindful of his pledge, took instant steps for the liberation of Huss. But he failed, as the council was jealous of his intermeddling, which threatened to bring the members under the emperor's control.

So, at the beginning of 1415, the council, entirely convinced that it had to deal with a heretic, tried to represent the earlier trial of Huss as a consequence of his heresy. All that Sigismund could effect was to insist that the proceedings should be conducted publicly. He gained his point by the end of May, and on June 5th, 7th, and 8th the hearings of Huss did take place in public before the whole council, which gave him the opportunity to declare his beliefs, but otherwise the publicity was wholly unavailing.

Sigismund, however, declared that his promise had thus been kept. He took no further steps for the liberation of Huss, and, without interfering, allowed him to be burnt as a heretic on July 6th, 1415. It had certainly become clear to him, on closer examination, that Huss from the first had been a heretic, and implied a permanent danger to Bohemia. But the rising, in which Czech national feeling was combined with religious fanaticism, when once it broke out, was not suppressed so soon as Sigismund might have hoped. After Jerome had followed his friend to the stake on May 30th, 1416, the Bohemians, sword in hand, began to advocate the heretical

**The Hussite
Wars in
Germany**

doctrines of Wycliffe. For twenty years the "Hussite wars" raged through Germany. In the summer of 1415 war between England and France had once more been kindled. These events threatened to be momentous for the council, and the representatives of both countries ought indeed to have been working in common at the solution of the great problems. Sigismund had the best intentions of establishing peace, and with this object went in

person to Paris, and then to England to the court of Henry V. Since he did not succeed there in effecting a union between the two hostile powers, he concluded, in August, 1416, a defensive and offensive alliance against France. The French members of the council now went over to the Romance nations, and Sigismund was compelled on his part to declare war against France in the spring of 1417. But the realm was not in a position to lend weight to his words by any armed force.

The proceedings of the council in the important question of reform had come to a standstill during Sigismund's absence; its time was taken up with trifles. The opposition between Germanic and Romance nations made itself more and more felt, and the latter had certainly the predominance. They yielded so far to the Germans as to agree to the resolution that at least the reform of the papacy and curia should be taken in hand before the election of a new Pope. Sigismund and the Germans generally wished for a decision on the whole question of church reform before a Pope was elected; but this was impracticable. Resolutions were

**Germans
Deserted by
the English**

hastily adopted in October as to the procedure at a papal election, and some other points. The English, at the command of their king, deserted the Germans, and Sigismund saw his work lost, and left Constance.

On November 11th, 1417, an Italian, a member of the family of the Colonnas, and of anti-French sympathies, was chosen by twenty-three cardinals and six prelates of each of the five nations to be Pope under the title of Martin V. (1417-1431). He was a man well trained in the science of the time, and he had been a loyal follower of John XXIII. His personality was hardly welcome to the cardinals, but the members of the council were the more pleased to see him. Sigismund was again in Constance on the day when the election was announced. The existence of a Pope whom he escorted to enthronement and coronation meant much to Sigismund, since such a Pope could not refuse to give his approbation, and place the imperial crown on his head.

The unity of the Church was now restored once more. But there was no Church reform. Martin, indeed, set about discussing with a committee of reform in January, 1418, the programme proposed shortly before his election. But it was

here seen how divergent the wishes and demands of the nations were, and the discussions resulted in concordats which the Pope concluded with each separate nation only for a definite time. The important resolution as to the regular summoning of councils was, however, confirmed. The final sitting was on April 22nd, 1418. The members left Constance, but the world did not see fulfilled the great hopes with which the opening of the proceedings had been regarded. Sigismund's ideal wishes in particular were far from realised. He had wished to obtain peace for the whole of Christendom, and then to lead its united strength into the field against the Turks, but all such plans had to be abandoned.

Sigismund appeared to his contemporaries as the lawful ruler, and great things were expected of him. It is for this reason that the programme of social reform which was formulated in the last days of his reign was called the "Reformation of Emperor Sigismund." He was himself fully conscious of his great duties. He knew only too well how powerless the empire was, but he endeavoured to create imperial cities, and not merely to strengthen the possessions of the house of Luxemburg. He did, perhaps, too little for his own dynasty. He gave away Brandenburg, and granted Lausitz, by way of mortgage, as a prefecture to a knight in 1429. Moravia came into the power of Albert of Austria, the subsequent king, who married Sigismund's only daughter, Elizabeth, in 1422, and so brought the whole inheritance of Luxemburg to the House of Hapsburg.

In Bohemia, where Wenzel was still lord, the Hussite insurrection, of which we have seen the beginnings, spread widely and caused the greatest distress in the country. The burning of the teacher roused bitter passions in his home, and the fury of the people was directed mainly against the clergy. The nobility united to protect the liberty of preaching, the university was declared the highest authority in the Church, and all Catholics formed themselves into a counter-league. The religious teaching of Huss had met with response even in the royal family, from the wife of Wenzel; and when social distress as well as fanaticism drove the peasants to war, it was too late to suppress the disorders. In

the summer of 1419, a few days before Wenzel's death, public disturbances and street fighting occurred for the first time at Prague.

Sigismund was, indeed, the natural heir to the Bohemian crown, but nevertheless he appointed the widow of Wenzel regent. Under her regency renewed uproar and bloodshed prevailed, clearly in connection with the question of the succession, for the multitude loathed Sigismund, who seemed to be the murderer of Huss. The king ordered a large number of Hussites to be executed at Breslau, and thus gave a new proof of his sympathies in matters of faith. Martin V., at the king's desire, issued a Bull ordering a crusade against the heretics, and Sigismund was prepared to conduct a merciless war against the Hussites.

Within the movement itself there were two opposite parties—the moderate Utraquists—also called Calixtins, who differed from the universal Church only in the observance of the Lord's Supper, demanding the Cup for the laity, "Communion in both kinds," *in utraque specie*, whence their name of Utraquists—and the radical Taborites, who repudiated every cult, and were also the champions of communistic ideas. The latter had the upper hand by 1420, committed great excesses in the country, and intimidated the Utraquists, who were represented chiefly in Prague.

Towards the end of July, Sigismund appeared with an army reputed eighty thousand strong, and began the siege of Prague. But the fight was attended by little good fortune. After a reverse received on July 14th, the army was broken up without effecting any results. Sigismund, however, was crowned King of Bohemia by the Archbishop of Prague.

When the new king left Bohemia in the spring of 1421, the Hussites soon gained the whole country and overran Moravia. The Archbishop of Prague himself recognised the "Four Articles of Prague," which comprised the Hussite doctrine, but the cathedral chapter remained loyal to the Church. A Bohemian diet thereupon deposed Sigismund, and there was an idea of appointing Wladislaus, King of Poland, in his stead. Sigismund could not submit to this, and in a diet at Nuremberg demanded help from the

**Evil Times
for the
Hussites**

**Sigismund's
Successes
and Failures**

**Bohemia's
Rejection of
Sigismund**

empire, in 1421. Since Bohemia possessed an electoral vote, the empire, as such, was interested in these events. The four Rhenish electors shared the same view. They appeared in Nuremberg on the right day, but were compelled to begin the debates without the king. They were afraid chiefly lest the heretical teaching

**Crusade
Against the
Heretics**

should spread to the rest of Germany, and they tried to guard against this eventuality by a careful search for all heretics.

Further measures were settled in May in a diet at Wesel, where a papal legate held out the prospect of a remission of sins to all who took part in the crusade. The king was not present. But the electors for their part announced an imperial campaign, and actually collected a splendid army, which marched into Bohemia from Eger, and lay in September before the town of Saaz.

In October, John Zisca of Trocnow advanced with his forces. The army of the crusaders turned to flight, and Sigismund, who now marched forward from Moravia, was completely defeated on January 8th, 1422, at Deutsch-Brod. This misfortune was increased by the suggestions of his contemporaries that he favoured heretics, while Bohemia was completely lost to him, and the Polish prince, Sigismund Corybut, was chosen regent of that kingdom.

The position of the king was one of extraordinary difficulty. His presence was clamoured for in the empire, and yet it was necessary in Hungary and Moravia. He made an unwilling appearance in a diet at Nuremberg in 1422, when it was decided to support the Teutonic Order against Poland, and to continue the war in Bohemia. It was intended to equip two armies—one for the relief of Carlstein, the other to be stationed for a year in Bohemia. Frederic, margrave of Brandenburg, was to be commander-in-chief. To cover the cost the Jews were compelled to pay a tax which

**The Jews
Under Heavy
Taxation**

amounted to a third of their property. Before Sigismund again left the empire, he nominated Archbishop Conrad of

Mainz to the vicariate of the empire with unusually full authority, but the palsgrave, Lewis, disputed this position with him. Conrad thereupon resigned the office, but the want of a supreme head was much felt, as neither money nor men were collected. The Margrave Frederic advanced into Bohemia in October with

an inadequate force, since he still hoped to be joined by Frederic of Meissen. The war was again temporarily interrupted, as the Poles made peace with the Teutonic Order as well as with Sigismund, and recalled Prince Corybut from Bohemia. The heresy, however, in Bohemia, grew worse and worse, and the different parties began to fight fiercely among themselves.

Since the palsgrave, Lewis, would not tolerate an actual viceregent of the empire, for he thought the office belonged to him alone, the four Rhenish electors, together with Brandenburg and Saxony, began to govern the empire as an electoral corporation, and formed at Bingen, on January 17th, 1424, an "Electoral Union," in order to restore order in the empire, but, above all, to suppress heresy.

The "Electoral Union" was undeniably a measure directed against the king, and some provisions of the agreement showed this more clearly, so that Sigismund was justly incensed when the message of the electors reached him. According to the position of things, he could not fail to see in it a conspiracy organised by the

**Enemies
of the
Emperor**

Margrave Frederic of Brandenburg, and therefore invited the electors to come to Vienna and to effect a reconciliation between him and the margrave. Although they at first assented, they did not come, and professed only readiness to treat with Sigismund's envoys at Nuremberg.

When the king appeared in Vienna at the beginning of 1425, there were only the deputies of a few towns present. A rupture between king and electors seemed inevitable, but the Rhenish princes were not disposed to let matters go so far. Frederic of Saxony, who had just been invested with this electoral dominion, was on the best terms with Sigismund. The margrave of Brandenburg, whose relations to Poland, the origin of the quarrel, had altered, was obliged to come to terms with the king. A diet at Nuremberg in May, 1426, effected a complete reconciliation.

In the interval Prince Corybut had again entered Bohemia. But his prospects did not seem favourable. The elector of Saxony and margrave of Meissen, the powerful neighbour of Bohemia, had already promised to help Albert of Austria, the king's son-in-law, to the Bohemian crown, and to give him his electoral vote. After the death of the leader of the Taborites, Zisca, on October 11th, 1424,



THE HUSSITES AND THEIR GREAT GENERAL, ZISKA, UNDER WHOM THEY DEFEATED THE GERMANS

When John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, was burned at the stake, his enemies may have thought they had overcome the movement which he represented, but they soon discovered that persecution was powerless to quench the great protest. In July, 1419, the great general, Ziska, headed a popular movement in Prague against the Roman Catholics. Two years later, in 1421, the Emperor Sigismund was driven from Bohemia, a German army that came against the Hussites was put to flight, and in 1422 Sigismund was routed at Kutttenberg.

the struggle continued between the Radicals and the Utraquists in Prague, at whose head Corybut placed himself. But, at the end of 1425, both parties came to an understanding. It was not, indeed, completely successful, although the new leader of the Taborites, Procop (the Great), was ready to negotiate with the Catholics, the

**Knights
at War with
Heretics**

king, and the Utraquists, if only the substance of faith was not thereby injured. While new war preparations were being discussed in the diet of Nuremberg, an army of Frederic the Warlike was completely defeated at Aussig on June 16th, 1426. Sigismund, now fully occupied with his other duties, entrusted the Bohemian war to his son-in-law. At the beginning of 1427 the Franconian knights dedicated themselves to the war against the heretics, and the electors renewed at Frankfort the Electoral Union of Bingen, while they attempted once more to take the conduct of the empire into their hands, though without any opposition to the king. Archbishop Otto of Treves was appointed commander-in-chief for the Bohemian war, and the troops assembled in sufficient numbers; but the campaign once more ended with a defeat on August 2nd, at Tachau.

The year 1427, after the defeat of

Corybut, saw the invasion of the neighbouring countries by the Hussites. They were impelled by the ravaging of their homes, and above all by love of plunder. The universal dislike of the clergy felt by the people, which then showed itself in every rising of the urban and country proletariat, had been much intensified by the appearance of the Hussites.

A terrible war of annihilation now began to devastate the countries adjacent to Bohemia for miles around. The Utraquists were not quieted until the Council of Basle in 1433, in the "Compacts of Prague," conceded to the laity the chalice at the Lord's Supper, and the sermon in the vulgar tongue. The Taborites, after the death of the two Procop, on May 30th, 1434, at Lapan, from the effects of this defeat, surrendered on the same terms, and finally, in 1436, recognised Sigismund as king.

The war difficulty was not relieved by imperial armies. But under stress of circumstances a resolution of great significance was passed, through the efforts of Cardinal Beaufort, half-brother of Henry IV. of England, on the occasion of the diet at Frankfort summoned by him in 1427. It had been seen that the constitution of the army, hitherto customary, no longer corresponded to the demands of the time,



A TYPICAL FAIR IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



THE HUSSITES AND THE COUNCIL: ARRIVAL OF HUSSITE DEPUTATION AT BASLE

The Hussite wars were followed by an attempt on the part of council, emperor and Pope to reform the Church, and the Hussite leader, Procop, accepted the invitation of the council to discuss the question. The illustration represents the arrival of the Hussite deputation at Basle, in October, 1433. Although no distinct result attended this conference, a deputation of the council subsequently went with the Bohemians to Prague, and there terms of peace were arranged.

and that nothing could be effected without a paid army which remained permanently in the field. But to obtain soldiers for the empire, money was essential, and this was to be raised according to a dexterous scheme of the cardinal's, by a universal imperial tax, called "common or general pence." Although the whole notions of the age were thus turned upside down, the tax, which was at once income tax, property tax, poll tax, and class tax, was nevertheless decreed. A commission was appointed to administer the funds, and the electors, with three representatives of the towns, were to decide on their application. Hardly anything, indeed, was realised, and the idea was not carried out. Nevertheless the proposal and the shrewdly designed system were of great importance, as a suggestion for imperial financial reform in later times.

Sigismund allowed the electors full scope in the empire, for the Turks and the Poles occupied him sufficiently. But for the complete execution of his plans against the Hussites, of whom he never lost sight, he required the help of a greater power, and hoped for the support of Pope Martin V. The latter, according to the resolutions of

Constance, had convoked a council in 1423 at Pavia, whence on account of the plague it was transferred to Siena. But the assembly, which was very thinly attended, was dissolved in the spring of 1424, before any results had been achieved, and Basle was fixed as the place for the next meeting in seven years' time. Martin had not realised the hopes placed on him; on the contrary, he tried to develop the papal omnipotence once more, and was personally by no means friendly to the council. Sigismund, notwithstanding, looked for a solution of the Hussite question in the first place by a general council, where the reform of the Church should be treated. England and France also urged that a council should be summoned before 1433. Even in Prague the idea of a council became less repugnant.

After the electors of Mainz and Brandenburg, together with the representatives of some towns, had conferred with the emperor at Pressburg in 1429, about the pacification of the empire, the latter came into the empire in the summer of 1430, and held a diet at Straubing. The Hussite question was discussed, but the thoughts of Sigismund were clearly fixed on a march over

How to Reform the Church

the Alps, for the Pope still took no steps to summon the much-desired council. At last, yielding to universal pressure, he nominated Cardinal Cesarini, at the beginning of 1431, president, with full jurisdiction. He died soon afterwards. Steps were quickly taken to hold a new election, resulting in the choice of Eugene IV. (1431-1447), who

Hussite Victory in Battle

was forced, however, on his election to swear to comprehensive conditions in favour of the college of cardinals. Sigismund learned of these events at Nuremberg, where a very crowded diet was just debating the vigorous suppression of the Bohemian heretics. When he heard from Cesarini that the council was actually to assemble soon, he wished only to settle the defence of the frontiers, and then to wait for the proceedings of the council.

But the electors were in favour of war ; the emperor gave way, and the preparations continued, though slowly, supported by the crusade sermons of Cesarini. On August 14th, 1431, the imperial army met the Hussites at Taus, but, although superior in numbers, it was broken up, and thus all the preparations had been futile.

Without any special opening the council at Basle had actually begun its sittings in the spring. After the failure of the Hussite campaign it seemed to the cardinal himself that the religious troubles of the Bohemians could be solved only by encouraging the council, especially since some princes were already attempting to effect a union with the heretics by private treaties. Sigismund's old wish to start the reform of the Church drove him to an interview with Pope Eugene, in order to treat with him about his coronation as emperor. He thought it indeed prudent to clear up every point before his appearance in Basle. After the Duke of Milan had promised money payments during the period of the stay in Italy, and an escort to Rome, Sigismund started in the autumn

Sigismund Crowned at Milan

with a small following, and was crowned on November 25th, at Milan. The duke now made difficulties, and wished the king to return, especially since there was no prospect of an agreement with the Pope.

The latter was emphatically an opponent of the council, and wished that it should sit in an Italian town. When he learned that the council had, on its own responsibility, invited the Bohemians to discuss matters, he hastily decided to dissolve the

assembly, and summoned it to Bologna for 1433. But the assembled fathers paid little attention, and remained together, mindful of the resolutions at Constance.

Sigismund strongly supported this action ; he would rather have renounced the imperial crown, although his position in Italy, without money and without a sufficient following, was very unenviable. The council now sent an urgent summons to the Pope himself to appear in Basle, or to send authorised representatives ; but he did not come. Sigismund, meanwhile, was hard pressed by Florence and by papal troops, and could not in any case return to Germany, for there he would have been obliged to surrender himself submissively to the council, and his independent policy would have thus been destroyed.

Eugene was forced to yield in January, 1433, for the whole of Christendom was for the council and against him. He feared that he would lose the papal states, and tried to prevent this by the Bull of February 14th, which permitted the holding of the council at Basle, and contemplated the appointment of delegates.

The Pope's Compulsory Submission

Eugene, moreover, met the wish of Sigismund to see himself crowned. On May 31st the coronation as emperor took place, after the ordinary oath had been administered. But the displeasure of the council was excited because the newly-crowned emperor was now attached by his oath to the person of the Pope.

Sigismund left Rome in August, 1433, after he had induced Pope Eugene to recognise the council from the very beginning, on condition that it would repeal all the resolutions passed against the Pope. When the emperor entered Basle, important duties awaited him, for the assembly was seriously threatening the suspension of the Pope. The extremity to which the Pope had been brought by the events of the war in Italy, finally compelled him to abandon his opposition to the council. He declared the dissolution of it, which he had previously proclaimed, to be null and void, and marked out the duties of the assembly exactly as it had itself comprehended them to be.

In April, 1434, the arrangement was completed. Council, emperor, and Pope now worked in common for the reform of the Church ; but no progress was made in this direction, and Sigismund left the assembly dissatisfied.

He had, however, done a great work in obtaining a settlement of the Bohemian question. The Hussite leader Procop accepted the invitation of the council to enter into negotiations, and the first conference took place in May, 1432, at Eger.

Widely extended legal protection was granted to Hussites of all denominations, and the permission to introduce motions was also conceded. The deputation finally appeared at Basle in October, 1433, Procop also being a member. Discussions of immense length were now started, naturally without result. At last a deputation of the council went with the Bohemians to Prague, and there drew up the terms of peace—the Compacts of Prague—which were accepted by the council and then ratified by the Bohemian diet on November 30th, 1433. Contests, indeed, were still threatening, for the different Hussite factions began hostilities among themselves, and took warlike measures against the town of Pilsen, which had remained true to the Catholic faith. But in this struggle the moderate nobles won the day, while the Taborites disappeared.

Bohemia's Unsettled Condition The position in the East was considerably changed by the death of King Wladislaus of Poland, toward the end of May, 1434. There was no longer any fear of a political alliance of the Bohemians with the Poles, even if Sigismund still regarded with distrust the growth of the Polish power and instigated the Teutonic Order to war with it. In the autumn of 1434, the emperor left the empire; in the summer of 1435 there were interminable negotiations over the administration of the Compacts of Prague, and the terms on which Sigismund was to be acknowledged king in Bohemia. Without having come to any real result, Sigismund entered Prague on August 23rd, 1436, after the compacts had been solemnly published and the king had promised not to allow anyone to be forced to receive the communion in both kinds. The disturbances, however, still continued for a long time, but did not any longer affect the empire, being restricted to Bohemia.

Sigismund, did not experience much happiness either there or in the empire; the proceedings in the council, events in the empire, and the threatened war against Burgundy, exhausted him, while gout tormented him. An imperial diet at Eger, in the autumn of 1436, resulted in nothing,

and the emperor's hope of seeing his son-in-law Albert chosen king of the Romans was not realised. Sigismund died on December 9th, 1437, at Znaim, leaving no male issue.

At Basle, meantime, an earnest effort was being made to reform the Church and the papacy. But the wielder of the papal power, Eugene IV., was not present to take part in the work; and this led to a bitter feeling among the clergy against the papal absolutism, which could no longer be repressed by pacific means. The resolution of the council, which abolished all the papal revenues derived from the holders of offices, was due merely to this fact, and Eugene naturally refused to acknowledge it. But matters did not come to an open breach until the Greek Church, threatened by the Turkish danger, made proposals in order to effect once more a union with the Roman Church.

The Pope wished to discuss this point only in an Italian synod, and thus hoped to be quit of the assembly at Basle. But the majority of the council decided to retain Basle, and when Eugene for the second time dissolved the council and convoked a new one at Ferrara for the beginning of 1438, the proceedings against him were opened at Basle. When, however, it was generally known that a large number of attendants at the council were actually in Ferrara, and after February, 1439, in Florence, the best men left the old meeting-place of the council and espoused the papal party. On July 6th, 1439, the union between the Romans and the Greeks was sworn to in the Cathedral of Florence.

Soon no one troubled himself further about the proceedings at Basle, least of all Pope Eugene, who had been deposed there. In the spring of 1443 the rest of the assembly moved from Basle in order to continue their session at Lausanne. There the assembly was dissolved in 1449, after it had been forced to recognise

End of the Council of Basle Nicholas V. the successor of Eugene. The German princes, after 1438, kept, on the whole, in the background; they did not wish again to interfere directly in ecclesiastical questions. The "Concordat of Vienna" was promulgated in 1448 under Frederic III. By this the relations of the Curia to Germany were carefully fixed, but at the same time all the results were clearly annulled which the councils had accomplished for Germany.



THE GREAT PRUSSIAN WARRIOR ALBERT ACHILLES IN BATTLE AGAINST THE NÜREMBERGERS

From the painting by C. Steffek, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Company, London.



FORTUNES OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA AND THE NEW TURKISH DANGER

THE German throne, which Sigismund left vacant by his death, seemed to the princes so little desirable that this time no one sought it. The electors finally chose at Frankfort, in March, 1438, according to the usual ceremony, Sigismund's son-in-law, Albert of Austria, an excellent man, who at first hesitated to accept their choice. The diet of Nuremberg in 1438 established, as the fruit of the efforts for reform which Albert favoured, a public peace, which formed the foundation-stone of reform in the empire, and only through the early death of Albert failed to have further results for the empire. It provided for a division of the empire into six circles, which were to represent independent constitutional bodies, and for a general improvement in the administration of justice and the total suppression of feuds. Beyond this,

Death of Albert of Austria

Albert did not interpose in the government of the empire, for the internal disturbances in his hereditary dominions, Bohemia and Hungary, and the growing Turkish danger, claimed his entire powers. On the way home, after a somewhat unsuccessful campaign against the infidels, he died at the end of October, 1439, before any reform worthy of mention in the empire can be recorded.

The throne was once more vacant, and no one aspired to it. The electors this time—contrary to the advice of his private secretary, Johann Gert—agreed upon Frederic, who, in common with his brother, possessed Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. He was with difficulty induced to accept the duties of sovereign. His character was little adapted to these duties; indecision was joined to dislike of military undertakings. It was therefore an easy task for a man of powerful intellect like Æneas Sylvius, subsequently Pope Pius II., to guide the policy of the emperor according to his views, and this

he did above all in the Church question, which, owing to the council at Basle, still violently agitated men's minds. It was due chiefly to his influence that the results of the council's proceedings were completely lost in Germany; for all that

Germany's Unwilling Emperor had been gained was ultimately abandoned in the Concordat of Vienna. Since Frederic belonged to the poorer princes,

the rank of German king was of peculiar importance to him; he could increase his family possessions by it. An opportunity for doing so was presented him at the very beginning of his reign, when he was appointed guardian both of Albert's posthumous son Ladislaus, the heir of Hungary, Bohemia and Austria, and also of the infant Sigismund of Tyrol. In Hungary, after long party disputes, John Hunyadi was chosen governor in 1446 during the minority of the king; but Frederic kept his ward to himself, together with the royal crown.

The Bohemians wished to have Frederic himself as king, but he declined the crown, and, in fact, did not wish to undertake the regency for Ladislaus. Two administrators, one a Catholic and the other a Utraquist, were now appointed; but Frederic refused to give up the king even to them. The internal disputes led finally to the result that George of Podiebrad and Cunstatt, with the consent of Frederic, became sole administrator after 1452. And when Ladislaus died prematurely in 1457, George Podiebrad was chosen king of Bohemia on March 2nd, 1458.

New Kings in Bohemia and Hungary

In Hungary in the same year Hunyadi's son, Matthias Corvinus, was elected king. In Austria, the third of Ladislaus's hereditary dominions, where for a long time, in consequence of an open insurrection of the nobility of the country against Frederic, Ulrich von Eitzing, a powerful noble, had held the government, Frederic's

brother Albert now governed, while Sigismund himself had ruled in Tyrol since 1446.

Before these unfortunate events in his own house the new king had been crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in June, 1442. Pope Eugene, before the resolution of the Concordat of Vienna, had promised the king that he would crown him emperor, and would provide funds for the expedition to Rome in the event of his showing himself amenable to his views. But the journey to Italy took place only in 1452, just when the Austrians had risen against the royal guardian, and on March 19, 1452, the last solemn imperial coronation of a German king was celebrated at Rome.

Frederic did not appear personally in the imperial diets, but willingly let himself be represented by Æneas Sylvius, and the princes appeared there in correspondingly small numbers. Meanwhile, bitter feuds involving unspeakable devastation of the country raged in the Wettin territories between the brothers Frederic and William, and in Franconia between Albert Achilles and the imperial city of Nuremberg and the strong body of supporters on both sides as well as between the Rhenish princes. Frederic did not once make the feeblest effort to preserve the tranquillity of the land.

Archbishop Dietrich of Mainz and Frederic of the Palatinate, who had hitherto been opponents, now united and set about the deposition of the king. George Podiebrad was to succeed him, since he seemed most adapted to support the anti-papal efforts of the archbishop. But the opposition of the other electors, especially Frederic of Brandenburg, prevented the execution of the plan. Dietrich of Mainz was finally worsted in his struggle with the Pope; he was deposed and Count Adolf of Nassau nominated

archbishop in his stead. Since Dietrich gave way reluctantly and found support from his ally the palsgrave, a bloody war ensued, in the course of which Adolf conquered, and the town of Mainz, which stood by Dietrich, lost its position as a free city of the empire on October 27th, 1462. At the same time the imperial town Donauwörth was threatened by Lewis of Bavaria-Landschut; the king, therefore, suspended the ban over him and entrusted Albert Achilles with his punish-

ment. Lewis had allies in the emperor's brother, the Bohemian king, and Frederic the palsgrave; twenty-four cities of the empire, which feared for their own existence, opposed them. But the Brandenburger was defeated on July 19, 1462, by the Wittelsbacher at Giengen, and in 1463 a peace was made there.

In Austria the strained relations between the king and his brother Albert continued. The latter roused the city of Vienna to open insurrection against Frederic. When at last the Bohemian king came to his help, a peace was concluded between the brothers at the end of 1462; but only Albert's death in December, 1463, prevented a renewal of the fraternal war.

In Bohemia the religious controversies were still heated. George Podiebrad owed his kingdom to the Utraquist party, and, after he

had been recognised in his dignity by emperor and Pope, he had always a foe which, on account of his religious attitude, refused to acknowledge him and do homage—the town of Breslau, which belonged to his realm. The inhabitants were at last, in 1459, induced by the mediation of the Pope to promise that they would do homage to the king in three years. Pope Pius II. (1458–1464) was indignant at the little attention which King George paid to his favourite scheme.



THE EMPEROR FREDERIC III.

Called to be emperor in 1440, the reign of Frederic III. covered a difficult period, and thus, though he was fond of peace, he had many struggles to face. He defeated the schemes of his many opponents in Germany.

From the statue at Innsbruck



FREDERIC III. RECEIVING HIS BRIDE, ELEANOR OF PORTUGAL, AT SIENA

From the fresco by Pinturicchio in the Library of the Cathedral at Siena

the war with Turkey, and began a war against the Bohemian Utraquists, while he declared the compacts to be void and took Breslau under his especial protection against George. The latter, on the other hand, was driven by the harsh procedure of the Pope to estrange himself more than ever from the Catholics. Pius II. died in

**Claimants
for the Throne
of Bohemia**

August 1464, but his successor, Paul II., continued still more firmly the policy of his predecessor in the Bohemian question. He released the subjects from their oath of allegiance, deposed the king, and preached the crusade against the Bohemian heretics. In the civil war George himself was victorious over the Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus. He did not, up to his death in 1471, renounce the Bohemian throne. He had chosen his successor—the youthful son of the Polish king Ladislaus, but he had to fight for his throne against the claims of King Matthias of Hungary. The war lasted seven years. Poland kept true to Bohemia, but Hungary found supporters in Silesia, and especially in the town of Breslau. In the Peace of 1478 Ladislaus was obliged to cede Moravia, Silesia, and Lausitz to Matthias.

Matthias Corvinus of Hungary had also to fight with the Emperor Frederic. At the very outset of his rule, in 1458, one party had chosen the emperor as rival king. Frederic was finally compelled to renounce the crown, and to content himself with the prospect of acquiring it in the event of Matthias dying without issue. But while Matthias was fighting with Ladislaus for the Bohemian crown, Frederic provoked him by investing Ladislaus with the electoral vote and Bohemia, and an invasion of Austria by the Hungarian king was the result.

In order to free himself, Frederic was obliged to invest the latter with Bohemia and pay a large indemnity. But Matthias came again with an army, and this time remained for many years, since Frederic wished to place the Archbishop of Graz, who had been exiled by him, on the archiepiscopal throne of Salzburg.

Vienna itself fell into the hands of the Hungarian in 1485, and Frederic was compelled to ask the help of the empire. It was only in the diet of Nuremberg in 1487 that the princes agreed to send help, and in fact a small army was collected under the command of Duke Albert of Saxony. A treaty was concluded by which Matthias retained all conquests until full compensation was given, which Frederic was absolutely unable to do. Fortunately, Matthias died in 1490, and thus released the emperor from his unpleasant position.

On the western frontier of Germany a new danger was threatening from Charles the Bold of Burgundy. It was a natural consequence of the feebleness of the German king that Charles the Bold caused the greatest uneasiness in the parts



ALBERT ACHILLES

The third son of Frederic I., Elector of Brandenburg, Albert Achilles succeeded to three principalities, and engaged in successful wars with Mecklenburg and Pomerania.

of the German Empire adjacent to his land; he had, indeed, little to fear from the empire. The district of electoral Cologne seemed mostly endangered, and the emperor was disposed to begin an imperial war there against Charles. Archbishop Rupert, little beloved by his subjects, had been deprived of his office by the Pope, but naturally did not wish to resign the archbishopric, or, above all, to recognise the authority of the chosen administrator, Hermann von Hesse. Since the whole country, and especially the towns, supported Hermann, he had no other recourse than to appeal to the Burgundian for help. Charles gladly complied, and began, in the summer of 1474, the siege of the strong archiepiscopal town of Neuss. He met, however, with unexpected resistance, and had to invest the town for ten months. A strong imperial army appeared in the

**Failure
of the Siege
of Neuss**

spring of 1475 under the command of the Margrave Albert Achilles of Brandenburg; Charles abandoned the siege and retired to Burgundy. He declined any further support of Rupert, and the administrator Hermann became Archbishop of Cologne.

While the possessions of the house of Hapsburg in Bohemia and Hungary, and even in Austria, were shrinking, and the incapable King Frederic hardly made



IN THE DAYS OF THE INDEPENDENT TOWNS: HANS THOMAS OF APSBERG AT WAR WITH THE SWABIAN LEAGUE
From the painting by Werner Schuch

any attempt to maintain for himself and his house their proper power in the German east, his son Maximilian, with youthful energy, was taking a prominent part in the relations with Burgundy on the western frontier. In his whole character a complete contrast to his father, eloquent and liberal, endowed with the most varied

**Maximilian
the Idol of
his People**

interests, he became the idol of the people, and lived long in the memory of the masses as the "Last of the Knights."

Indeed, his personality cannot be better characterised than as the embodiment of chivalry. His marriage with Mary of Burgundy had been repeatedly the subject of diplomatic relations between Frederic and Charles the Bold. But when the latter died, and Mary was actually left heiress of her father's dominions, the marriage of the heiress, aged twenty years, with Maximilian, who was a year younger, was soon celebrated at Ghent in August, 1477.

Louis had already begun the war against Burgundy, and internal disorders were rife, especially in the towns of Bruges and Brussels. The first task, therefore, of the new ruler was to subdue his land by force of arms. Fortune favoured him; he defeated the French on August 17th, 1479, at Guinegatte, and was then able to regard himself as lord of the country.

Two children, Philip and Margaret, were born of the marriage with Mary, and when the duchess died in 1482, Philip, then four years old, was the heir of her dominions. Maximilian was recognised indeed in the north as guardian of the boy, but the town of Ghent got Philip into its power, and Flanders, Holland, and Brabant formed an alliance with France. An understanding with France was finally brought about, without further fighting, by the Peace of Arras at the end of 1482, according to which a part of the Burgundian kingdom was restored to France, and the marriage of

**Flanders
in Sympathy
With France**

Margaret, a child of two years, with the Dauphin Charles was arranged. But Flanders still professed a sympathy with France, with which Maximilian had difficulty in contending. First and foremost, the province demanded an independent administration under a council of regency—that is, a government by states. Not until the conquest of Sluys in 1485 did Bruges and Ghent acknowledge the guardianship of Maximilian.

But in February, 1488, Maximilian himself was taken prisoner at Bruges, and kept prisoner nearly four months. Since public opinion in the other provinces sided with Maximilian, and the emperor also was approaching with an imperial army from Cologne to the relief of his son, he was at last liberated, when he had promised the appointment of the required council of regency and the withdrawal of the foreign soldiers. These promises were, however, disregarded after his liberation, and the imperial army, now under the leadership of Duke Albert of Saxony, advanced to besiege Ghent, which it took in the autumn of 1489. From this time Maximilian was really master in the lands he had inherited. He had won for his house by the acquisition of Burgundy the territory which ensured the Hapsburg ascendancy in the sixteenth century.

The inactivity of Frederic, which had been deeply felt by the princes, and had since 1462 suggested the thought of his deposition, led men once more to entertain such ideas, as Maximilian by his acquisition of Burgundy attracted the attention of all. Against the will of his father, chiefly at the instigation of Bishop Berthold of Mainz, he was chosen king of the Romans in February, 1486, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in May. Since 1489, when the possession of Burgundy was assured, Maximilian had become the pillar of the house of Hapsburg. Sigismund of Tyrol renounced his lordship in his favour in 1490; and after the death of Matthias, king of Hungary, Maximilian reconquered Austria and enforced the old claims of the Hapsburgs to the crown of Hungary. He acknowledged in 1491 Ladislaus, who was disputing the crown with his brother John Albert, as king of Bohemia, but obtained on his side recognition of his own claims to succeed to Bohemia and Hungary in the event of the new king dying childless.

The Emperor Frederic had also promoted a new alliance in the summer of 1486, with the object of securing the Hapsburg power against the Wittelsbachs in South Germany. In February, 1488, the so-called "Swabian League" was founded at Esslingen, which united princes, towns, and nobles, and was able to place a strong armed force in the field. Since the chief aim of the league was to conquer the too powerful Wittelsbachs, it amounted to a very decided protection of the Hapsburg

interests, which it actually afforded in the sixteenth century.

When the Emperor Frederic died, on August 19th, 1493, his house held a position totally different from that occupied at the outset of his reign. This was in no way due to his action. Maximilian, on the contrary, had helped to realise this object in latter years, especially since he proved himself a general. Owing to his family possessions, it was possible for him, although chosen in order to support the empire, to influence the destinies of the nation more decisively than any king for many years.

The political events of Germany in the fifteenth century were not only determined by the ordinary forces which had worked together for centuries, but an external power gained decisive influence over the destiny of the European West, which it filled with a nameless dread. This was the Turkish Empire, which arose on the Lower Danube in the place of the self-contented Byzantium, and thence penetrated into the sphere of German interests. The circumstance that here a

**Success
of Turkish
Invasions**

non-Christian foe was in the field turned this rivalry into a religious question. The whole idea of Crusades, therefore, revived, although the measures taken in carrying out the idea were far from corresponding to those of the twelfth century.

As far back as 1396, Western Europe had advanced in arms to check the torrent of the Turkish invasion. On this occasion, the Turk was completely victorious. But the devastating onslaught of Tamerlane and his Mongols from the East was more effective in staying for the time the progress of the Ottomans in the West.

But in the time of Sultan Murad II. (1421-1451), on the breaking up of the Byzantine empire into separate states, the ultimate victory of the Turkish power must have seemed certain to the intelligent observer. Only the West could bring help in this case. Albert II. made the attempt in 1439, but lost his life in the campaign. So long, indeed, as the schism in the Church lasted, there could be no idea of a serious warlike expedition of Roman Catholic Christianity against the unbelievers in support of Greek Byzantium. At this juncture, therefore, in 1439, the union of the two Churches at Ferrara was announced, but only on paper, for the

gulf between the two confessions could not be bridged over. Pope Eugene IV. now took up the matter, and ordered a Crusade to be preached in the West. The Prince of Transylvania, John Hunyadi, had conquered Turkish armies superior in numbers at Belgrade in 1441 and in 1442 at Maros-Szent-Imre and at the Iron Gates ;

**The Sultan's
Ten
Years' Truce** the Turk was not, therefore, invincible. The next year the same prince led a large army, in which all the nations on the

Danube immediately concerned were represented, as far as the Balkans. In every part of the West, men were professing their readiness to share in the coming campaign, when in the summer of 1444 the Sultan Murad concluded a truce for ten years with King Ladislaus of Poland and Hungary, in which the advantage distinctly was on the side of Hungary.

War was hopeless without the participation of Hungary. Nevertheless, at the instigation of Cardinal Julian, hostilities were again begun ; even Ladislaus was persuaded to take part in them. This time a fleet was to co-operate with the land army. However, the Hungarian army alone met Murad—Genoese ships had been bribed to transport the enemy across the Bosphorus—and a battle was fought at Warna on November 10th, 1444. Ladislaus was slain, and the whole Hungarian army turned to flight. Hunyadi was also defeated by Murad in a bloody battle on the Amselfeld, near Cossowa in Servia on October 17-19th, 1448.

When Murad died, in 1451, his son Mohammed II. Bujuk (1451-1481) succeeded. He was firmly resolved to sweep away entirely the decayed Byzantine Empire and to make Constantinople his capital. The Emperor Constantine would not consent to surrender, and so the siege of his capital was begun in autumn, 1452. There was no prospect of help from the

**Siege and
Fall of
Constantinople**

West, although the emperor formed an alliance with Pope Nicholas V. ; for among the Greeks particularly the people were most bitterly opposed to a union with the Roman Church. The sultan, with an enormous host, invested the city, which could muster only an insufficient garrison. No substantial help was sent to the emperor, except by the republic of Genoa, whose ships were really far superior to the Turkish fleet. Constantinople finally



KNIGHTS AND PIKEMEN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY ON THE MARCH

From the original drawing by G. Grobet

fell before the assault of the Turks on May 29th, 1453. The Emperor Constantine was slain in battle, and the Christians were mostly massacred; the survivors were sold into slavery, and the town was pillaged. Mohammed did not permit the buildings to be injured, for he wished to reside in the city at once. He provided a population for it by forced immigration from Asia Minor, and the transformation of "St. Sofia" into a mosque announced to the world that Islam had made its entry into the city on the Bosphorus.

The terrible news of the fall of Constantinople spread with rapidity through Europe. In vain the Popes Nicholas, Calixtus, and Pius II. tried by assiduous preaching of war to stir up Christendom to a Crusade against the dread foes of Christianity. Although no secular ruler except Hunyadi prepared himself for resistance, an enthusiastic crowd, composed of every section of the population, streamed to the standard of the Cross, and, led by John Capistrano, a zealous preacher of war, defended Belgrade, to the siege of which Mohammed had advanced in 1456. They actually suc-

ceeded in driving back the sultan's army and in winning rich booty, especially the siege artillery. Unfortunately, John Hunyadi, the only man hitherto who had offered serious resistance to the enemy, died a few days later—on August 11th, 1456—of the plague. But Mohammed's lust for conquest was temporarily diverted by various insurrections of conquered tribes. With Venice alone, on account of the possessions of the Republic in Greece, he waged war for more than fifteen years, only to appear soon after the peace of 1479 in Italy, where he occupied Otranto. On his death, in May, 1481, the Ottomans were obliged to abandon this base of operations.

Smaller inroads into the Austrian domains and Hungary had also been made at this time, but the empire had taken no steps against them. In fact the princes saw in the incursions of the Turks only a danger for the hereditary lands of the Emperor Frederic. He himself understood only too clearly that this was imminent. He had summoned an imperial diet to Regensburg on the news of the fall of Constantinople in order to organise a crusade against the Turks. The decree

was there deferred to a later date. The princes at Frankfort did, indeed, promise to send 10,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry, but nothing was done. Pius II. took all imaginable trouble, and summoned a meeting of the princes to Mantua in 1459 in order to discuss the question of a Crusade. The princes did not appear in person, but only their representatives. He then sent Cardinal Bessarion to Germany in order to work upon the princes, but fruitlessly.

In the diets of 1466 and 1467 there was again much talk about a war with the Turks, but no results followed. No progress was made until the diet of Regensburg, in 1471, which was attended by the emperor himself, and was otherwise well represented. The emperor asked for 10,000 men at once to guard the frontiers of his hereditary lands, and the princes were willing to grant them; only the towns opposed it. After a discussion on the method of starting a great expedition in the next year the matter was allowed to drop. In spite of all speeches and resolutions, no sort of action was taken against

the enemy of Christendom. The result was similar in 1474, when the diet of Augsburg was expressly summoned for this purpose. Bajazet II., son of Mohammed II., who died in 1481, was, as it happened, less warlike than his father, and allowed the much-exhausted border-lands some respite. His successor, Selim (1512-1520), had also more to do in the east, and could think less about inroads into Germany. The danger nevertheless existed for the German empire, and became greater than ever under Suleiman, who appeared before Vienna in 1529.

In the sixteenth century a war might really have been better undertaken, since a "Turk tax" was available, which, although it was not paid with punctuality or completeness, still placed certain means at the disposal of the empire. In any case, the concession of that property tax of ten per cent. was a fundamental acknowledgment on the part of the states that the war against the infidels was the duty of the German Empire and people, and not merely the concern of the neighbouring princes and their territories.

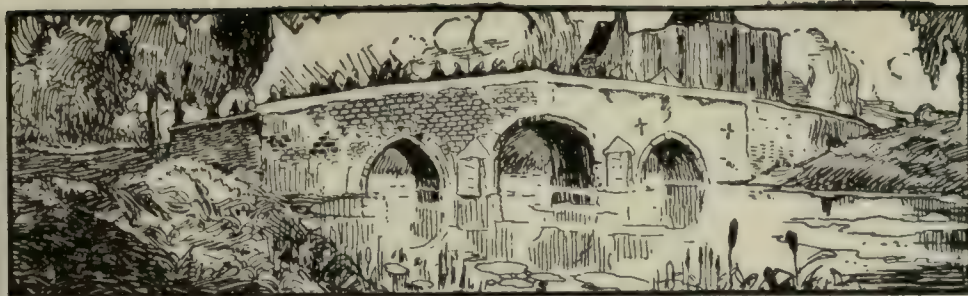


THE FASHIONABLE SPORT OF FALCONRY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

From the original drawing by W. E. Wigfull



THE EXTERIOR WALLS AND BATTLEMENTS OF A GERMAN TOWN IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



GERMAN TOWNS AND TERRITORIES

THE ORIGINS OF THE PRINCIPALITIES AND THEIR RELATIONS TO THE IMPERIAL POWER

THE imperial power in the early Middle Ages, although amply provided with economic means and represented by great personalities, had very few duties to perform in comparison with the tasks of the modern state. The administration of justice and the maintenance of peace at home, the full exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the protection of the borders of the empire from external foes, comprised almost all its official duties.

In principle, even in the fourteenth century, these were still the spheres where the royal power was felt, but in every respect the prerogatives as well as the powers of the empire had diminished. At the period when natural products were the medium of exchange, the German king of the time was the greatest landowner, the richest man in the empire. Even if the imperial estates and the profitable rights

Germany's First Coined Money

had not diminished, the empire, after the introduction of coined money as the medium of exchange in the twelfth century—a system from which any advantages gained by the royal power must have been due chiefly to privileges of coinage and taxation—would not have been able to maintain its more prominent position as regards the other powers.

But now during the interregnum the property and privileges of the empire had been lost to the crown through reckless gifts and wholesale pawning, so that the imperial power possessed only slender means. It could not be supposed that the new economic development would be sensibly influenced by the empire. All that actually was done in that respect was the work of the two younger constitutional organisations, the territories and the towns. Both of these represented the standard economic units of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and on their side followed out that which in

modern times is called an economic policy. An hereditary monarchy existed in France and England. There were a family succession and well-defined crown lands, of which the extent, in France particularly, was steadily increasing. The number of in-

How German Princes were Enriched

dependent princes and counts as vassals of the crown appreciably diminished in both countries. If a fief after its conversion to the crown was granted afresh, it was usually conferred on a member of the royal house, and so strengthened still more the royal influence. The conditions were quite different in Germany, the electoral empire. The princely electors were anxious to hinder the formation of a firm imperial constitution which would bar the expansion of their own territorial power. It could be only to the advantage of the electors if they chose an unenergetic emperor, and as a reward for their vote repaid themselves out of the imperial possessions. The emperor on his part endeavoured to build up the territorial power of his own house. The imperial crown was a great factor in this territorial aggrandisement. The Luxemburgs as well as the Hapsburgs realised this, and both strove earnestly for imperial sway. In this struggle the Hapsburgs succeeded by right of survivorship.

The Roman imperial crown had lost its splendour after the interregnum. All German kings had, it is true, thought it an honour to cross the Alps and have them-

The Empty Glory of the Roman Crown

selves crowned in Rome. But the last expeditions to Rome were little calculated to produce flattering impressions, even if they did not all turn out so lamentably as that of Rupert, in 1401-1402. The empty glory of the imperial crown had gradually died away. Charles V. was the last German king who wished to be crowned Roman Emperor. The kings after

him assumed the imperial title immediately on their election, and concealed by the brilliancy of the name the paltry value of German majesty.

As on the one side the royal prerogatives, coinage, customs, safe-conducts, protection of Jews, mining and salt monopolies, courts, etc., were transferred to the

Wide Stretch of Germany's Dominions territorial princes, so externally also the empire lost in extent. Everywhere large strips were detached on the frontiers and became independent, or actually fell to the neighbouring states.

The imperial dominions stretched nominally westward as far as Flanders and Burgundy and the Rhone land, southward to Upper Italy, and eastward as far as the borders of Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland. The eastern countries themselves continually formed closer relations with the empire. They were indeed governed partly, in theory at least, by the German ruler, but they did not become real members of the empire. In the west the imperial dominions were actually diminished. Charles IV. had, in 1365, received the crown of Burgundy at Arles; but as compensation to the French dauphin, for having renounced his claim on Mary, heiress to the throne of Hungary, and to avoid the double papal election, he conferred on that prince the vicariate of the empire in Burgundy.

The reversion of Burgundy to France was thus settled. The course of affairs in the north-west was similar. When, after the founding of the new Burgundian power in 1363, Flanders was allied to Burgundy by the marriage of the heir with the heiress, Margaret, in 1384, it withdrew quietly from its dependence on the empire, and the Flemish towns ceased to be members of the Hanseatic League.

Switzerland also became independent, for the Hapsburgs, who struggled to build up their sovereignty there, were compelled

Switzerland Asserts its Independence to yield to the confederation of city burghers and free peasants. An imperial army made an ineffectual appearance

before Zürich in 1354. The peace of the next year clearly implied the expulsion of the Hapsburgs from their old possessions. When, then, the towns of Swabia, in 1358, formed an alliance with Berne, Zürich, Zug, Solothurn, Mülhausen, and even with the Hapsburg town of Sempach, the struggle of the Hapsburgs to protect their

last rights was inevitable. Leopold of Austria advanced with an army of knights, but was completely defeated in 1386 at Sempach by the "peasants." The permanence and the strength of the confederation were thus secured. The battle of Naefels, in 1388, had equally unfavourable results for Leopold's sons.

In the peace of 1389 the house of Hapsburg had to renounce its rights of territorial sovereignty, especially its jurisdiction over Lucerne, Zug, and Glarus. The confederates, however, renewed their league; Solothurn joined it, and the "Sempach Letter," in 1393, became the starting-point for the later development of Switzerland. The threatening territorial sovereignty was shaken off, but the empire lacked the power to enforce its rights.

The free united Swiss communities from the end of the fourteenth century were quite independent. They did not share politically any more in the common destinies of Germany, but in the sphere of intellectual life the connection became more marked. Basle especially became a seminary of German humanism and a centre of the artistically complete German

Where Maximilian Failed printing trade. The renewed attempts of the Emperor Maximilian to maintain the alliance of the mountain country with the

empire miscarried. After an unsuccessful struggle he was compelled to consent, in 1499, to the liberation of Switzerland from imperial taxation and jurisdiction. Thus the nominal connection with the empire was dissolved. For the future the confederates were designated with the distinguishing name "Kinsmen of the Empire," until the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, fully recognised the confederation as an independent constitutional organisation outside the empire.

Within Germany itself the imperial power had a very varied influence. In the South German districts, where large imperial towns lay close together, where there was a large number of knights of the empire, its importance was distinctly more felt than in the plain of North Germany. The imperial power had never found there, even in previous centuries, support so firm as in the south. With the increasing importance of the trade on the German coast, a separate confederation of the towns, the Hanseatic League, governed the political life. This started with an association of German merchants

for the protection of their common interests in foreign countries; but after the beginning of the fourteenth century this association acquired even at home the admitted headship in politics.

A similar position to that of the Hanseatic League in the north was held by the Teutonic Order in the north-east. It had inserted itself between the Poles, Lithuanians, and Russians, and had cut them off from communication with the sea. The land of the order on the Baltic became an important outpost of Germany. Up to the battle of Tannenberg, in 1410, so momentous for the constitution of the order, ninety-three German towns and 1,400 villages were founded there. Dantzic, the most important place in the country, belonged to the Hanseatic League, and was a rival of Lübeck. But the constitution of the order existed only for Germany, not for the German Empire; it formed a separate body, and in the end helped to support the power of the Brandenburg Hohenzollerns.

In the heart of the empire the districts which as yet saw no sovereign over them were anything but supports of the imperial power. The imperial towns paid their taxes, and in other respects occasionally entered into nearer relations with the emperor, as when a diet was held within their walls. Some, however, were freed from the regular yearly taxation, and were therefore styled "free" towns. And where tracts of land, now fairly numerous, remained without a lord, this signified absolute independence. It was far less possible in their case to bring them under the imperial taxation than in the case of the princes, who on their side, sometimes at least, had a keen interest in the aggrandisement of the empire. The strength of the imperial power thus varied much in different parts of the empire, and found a corresponding expression in the services rendered to the empire by the separate districts.

Rudolph I. and Albert I. devoted much pains towards putting the decaying revenues of the empire once more on a better basis, but they were not far-sighted enough to make the commercial aspirations, which were the foundation of the new economic conditions, profitable to the imperial coffers. They contented themselves with a reorganisation of the governorships in the imperial provinces and of the imperial exchequer, which,

together with the fixed taxes imposed on the imperial towns according to the agreement, represented the actual revenues of the empire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The work done by the imperial power in its own peculiar sphere, the maintenance of peace in the country, corresponded in fact to its resources. Quite apart from the fact that no imperial executive existed capable of punishing offenders against the order for general peace, there are no more instances of an "Imperial Peace," that is, a penal enactment, published for only a definite period against disturbers of public order, and enforceable throughout the whole empire. The imperial peace edicts from the time of Rudolph to Henry VII. were practically renewals of the "Public Peace" of Mainz in 1235.

After Lewis of Bavaria, even these renewals fell into disuse, and only on the important law of Albert II., in 1438, revived the old thought of peace for the whole empire. Ordinarily provincial peace edicts were issued, and show to what extent on the most essential point the conception of empire had given way to that of territory. King Wenceslaus, or Wenzel, in 1383 once more attempted an "Imperial Peace," but could not carry it out, for he failed to break up the existing confederations of the towns.

Now, when the empire could not enforce its power, another path was taken in order to secure the necessary peace, especially in the interests of the towns. The towns concluded "unions"—that is, leagues, for a definite period—and pledged themselves to make common cause against anyone who should disturb the peace of one of the members. Princes were occasionally parties to such leagues, among which that concluded between the Rhenish and Swabian towns in 1381 stands foremost. As early as 1331 the Public Peace of Ulm included, in addition to twenty-two im-

perial towns in Swabia, the lords of Upper Bavaria and Brandenburg, as well as the Bishop of Augsburg. The Golden Bull had expressly permitted the unions for the maintenance of the public peace, while it forbade all coalitions for other purposes, and had thus proclaimed that the empire for its part was no longer able to secure the tranquillity of the land. A number of peace edicts were issued in the fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries, and a series of unions formed for the preservation of peace until the "Perpetual Public Peace" of the imperial diet at Worms in 1495 forbade as a fundamental principle every feud and all recourse to self-defence. This was, of course, possible only at a time when the territorial lords had mostly acquired

**Where the
Emperor was
Supreme**

sufficient strength to punish rebellious nobles unaided, and an energetic interference of the imperial power was no longer necessary. The emperor was supreme judge. The counts and all other authorities judged only in his name, and in every place where the king appeared the court was open to him. This, in principle, was the case even in the later Middle Ages; but the "counties" had long become hereditary, and their holders had acquired various other powers, so that they were mostly present as territorial lords. Aulic privileges had long since infringed the old constitution of the tribunals, and the king had only little left of his sovereign jurisdiction.

Although he had from the first the right of "evocation," in virtue of which he could at pleasure give judgment in any matter not yet legally decided, yet he was obliged comparatively soon to renounce this claim as regards individual princes. The Golden Bull of 1356 made the privilege "de non evocando" the legal right of all electors; and in 1487 the royal prerogative of "evocation" was universally abolished.

The old constitution of the courts had presupposed a free people; but freemen in large numbers were found only in Westphalia, and there the royal courts, called "Vehmgerichte" ("Vehmic tribunals"), for the trial of crimes existed practically unchanged. They were courts of freemen to try freemen under the presidency of the count. But since in the greatest part of the empire nothing was known of freemen and the count's court, the condition of

**The Wise
Action of
Charles IV.**

things in Westphalia seemed to contemporaries a remarkable anomaly. Charles IV. wisely, in the public interests, made full use of this remnant of Germanic jurisprudence in the Public Peace for Westphalia of 1371, since he entrusted his administration to these Vehmic tribunals, and by so doing contributed greatly to the respect, or rather superstitious fear, with which they were everywhere regarded. Their constitution was such that in the

circuit a judge nominated by the king with seven free jurors from the "free seat" held a court always in the open air and by broad daylight. According as others than the jurors might or might not be present, the matter was called "public" or "secret." The extreme penalty was death by hanging, carried out immediately if the accused was present; or, if he did not appear, wherever he was met by three free jurors.

The result of this jurisdiction was in the fourteenth century thoroughly beneficial, since grave defects in the criminal law were thus remedied. In the next century the Vehmic tribunals certainly degenerated; the diet at Nuremberg in 1431, and the reforms of Frederic III. in 1442, were forced to take measures against the encroachments of the "secret tribunals." Gradually, therefore, they forfeited their importance.

The need of a complete body of law for the empire as a whole was then keenly felt. The imperial towns and the country districts still belonging to the empire seemed to be almost independent constitutional bodies. The person of the emperor was usually unknown to the people, and no

**Germany's
"Daily War"
in Bohemia**

proper representation of the imperial right existed. There was, in fact, in the imperial chancery no register of the constituent members of the empire. Not a single list of the towns and princes was forthcoming, when in 1422 preparations had to be made in hot haste by the empire for the "daily war" in Bohemia. The town of Düren, which from 1242 had been pledged to the count and subsequent duke of Juliers, and had long regarded itself, in fact, as a provincial town, was after 1578 repeatedly summoned to the imperial diets, and called upon to pay the Turks' tax. The chancery was actually unprovided with any proofs by which it might reconcile asserted privileges and actual facts.

The want of an imperial executive machinery was not less bitterly felt. Anyone who obtained a legal title by the imperial law had usually to fight for it first. Even if the ban of the empire had been published, there were no means of executing it. When, for example, Charles IV. pledged the imperial town of Weil to Count Eberhard of Württemberg, it joined the Swabian League, existing since 1376, and the emperor suspended the ban over the fourteen towns. Eberhard wished to fight for

his claim to the town of Weil ; but his son was completely defeated by the towns at Reutlingen in 1377, and the emperor found himself compelled to retract the ban and to cancel the pledge. The towns had in this case conquered the imperial authority and the princely sovereignty.

Where the empire wished to exact penalties it was dependent on the goodwill and the contingent means of the states of the empire charged with the executive. In the sixteenth century, when the division into circles already existed and considerably facilitated matters, an imperial executive system was arranged in 1555 ; but it came too late, for all political power had already passed into the hands of the princes.

The German empire, at any rate after the Golden Bull, formed a federal union. Hitherto, it is true, the imperial vassals had advised their sovereign in weighty matters, but the decision lay with him. Now in all decisive questions the assent of the electors was a necessary condition,

Willenbriefe, or "Letters of Consent," usually with some personal aim, and in fact they often claimed the right to depose the king, which was actually exercised in the case of Wenzel in 1400. The Electoral College soon grew to be representative of the empire, and those "Letters of Consent" took the place of the assent of the imperial assembly. The

Growing Power of the Princes number of princes of the empire, who in 1350 included in their ranks more than seventy spiritual and forty temporal lords, steadily grew ; for, on the elevation of an imperial fief to a military fief, the position of a prince of the empire was easily acquired. In the fourteenth century, among others, Pomerania, Juliers, Guelders, Luxemburg, and Berg, and in the fifteenth century, Cleves, Holstein and Würtemberg had become military fiefs.

The division of inheritances, customary since the thirteenth century in the princely houses, by which the owner of any



GOLD FLORINS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

At one time there were no fewer than six hundred different mints in the German Empire, and the exchange of money was, in consequence, very difficult. By the middle of the fourteenth century the German golden florin had acquired great importance for wholesale trading. The first two coins in the above illustration are gold florins of the period of Lewis IV., from 1313 till 1347 ; the gold florin of John I. of Bohemia, from 1309 till 1346, occupies the centre ; while the two remaining coins are gold florins of Frederic III., Archbishop of Cologne, from 1370 till 1414.

and the imperial assembly was raised to a judicial institution, although the intended annual assemblies of the electors were not carried out. The princes became "estates of the empire," just as under them "estates of the country" were developed. These took a share in the imperial government, and came more and more prominently forward. The position of the emperor had now been entirely changed. The formalities of his election were carefully settled ; and the selection of seven princes of the empire, in whose

The Changed Position of the Emperor hands the election now lay, was an additional cause of weakness to the monarchy, since each elector strove to obtain a compensation for his vote in the shape of imperial lands and privileges. If the electors could choose an emperor, it was a natural consequence that they reserved to themselves a right to interfere during his reign, and sometimes gave expression to their approval in so-called

portion might retain the position of prince of the empire, increased the number of lay princes and shifted the balance of power in the empire in their favour. The authority of the individual prince within his own district varied according to its origin. Since the emperor gradually abandoned in favour of the princes all supreme rights still remaining to him—the Golden Bull conferred on the electors the right of coining gold, the emperor renounced his right of "evocation" and the exercise in the ban fell into disuse—the power of the local prince became a complete sovereignty. In the fourteenth century, above this ordinary sovereignty came the still higher territorial dominion of the electors.

The modern independent states of Germany grew up out of the territories of the Middle Ages, and in the end Austria and Prussia had to fight for the supremacy. The sovereignty, the distinctive mark of which was the superior jurisdiction,

was acquired by counts and lords, as well as by the princes. All these territories, at first only private possessions conferring civil rights, had, in contrast to the empire, the advantage that the distinctly smaller extent and essential similarity of conditions within the district allowed the lord to exercise a uniformity of administration

How the Princes Ruled which had always been wanting in the empire. The territorial civil offices, which at first were granted to the officials concerned with the seignorial rights of the princes, became the foundation-stone of the system of sovereignty which, notwithstanding the very various personalities of the rulers, has, in consequence of an administrative tradition, continuously developed in the direction it once for all took at this time.

The titles, on the basis of which a prince ruled over the separate parts and parcels of his territory, were extraordinarily diverse. By the side of an old allodial holding might be found an imperial fief, in virtue of which the rights of a duke, a margrave, or a count had been conferred on the owner, or a district in which the prince as warden of a small church possessed penal jurisdiction. In another place he was only lord of the manor, in yet a third again he was only trustee of the revenues of the law court. The age, still little adapted to abstract thought, could not always dissociate these different offices, which only by chance were united in a powerful personage, from the idea of that personage. It did not appear surprising if the princes allowed their heterogeneous rights to sink into the background, but in return put their territorial power in the foreground throughout the whole sphere of their authority, and on that basis exercised a new kind of sovereignty previously unknown in Germany.

Refractory Power of the Knights From the way in which territorial power originated it naturally follows that considerable tracts of land were only exceptionally held by one lord, and that ordinarily the "territorium" was made up of very various ownerships. This arrangement was very cumbersome both for the administration and for the execution of any measures, as well as for cases when the refractory power of the knights had to be quelled. The case could easily arise where the territorial lord, through the hostility of his neighbour, might be

hindered by force from entering great portions of his domains. The more prominent princes had early tried to remedy this evil by obtaining a territorial symmetry. The prince looked for a favourable opportunity to acquire as a gift from the emperor any crown lands lying in the vicinity, or to take them over from an impecunious monarch in return for a large sum as a mortgage security, which neither party ever intended should be redeemed. An enclosed strip was obtained in exchange for the surrender of a remote estate, or an entire district united to existing possessions through a diplomatic marriage.

Sometimes the land of small independent lords was annexed to the territory, and these latter saw themselves reduced to the status of provincial knights. Where large imperial towns lay within a territory, their acquisition was not less desirable from the point of view of territorial compactness than it was from regard to their taxable value. This is the meaning of the attack of the Archbishop of Cologne upon Dortmund in 1368 and Soest in 1447, and of the Margrave Albert Achilles of Brandenburg upon Nuremberg in 1449. In the fifteenth century the imperial cities of Donauwörth and Mainz actually became tributary to Duke Lewis of Bavaria-Landshut (1458) and Archbishop Adolphus (1462) respectively. Archbishop Baldwin of Treves was the most successful of the princes of the fourteenth century in carrying out this territorial policy in the west.

In the east Charles IV. had attained wide and compact dominions, especially as opposed to the Wettiners, partly by unexceptionable feudal methods, partly by cunning and force. His marked business capacities and the comparatively large pecuniary means which stood at his disposal greatly aided him in obtaining these results. In addition to this need of compactness the want was universally felt of a uniform administration, which might be supreme above all existing seigneurial and similar institutions.

The want of a fixed system had made itself appreciably felt in the empire after the break up of the old counties, and was an important factor in the decay of the imperial authority. In the much smaller territories, whose rights were partly resting on civil law, the question of organisation was solved in the following way.

GERMAN TOWNS AND TERRITORIES

The division into circles of jurisdiction was retained, but, for practical convenience, excessively large circles were subdivided and unnecessarily small ones were amalgamated. In the fourteenth century such an arrangement of offices prevailed everywhere. At the head of the circle designated as "Amt," "Vogtei," or "Pflege," stood the "Amtmann," "Vogt," "Pfleger," "Landrichter," "Gograf," or "Schultheiss"—according to his title, which varied in different localities—who was usually a member of the lower nobility and represented as an official all the sovereign rights of the territorial lord.

often nothing else than a formerly independent lordship. There was no idea of separating administrative and magisterial functions. The amtmann was therefore in his own person a judicial, administrative, magisterial, fiscal, and military official; in fact, he was often president of a seigneurial district belonging to the territorial lord, and had a staff of inferior officials under him. It is easy to see the important bearing of such an organisation, with its capabilities of special development, on the growth of a territorial state, if we consider that every individual residentiary official was familiar with the



OUTSIDE THE CROWDED WALLS OF A GERMAN MEDIÆVAL CITY

This representative of the territorial lord was a removable official with extensive legal authority and fixed pay, even if the outward form of enfeoffment of office was no longer observed. Since the machinery of the supreme authority, which was identical with that of the princely court, of which the seat was not fixed, often worked irregularly, the amtmann had to act on his own responsibility in his lord's interests. He was thus closely identified with his circle, in the middle of which he usually lived in a castle, and seemed almost an independent lord, just as his district was

person of the amtmann, who was daily before his eyes as the vicegerent of the territorial lord.

The essential character of the "territory" was emphatically rural. As a rule the primitive economical condition of exchange in kind still prevailed, and the town institution of exchange in money seemed strange. The peasant insurrections, which showed themselves long before the fourteenth century, especially in the south-west, were directed chiefly against the exorbitant interest required by town capitalists, and, above all, against the

Jews. The territories *prima facie* comprised rural districts, the taxable value of which the territorial lords continually tried to raise in correspondence to the larger requirements necessitated by increased cost of living and war expenses.

The territorial towns, more or less important from trade and industrial enterprise, and often mere agricultural towns, were still independent formations, with their own constitutions and government.

They were not completely part and parcel of the territory. Their relations to it were often limited to the financial support of the territorial lord by taxes. But the town as a whole paid the sum demanded from it, and the princely administration was not concerned with the manner in which this taxation was met.

The towns often acquired different profitable privileges from their territorial lords—just as the princes formerly from the empire—either by lease or as a pledge. The most profitable source of revenue, the excise, usually lay in their hands. The financial support lent by the towns was of infinite importance to the princes, and they therefore assented, voluntarily or by force of circumstances, when the towns on their side desired information as to the application of the money and other administrative concerns, and made the execution of every sort of measure dependent on their consent.

The declaration of the country towns that they were willing to guarantee the debt of their lords became after the fourteenth century a regular event, and finally led to their forming one of the states of the country, that is, they were regularly represented at the diet. Thus the interests of the towns came into contact with those of the country nobility.

The partition of the princely houses, by which the princely title and court establishment were retained by each of the

sons, was a great drain on the princely treasuries, and necessitated larger demands from the country. The right of the

prince to levy taxes was absolutely unrecognised. A one-sided tax exacted by him was called *exactio violenta*, or tyrannical impost; and the old term “Beede” was retained for the taxes obtained by an arrangement with the persons liable. By feudal law the knights were tax-free; they were bound only to render three

kinds of services, namely, to ransom their lord from captivity, to dower his daughter, and to make his son a knight. Since the knightly vassals of the territorial lords in other cases also aided their lord with money, they formed the germs of “Constitutional States,” since the religious bodies already existing in the country, though by nature tax-free, furnished the prince on special occasions with money, and at the same time pressed their advice on him, just as much as the towns and the knights.

There were many opportunities for extraordinary pecuniary aids. The new system of warfare, which had been regarded as necessary since the Hussite disturbances, demanded a supply of wag-gons and artillery, and large sums for the payment of the foot soldiers. It was then that the working of silver mines gave some princes, particularly those of Saxony and Tyrol, an advantage over their neighbours. In general, however, the increased demands were met by indirect taxes, and thus opportunity was given to the “states”—that is, to the knights,

religious bodies and towns—to exercise influence on the government of the land by their assent. A confederation of states was formed in order to counter-balance the power of the princes.

This new constitutional body, with the three divisions of states, finally completed the conception of the territory. The diets now lost their character of a convention based on civil law; they appeared as a constitutional organisation. The states became the representatives of the land, and, as in Cleves and in the county of Mark, took an energetic part in the administration of the country and achieved many financially good results.

The development of the states was an advantage to the territorial lords, in so far as a systematised financial administration was established under the control of the states, and the lord’s right of taxation could no longer be denied as a principle. But, besides this, a multitude of semi-constitutional powers, which in the fourteenth century had become dangerous rivals of their later territorial lords, but at the end were reduced to membership of the states, disappeared for the future as independent bodies in the empire, and were able to contribute to the financial strengthening of the territories.

The constitutional nature of the territories was strengthened from another side. The partition of inheritances, which created petty dominions, was not favourable to the formation of important territories. Even if the parts, after one or two generations, had been reunited in one hand, there was always the fear that in the long run large territories, uniformly organised, might again break up.

To avoid this danger, the family law of Pavia in 1329 declared for the first time that no system of alienation should exist for the lands of the house of Wittelsbach—Upper and Lower Bavaria with the Rhenish Palatinate. In cases where partition was made, special stipulations were introduced to avoid, if possible, the disintegrating effects. Frederic II., margrave of Meissen and landgrave of Thüringen, partitioned, it is true, his lands on his death, in 1349, among his four sons, but at the same time ordered a joint government under the guardianship of the eldest brother, and so combined the constitutional advantage of political unity with the concession of equal private rights to each son. The Golden Bull

The Decrees of the Golden Bull of 1356 absolutely forbade the partition of the electoral territories, if not of all the domains ruled by an elector, and the Hapsburgs, in 1364, decreed the indivisibility of Austria, including the privy purse.

A corresponding regulation for the house of Brandenburg followed in the "Dispositio Achillea" of 1473, which established the Frankish system of the rights of the younger son, and prohibited the partition of the mark. Even where no law forbade partition, efforts were made to avoid it, and at the same time to effect the concentration of larger domains in one hand by the so-called treaties of reciprocal succession; that is, compacts between two ruling families by which on the extinction of one branch the other should succeed to the inheritance. Hapsburg Austria alone of the great territories attained this end. All the former possessions of Luxemburg, owing to the treaty of reciprocal succession in 1364, finally fell to the lords of Austria.

The increasing use of money as the medium of exchange, a custom which, originating in the towns, prompted the princes, on the other hand, if they wished to have any political position at all, to increase and assure their revenues. Only thus was it possible finally to outstrip the

towns, whose power in the fourteenth century seemed actually greater than that of the princes. Nearly everywhere there was a marked increase in the income from imperial prerogatives which had been transferred to some prince. The custom-houses, particularly on the Rhine, became considerably more numerous. Archbishop

Germany's Increasing Traffic Siegfried of Cologne, who died in 1297, had already erected a new customs fortress at Worringen, and others soon followed. But the increasing traffic made the receipts from customs grow rapidly. In 1377, Ehrenfels returned from its customs 20,000 golden florins, that is to say, \$50,000 worth of gold. In Coblenz the takings increased from 30,000 pounds of silver in 1267 to 100,000 pounds in 1368.

Although Albert I. in 1301 abolished all new Rhine tolls, this was only a temporary measure. The princes drew their best revenues from the increasing traffic; indeed, from ignorance of economics, they often overburdened it with imposts. The administration machinery, besides, was so clumsy and costly that comparatively little flowed into the central treasury. But by means of reorganising the administration, large revenues could easily be obtained, as is seen from the financial reforms of Hans von Mergenthal in electoral Saxony after the middle of the fifteenth century. The coffers of the princes had been, indeed, mostly drained. The sums for which privileges were pawned seem to us often ridiculously small, and the rate of interest at which the towns lent money was very high. The towns, although almost alone affected by the taxes on traffic, had still the most favourable financial system. What money they, as states, granted to the princes was usually found by them without difficulty.

The case was different with the nobility and the spiritual estates, who, as seigneurs, received an income paid chiefly in kind,

Unhappy Condition of the Peasants and could only within narrow limits bring themselves to sell it in the town markets. They personally regarded themselves still as tax-free, and the taxes which they were bound to pay to their territorial lord were shifted on to the dependent folk, the peasants. The position of the peasants had been very favourable even in the thirteenth century. The rents payable to the lord were fixed, and with increasing profit from the ground this implied a

considerable addition to the produce of labour. The overflow of the population was taken away by the colonisation of the east and by the towns, and the village "march" still amply provided everyone dwelling near with wood for building or burning and pasture for the cattle. But when there was no longer any place

What the Lords might Have Done where the superfluous population might find a livelihood, a continual partition of the hides of land began, and poor people settled in huts, with, at most, a diminutive piece of ground, and, as a rule, merely trusting to the inexhaustible wealth of the common march.

Pasture had to give way to agriculture; there was no other way for averting the threatening distress. But for this not merely the capital, but, more than all, a comprehension of the demands of the age, was wanting, especially among the lords of the manor, who might have done a national service by an opportune improvement of agricultural methods. But nothing of all this was done. The position of the peasants became more and more deplorable, for the lord now claimed a superior ownership in the common march itself, and regulated its use at his own discretion.

The old class of manorial lords greatly diminished, and the petty lords were eager to exercise sovereign rights in imitation of the great lords. This, owing to the pettiness of their condition, led to a systematic and irritating oppression of the peasants. We see this in an increase of forced tasks, in the discontinuance of the measures which had been taken to change burdensome rents in kind to money payments, and, above all, in the collection of the poll-tax, which threatened to reduce the peasant population to serfdom. This is particularly true of South-west Germany, but not less of Flanders, where as early as 1324 a sanguinary peasant insurrection broke out, and in 1404 the sovereign of the country himself opposed the

Insurrection of the Peasants

tyranny of the manorial lords. The peasant no longer took part in the greater intellectual questions of the age, in the administration of justice, and in political life. He remained stationary and stunted, while the citizen population of the towns made great progress, and with increased earnings usually found leisure for higher intellectual training. The thriving burghers came into quite intimate relations with the

peasants, for the latter, being completely fleeced by their lord, had only too often to fall back on town loans, and 50 per cent. interest was not infrequent.

Whole districts were impoverished, and peasant risings followed. These risings were the precursors of the great movement which broke out in the sixteenth century in connection with the new teaching of the gospel. Although the men of the time had not generally a very profound comprehension of social conditions, still, it had become clear to the public mind what the hopeless condition of the peasant population really implied for the nation at large. The imperial legislature indeed took up this question at the diet of Augsburg in 1500, but nothing was done to grapple with the evil.

We have already become acquainted with the towns in their relations to the empire, the territories, and to each other; but our attention must now be given to their internal economy, political, financial, and administrative.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the use of money as a medium of exchange was spreading, and affected the towns exclusively, the municipal council, a corporation of rich merchants, greatly extended its power to the prejudice of the town rights of the bishops and princes. In most of the towns of South and West Germany this council had acquired, either by peaceful purchase or by stubborn struggles with the actual lord, as in Cologne and Strasburg especially, the rights of the town lord; that is, supreme jurisdiction, right of coinage, and the right of indirect taxation. Under such conditions the council became omnipotent. It had under its control the amount of taxation payable by the burghers, as well as their liability to military service, and was considered both at home and abroad the fully authorised representative of the town. This corporation was at first filled up by selection from the wealthy families, but it gradually became exclusive, and only the members of some few patrician families were able to reach the council.

The town population was thus split into two classes—the ruling patricians and the unprivileged community. The condition of thing produced by the wanton oppression of the masses was bound to lead to revolt. In the existing industrial organisation of the guilds, in which the



ULM'S ANCIENT GUILD HOUSE



THE GUILD HOUSES AT COLOGNE AND REGENSBURG



MARKET HOUSE AT FREIBURG, SHOWING STANDS OF THE DEALERS IN FRONT

THE OLD GERMAN GUILD HOUSES AS MODERN TOWN HALLS

Frith

population united their efforts for economic reform, a power was discovered which the council did not venture to resist, at least in the south and west, the old German soil. In the north and east, the colonisation districts, where the principal towns all belonged to the Hanseatic League, the corresponding movement began considerably later.

Artisan Revolt Crushed The guilds, showing a vigorous and progressive economic development, invested by the council with a commercial jurisdiction, and thus raised to a public institution, now included the mass of taxpaying citizens, who, at the same time, in time of war were answerable for the town with their lives. Were those who made the greatest sacrifice for the town to be permanently unrepresented in the government? As early as the thirteenth century the artisans in the most progressive towns, Cologne and Ulm, tried by a rising to force the council to acknowledge their importance. They wished to exercise a control over the financial system of the great houses. But the attempts were attended with little success, for the rebels were suppressed by force, partly with the help of the town lords, and their guild organisation was dissolved.

The artisans in Ulm were the first to reach their goal, in 1292. Speier, Mainz, Regensburg, and Zürich, followed between 1330 and 1336. Soon Berne and Rothenburg were the only important towns in the south where the patricians could still assert their power. Nüremberg by 1348 had yielded to the guild movement. In most places the struggle raged more or less openly for a century, but only in Flanders did it lead to terrible scenes of violence. Terms were finally agreed upon in Cologne in 1396 and in Strassburg in 1419, and thus a new permanent municipal government was established.

The solution of the disputed questions was excessively complicated, and the influence of the guilds in the prevailing town government very varied. In many places the old families were completely ousted. The guilds had conquered, and now governed in appearance exactly as the council. In other localities the council remained, but its character was altered by the admission of councillors representing the guilds. Again, in other towns the family organisation as well as the guild disappeared as a political body, and the

council was for the future elected out of the general community of burghers. The artisans in the fifteenth century had everywhere acquired some share in the town government. Their industrial organisations, which repeatedly seemed too dangerous, and had accordingly been dissolved, but always re-established, saw themselves now confronted by political duties, and their industrial character grew fainter and fainter. The members of the guild now took part in public life, in the government and administration. It was the council which provided the machinery for both, as it selected certain of its members for the discharge of definite business.

The North German towns, which all belonged to the Hanseatic League, were, according to the whole tenor of their past history, occupied mainly with commerce. Industries were of less importance. We do not therefore hear of such violent guild disturbances there as in the south and the west; in any case, they occurred much later. In Lübeck indeed the guilds gained a preliminary success in 1408, and about the same time in Wismar, Rostock and Stralsund. But in 1416, Lübeck, the leading town, succeeded in restoring the old council, and, by threats of "Verhansung," that is, exclusion from the Hanseatic Union, in maintaining the patrician rule in most towns. At any rate, the disputes between families, guilds, and the community continued there. But in many towns they were non-existent or arose only later in the sixteenth century.

The desired object was the same in the north as in the south, namely, an alteration of the constitution in favour of the poorer classes. Facilities for the acquisition of the franchise, and a democratic municipal government, by the side of which the council should continue to exist as an executive body, were especially demanded. This object was fully realised in Germany only by Strassburg, where the whole population actually adopted a monetary system of exchange, and a constitution in the modern sense had grown up on this basis.

The municipal community, like other corporations in the German constitutional system, rested on the "personal principle," that is, under certain antecedent conditions members widely separated in locality might belong to the same association.

The idea of acquiring a territory of great extent locally, belonging politically to the town, within which the municipal council—naturally only in imperial towns—exercised the rights of the sovereign, was still far from being realised in the middle of the fourteenth century.

Attempts, however, had long been made to attach individuals from the surrounding districts to the town under the name of "Ausbürger," or outburghers and "Pfahlbürger," or burghers of the pale. The wealthy citizens, although enjoying full rights in the town, began to invest their surplus money in landed property. They acquired manorial rights in the vicinity of the town, had tenants in copyhold, and lived mostly outside the town walls. In this way, naturally, the interests of the country were interwoven with those of the town.

When disputes arose with a neighbouring lord or knight, the town supported its citizen and his dependants; and imperceptibly the town extended its sphere of interest to the entire possessions of these "outburghers." On the other

The Rise of Municipal Government hand, the country lords, princes, and religious houses had property in the towns, either as dwelling-houses or as warehouses for their surplus crops which were to be put on the market. They saw themselves compelled in the interests of their possessions and their own security to profess friendliness to a powerful council, and to promise their armed assistance as noble burghers in event of a war. Besides this, many wealthy countrymen, indeed whole villages in the neighbourhood of large towns, put themselves under their protection; they became "burghers of the pale," and thus voluntarily submitted to the municipal government, naturally to the prejudice of any imperial governor or of a neighbouring territorial lord.

The Golden Bull of 1356 in its sixteenth chapter had prohibited in the interests of the princes the reception of "burghers of the pale," but in vain. From the close community of country and town interests arose the town territories, since places which possessed in the town "Burgrecht," namely, a claim to shelter behind the walls in times of need, formed to some degree closer relations with the town itself, especially when the council held also the supreme penal power. Eighty-two localities had the "Burgrecht" in Frankfort,

while in Mainz even earlier some forty villages for fifteen miles round enjoyed this privilege. The district of the imperial town of Aix-la-Chapelle was smaller, while in Cologne the power of the council extended only as far as the town walls.

The foundation for the power of the towns was their peculiar position as commercial centres for the country at a time when the state was badly fitted by organisation or policy to foster trade or to secure the profitable pursuit of business. The source of wealth in the towns was at first the itinerant traffic, prosecuted mostly by firms, which gradually became a fixed trade. The small town of Ravensburg was the home after 1450 of the most important trading company of the time, that of Hundbiss, Muntprat, and Mötteli, a precursor of the Fugger business. To this was soon joined the money-lending and exchange business. But the industries of the artisans, now organised in guilds, soon gained in importance, and some members of the foremost guilds could compete with the commercial lords.

Together with the accumulation of the great fortunes which now quickly multiplied, a town proletariat was formed—a crowd of indigent people, whose ranks were filled with journeymen with no prospects of ever becoming masters, musicians, porters, and a vast number of mere beggars. These were the people who on many occasions, especially in the fifteenth century, interfered decisively in political disturbances, and sometimes, in common with the country proletariat, fought the common oppressor. The misery of these lower classes was all the greater, since the remedies sought and applied were quite unfit, and in many instances full of mischief. Many of the charitable institutions of an ecclesiastical character, which were intended to mitigate poverty, were, on the contrary, calculated to bring up the proletariat to pauperism.

Miseries of the Lower Classes The social distress had certainly often occupied the serious attention of the town councillors; but their treatment of the malady was as great a failure as were later on the plans for human improvement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The policy of the towns rather favoured the growth of capital and strengthened its omnipotence. Corn speculations and the formation of commercial rings were no longer rarities in

the fifteenth century. The so-called Reformation of the Emperor Sigismund spoke of them in moving language.

Whatever the towns chose to do for the maintenance of the country's peace, they acted always in a narrow spirit of self-interest, often unconsciously fighting against themselves in the rival town. The

Six Hundred Mints in the Empire external security of intercourse was especially preserved by "unions" of the towns. But the foremost of all the duties

which the towns undertook was the regulation and simplification of economic intercourse, the new foundation on which the existence of the town rested. One important task was to resist the debasement of the coinage practised by the princes in their own interests, and to introduce a currency circulating in larger districts.

Owing to the 600 different mints in the empire, the unavoidable exchange of money which the towns mostly transacted in their own banks—in Ulm as early as 1300, and in Frankfort after 1402—implied an almost incredible obstacle to intercourse. In place of the prevailing light silver coinage, which had been sufficient in an uncommercial age, larger coins were urgently required for trade purposes, and this want was met by the Bohemian florins, which King John caused to be struck in 1325, after the Florentine pattern. These acquired an international importance.

Except the emperor, Bohemia alone had from the first the right to coin gold. This, however, had been conceded to all the electors by the Golden Bull. Even before that, four towns, Lübeck, Frankfort, Treves, and Cologne, had acquired the same privilege. The German golden florin after the Florentine pattern had, by the middle of the fourteenth century, acquired

Monetary Convention of 1402 an importance for wholesale trading, and after the monetary convention of the four

Rhenish electors in 1386, became the universally recognised coin which, in the district of the Rhenish trade and beyond, kept a fixed ratio of value to silver. If the princes were the first to coin gold chiefly, the trading towns remained the first to use the gold pieces. In the monetary convention of 1402, even imperial towns were included, and soon the coinage of the

towns of Frankfort, Nüremberg, and Ueberlingen was esteemed of equal value with the golden florin of the four electors. The Rhenish florin, however, was the first coin struck in Germany which passed throughout the whole empire and beyond. It is true that finally, owing to the "Imperial Mint Regulations" of Essling in 1524, issued at a time when the increasing silver-mining industry, especially in Saxony and Tyrol, permitted the coinage of heavy silver pieces, the silver coinage alone had currency. But the florin was employed for a long time as the coin of commerce, although the prosperity of the towns, the foundation of political power, decayed with extraordinary rapidity when once the political victory of the princes was finally assured, and the German towns lost their importance for international trade.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and also the first half of the sixteenth, are in Germany taken up by the towns. With comparatively small populations—

Where the Towns Led the Nation in 1449 Nüremberg had a little over 20,000 inhabitants, Frankfort-on-Main between the years 1350 and 1500 never more than 10,000, and even Cologne itself in 1575 had only some 37,000—the towns as the commercial centres led the nation both in progress and in politics. The imperial policy was always forced to take into consideration the money of the small city republics. Wenzel had already once—in 1389—contemplated the formal admission of the towns to the imperial states. And after Nicholas of Cues in his programme of political reform had expressly demanded this position for the towns exactly one hundred years later, the admission of the imperial towns to the diet by chosen deputies was finally settled.

The imperial assembly then was composed of three colleges: the first consisted of the electors, the second, of the remaining princes, counts, and lords, and the third, of the towns. The towns first appeared as a united body in the diet of Frankfort in 1489. After that they are divided into a Rhenish bench with fourteen members, and a Swabian bench with thirty-seven members.



MAXIMILIAN: 'LAST OF THE KNIGHTS' AND HIS ATTEMPTS AT IMPERIAL REFORM

THE decay of the German monarchy had gradually destroyed the old traditional constitution of the empire, which was based on the forms of feudalism. The "Golden Bull" had attempted to establish the conditions existing at the middle of the fourteenth century, and had, in principle at any rate, done good service by the codification of the laws of the empire. But the constitutional conditions developed themselves independently of the wishes of the legislation, which itself only too soon became antiquated.

In the struggle between princes and towns, which was still undecided at the end of the fourteenth century, victory rested with the former in the fifteenth century, and they were for the first time really lords as regards the monarchy. The goal, so far as the imperial constitution was concerned, was the formation of a federal union, within which the king should retain little beyond the title and honorary presidency. But the weaker the monarchy became, the more jealously it watched over its few remaining privileges, and it was in no way disposed to concede the proposals of the princes. Yet a reform was admittedly essential with regard to the completely helpless military system of the empire.

Germany's Weak Military System

These problems had been repeatedly discussed in the imperial diets; but king, princes and towns were indisposed to sacrifice even the most modest part of their rights in favour of the community. Nicholas of Cues met the statesmen with the practical system of an imperial constitution, for which he tried to interest the king at the council of Basle; but all in vain.

Even the anonymous "Reformation of Emperor Sigismund," with its proposals of reform, which disclose a subtle comprehension of the phenomena of the age, passed away without a trace. The diet of Frankfort in 1334, at least faced

the serious problem. They were agreed to sixteen chief points, which were to lead to the improvement of the imperial constitution; but the execution of them was indefinitely postponed. The efforts of Albert II. have already been mentioned. His proposals for the restoration of the Public Peace, which were put by his chancellor Caspar Schlick before two imperial diets at Nuremberg in 1438, did not meet the approval of the princes, who thought that they were prejudiced as compared with the towns.

Nation's Hopes Buried with Albert

If Albert's life had been prolonged he would certainly have succeeded in carrying out some reforms, for he possessed the peculiar abilities for doing so. With him, therefore, the hopes of the nation sank into the grave.

Under Frederic III., as under Lewis the Bavarian, the princes occupied themselves with the reforms of the empire, and naturally in their own interests. They brought the direct charge against the emperor that he would do nothing for reform, and in a memorial of the Electoral College of 1453 the electors were described as the "ex-officio councillors and coadjutors of the emperor." They wished to co-operate not only in the council, but in the execution of the decrees, and hoped by this means to revive the prestige of the empire. The emperor naturally opposed this with all the energy of which he was capable. The adoption of such a proposal would have been tantamount to

Reforms Opposed by the Emperor

his deposition. A further attempt, made by King George of Bohemia, was similarly defeated through the resistance offered to it both by emperor and princes. The question of the Public Peace was more hopeful. Since all parts of Germany had been harassed by the most bloody and devastating feuds in spite of the proclamation of the Public Peace, it must have been clear to the dullest intellect



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN IN ARMOUR that the most important point of the discussion must not be legislation, but the introduction of an executive authority. In the diet at Nuremberg in 1466 the plan had been already adopted of creating for separate districts some such executive power on a federal basis. A return was made to the former division of the empire into circles for the restoration of the Public Peace. This plan had been contained in the Public Peace proposals of King Wenzel in 1381 and of King Albert II. No immediate steps were taken; but in the "Swabian League," founded in 1488, there appeared, for the first time in Upper Germany at any rate, a power which possessed sufficient means to enforce the Public Peace in its district even against the most powerful opposition.

This was the state of imperial reform at the death of Emperor Frederic III. All the hopes of the nation were now directed toward his youthful and magnanimous son, from whom the whole world thought that some extraordinary results might be expected. The task was indeed difficult, and perhaps harder for so energetic a personality as King Maximilian than it would have been for a prudent head, who might have persuaded himself to sacrifice a portion of the practically vanished regal prerogative theoretically on the altar of patriotism.

King Maximilian found in Berthold of Mainz—to begin with, at any rate—an adviser who possessed sufficient insight to support him in his work. And so far as there was no question of resigning any legal power and authority, the princes and towns were ready to share in it.

But for the moment these duties lay far from the king. He had formed the mighty plan of energetically confronting the advance of the Turks; then, decked with the laurels of victory over the Turks, he would obtain the imperial crown, and so with greater authority carry out the reform of the empire. That is doubtless the thought which underlies the policy of the emperor to the end of the year 1494.

The idea of a war with the Turks had occupied him from his earliest youth, and only a few weeks before Frederic's death father and son took steps in common to effect a league against the infidels. Their exertions were fruitless; the enemy was in no way intimidated, but invaded Croatia and returned with rich booty before Maximilian could come up. The king vainly tried with the help of his hereditary lands to raise an army primarily



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN
The son of Frederic III., Maximilian succeeded his father as German Emperor in 1493. While his fame is due chiefly to his efforts to reform the Imperial and Austrian administrations, he achieved success in other directions, and his general policy made him popular with the people.



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN AND HIS FAMILY

From the painting by Strigel in the Imperial Picture Gallery, Vienna

for the protection of Hungarian Croatia. A new Turkish invasion followed in August, 1494. It was now only too clear that without vigorous help from the empire Croatia would be alienated from the Christian faith, and that its embodiment into the Turkish Empire would constitute a serious menace to Germany. Notwithstanding all the king's exertions, no serious measures were taken, and so, in April, 1495, Maximilian joined the three years' truce which Ladislaus of Hungary had struck with the sultan.

Maximilian had during the lifetime of his father betrothed himself in second marriage with the princess Bianca Maria of Milan, and had secured to her uncle, Lodovico Sforza, his investiture with the Duchy of Milan. The dowry of three

hundred thousand ducats, which this matrimonial alliance would bring, induced him to take this step not less than the hope of Lodovico's help in the impending Turkish war. The marriage of the king with the Milanese princess took place after the death of the Emperor Frederic in November, 1493. Maximilian actually conferred the duchy as an escheated crown land on Lodovico Sforza and his male heirs in September, 1494, and the solemn investiture followed, in November, 1495.

Maximilian, immediately after he had come into the empire, in order to show himself as sovereign for the first time, made it his most earnest duty, in the interests of the intended Turkish campaign, to suppress by his fiat the long threatening war between the electors of

Mainz and the Palatinate. He was, in fact, successful, in August, 1495, in bringing about a reconciliation between them. Before this the Public Peace, proclaimed in 1486 for ten years, was prolonged for three years more, that is to say, until 1499. The idea of a lasting Public Peace was thus by implication not entertained

Marriage of Maximilian's son Philip

by the king. The affairs of Italy now occupied him afresh; Lodovico Sforza found himself hard pressed by France, and desired Maximilian's help to negotiate a peace between Charles and Naples. The two kings agreed to do so; conferences were repeatedly arranged but never held, since Maximilian precisely at the suitable moment was detained by the dispute with Charles of Guelders.

Connected with this was the entry of the king into the Netherlands, where the Archduke Philip, a youth of fifteen years, now took over the government at the wish of the states. The more unpopular Maximilian himself was in the Netherlands, the more the people hoped to be able to guide his tractable son Philip. His matrimonial alliance with the Spanish Infanta Joanna, which afterwards acquired such importance for the destinies of Europe, was celebrated in October, 1496. Father and son thought less of obtaining the Spanish crown by marriage than of creating a counterpoise to the mighty crown of France by an alliance between the royal families of Spain and of the Hapsburgs.

In the year 1497 Margaret, daughter of King Maximilian by his first wife, was married to John, the only son of Ferdinand and Isabella. But the heir to the Spanish throne died after a very short wedded life, and Margaret returned to Germany two years later as a widow.

Although the German ruler and Charles VIII. of France had no direct personal relations, they had frequent communication by embassies. The result of the negotiations

France's Free Hand in Naples

was that France should have a free hand in Naples, but in return was to allow Venice, so important for the Turkish war, to fall to the Hapsburgs. The idea of a war against the Turks was very prominently before the two kings, and Venice had not shown the least friendliness to Maximilian, but had absolutely refused to take part in the Turkish campaign. However, when Charles VIII. entered Rome towards the end of 1494, and there

was talk of his intentions of winning the imperial crown, Maximilian sought an alliance with Venice, meaning thus on his side to gain an open road to Rome in order to assume the imperial style.

The coronation journey to Rome, which Maximilian had at first wished to postpone until after the victory over the Turks, had thus become more urgent. But an imperial assembly was required to settle the preparations, and was also imperatively demanded by the schemes of reform which were floating in the air. It met at Worms at the end of March, 1495. The king demanded for the protection of Milan an "urgent aid," and besides that a "permanent aid," that is, an army which was to be permanently under arms for at least ten years; in return for this he was prepared to treat about the reform of the constitution. The states, for their part, were willing to discuss the permanent military system of the empire, but would not hear of an immediate expedition to Rome.

The majority of the princes were interested chiefly in a radical reform of the system of law and legislation which culminated in the appointment of an imperial standing chamber or council nominated by the states; this was equivalent to a complete change of the imperial constitution in the direction of the federal state. The Elector Berthold of Mainz was the soul of these efforts. He was the author of the practical proposals which in the interest of the empire increased for the time the influence of the electors, but appeared in essentials acceptable to the other princes and the towns. The Wittelsbachs and the Landgrave of Hesse alone adopted an unconciliatory attitude.

By the end of April the assembly learned of the proposal of the Elector of Mainz, according to which an imperial chamber was to be entrusted with the entire government for a definite period. Only such commands of the king as were given through it were to be legally valid in the empire. Its main duties were the restoration of peace and order in the empire, the administration and expenditure of the imperial revenues, and the charge of the imperial military system. Since the power of pronouncing the ban was assigned to the Supreme Court of Judicature, then called into existence, the king was left with only honorary privileges, while the electors were in important cases to have

a hearing in the imperial chamber. The king kept silence for a considerable time when the proposals had been communicated to him. It was clear to him that his "supremacy" had not been reserved for him in the form in which he thought he ought to have claimed it.

When he appeared in person, towards the middle of May and explained the "urgent aid" to the effect that he demanded from the states within six weeks one hundred thousand florins—he was willing to raise 50,000 himself from his hereditary dominions—the princes informed him that no grant of money could be contemplated before the establishment of order and peace in the empire. Finally, in view of the conditions in Italy, the states showed their readiness to grant the money.

A committee from the states was, however, to superintend the application of it. But the money was not forthcoming, chiefly through the fault of the towns, which would not pay until first of all they were assured of the acceptance and execution of the proposals for changing the constitution of the empire. The emperor had

Emperor's Reform Programme not yet made any official statement about the reform programme; this was not given until June 22nd. The counter proposals which he unfolded that day to the assembly meant almost the opposite of those laid before him by the states. However welcome the raising of the "Common Penny" might be to him, impecunious as he always was, he saw too clearly an infringement of his "supremacy" in the formation of an imperial chamber. He was willing to recognise an imperial chamber only during the period of his absence from the empire. Wearisome negotiations now began between the states and the king; the former saw that something at least could be obtained from the king, and they wished to have it. His assent was given to the Public Peace and the Supreme Court, with some slight changes; in return the states renounced the institution of an imperial chamber.

On July 27th the king gave his assent to the renewed separate proposals as regards the Common Penny, the Public Peace, and the Supreme Court, and on August 7th he signed the four documents which related to the institution of the Supreme Court, the Public Peace, the administration of the Public Peace, and the

received, in addition to the 150,000 florins already granted, the guarantee of the states for a further loan of a similar amount.

Undoubtedly the most important of the decrees was that as to financial reform, the provision of money for the Supreme Court, and the expeditions of the imperial army. It did not seem clear how much the "Common Penny" would really bring in. The system of collection—the parish clergy appear to have been the controllers of country taxes—was not remarkable for its simplicity. The collection was provisionally sanctioned for four years. It was confessedly an experiment, but on the expiration of this period the method of its collection, and not the tax itself, was to be discussed afresh. No money at all came in at first. The territorial lords were first obliged to come to an understanding with their states; the elector of the Palatinate refused his assent absolutely, and in the case of other princes who were absent from the assembly, as well as of the unrepresented knighthood of the empire, it was necessary to ascertain their willingness to pay.

The commissioners, who were to hand over the money received to the seven imperial treasurers, had not even been nominated for the various territories by the summer of 1496. The money could not be collected in any case so quickly as the emperor expected, through the defective administrative organisation of the empire and the complete ignorance of the principles of taxation which prevailed at the time.

In Burgundy, however, and in other districts, there was absolutely no intention of exacting the tax. The Knights of Swabia, united in the "Shield of St. George," declined to do so, as did also the Swiss Confederacy, which did not wish to recognise the Supreme Court, and in consequence actually abandoned all connection with the empire after

Independent Policy of Maximilian the war of the year 1499, so feebly conducted by the emperor. The promises made in 1495 with respect to the money were not observed by the states, and still less by the emperor. He carried out his foreign policy on his own responsibility, and tried, very ingeniously, without appearing in the imperial diets, to spend as much as possible of the public money without the control of the states.

The condition of affairs in Italy at the beginning of the year 1496 showed little change. Milan and Venice both urgently wished for Maximilian's appearance in person. He eventually crossed the mountains in August, after England, in July, had joined the Holy League. Maximilian did not come as emperor, but as a mer-

The Weak Army of the Emperor cenary of Venice and Milan. They had both invited him in May and each had promised him 30,000 ducats, for which he was to put 2,000 horsemen and 4,000 infantry into the field for three months; there was, in addition, an extended extra payment for 2,000 Swiss.

Notwithstanding all this, his army was excessively weak; by the end of August he had not more than 600 men, and the enlistment of the Swiss had only just begun. Venice was not yet ready to pay, and in fact would rather not have seen Maximilian come. But he was there already, and endeavoured after the beginning of September to suppress by military occupation the western districts of Italy, which were subject to France, and to bring them over where possible to the league of France's enemies.

The most suitable plan by which to assert any power would have been to bar the passage of the Alps and thus to prevent the concentration of the French. But Venice and Milan, which finally gave way, opposed this scheme, and thus the selfish policy of Venice hindered the full employment of the strategically advantageous position in the interests of the league. Maximilian, instead of returning to Germany, dreamed of great military enterprises to be carried out simultaneously in Italy and Burgundy, for which, unfortunately, money and troops were completely wanting. On the other hand, there was no longer any talk of taking serious measures to obtain the imperial crown, although the diet at Worms had expressly promised its assistance. In

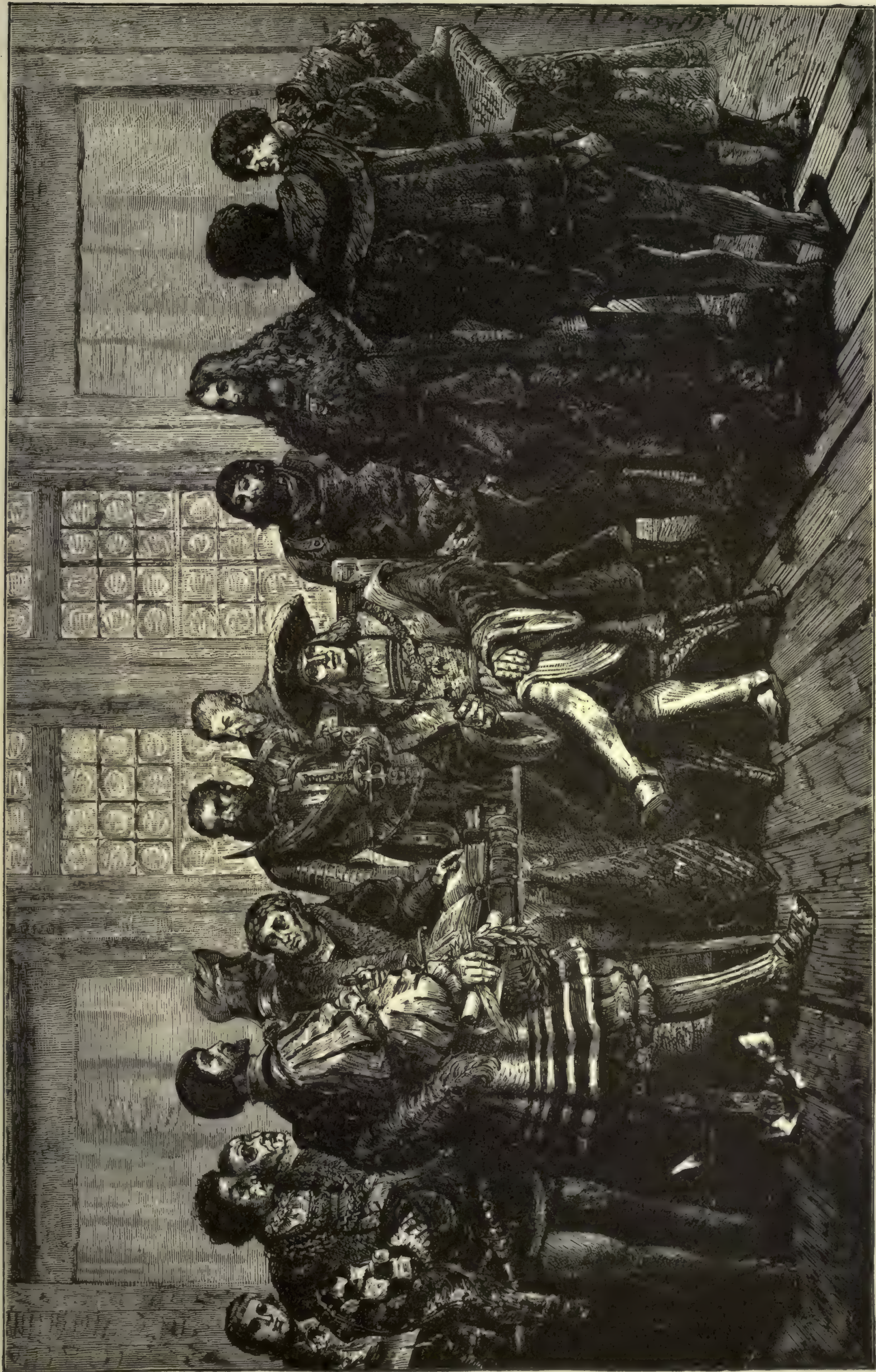
French Fleet to the Aid of Leghorn October the king came to Pisa in order to besiege the important town of Leghorn. But toward the end of the month the French fleet, so eagerly expected by the besieged, arrived, and a favourable wind allowed it to enter the harbour of Leghorn, while Maximilian's attempts to repel it were totally unsuccessful. The attempt on Leghorn finally failed, the siege was abandoned in the middle of November, and

since the three months' term of service was over, the force went back over the mountains, although just then a renewed expedition of Charles VIII. was threatening, and even Venice itself would have been glad to see the king longer in Italy. The promise, however, of better success in a war against Burgundy decided his policy.

On December 26th, 1496, Maximilian was again at Mals in Tyrol. But he did not go, as might have been expected, to the diet at Lindau, where Berthold of Mainz was busied in closely examining the position of the sovereign towards the empire; the discussion of such questions now seemed to the king almost high treason. The diet at Lindau was unsuccessful, owing to the small attendance, and it finished its sittings on February 9th, 1497, whereupon another, equally unsuccessful, was opened at Worms. The only result of it was the actual assembling of the Imperial Supreme Court at the end of May. Notwithstanding every effort, the "Common Penny" was not collected from most districts. Other expedients for

The Broken Promise of Maximilian raising money failed signally. At last, when Maximilian had given a definite promise that he would appear in person in the next diet at Freiburg in Breisgau, the states granted him immediately 4,000 ducats on account. But the sovereign, far too much occupied with his hereditary lands, did not go to Freiburg; the states waited for him from October, 1497, to the summer of 1498. He remained in Innsbruck, where the news reached him of the death of Charles VIII., and he set about levying an army to fight against France.

Some 7,000 troops actually entered the enemy's land. But since neither the league nor the princes—not even his son Philip—thought of sharing the struggle, Frederic of Saxony was selected to conduct negotiations, and the war was broken off. Archduke Philip had already allied himself with Louis XII., and on August 15th he promised, as a final compromise, to take the oath of fealty for Flanders and Artois. The simultaneous renunciation by Philip of his claims to Upper Burgundy roused the wrath of his father, who had distinctly hoped for a more favourable result, in the event of his diplomatic representative having brought matters to a settlement. Maximilian at length appeared on June 18th in Freiburg,



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN SURROUNDED BY THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

with the declared intention of taking the field against France at once. After heated explanations the states were at last prepared to pay the balance of the 150,000 florins if the king would furnish them with an account of what he had already received. With regard to France, they promised to safeguard the interests of the empire; but the king must provide for the collection of the "Common Penny" and the establishment of peace and justice. The first attempt was now made to survey the receipts from the tax. Fourteen abbots and twenty-seven towns had paid, and of the princes only the Elector of Mainz, so far as any money had been received by the king.

The knights of the empire alone raised open objections; with this exception, all were ready for payment. Some important decrees were passed concerning the administration of the empire, as a sort of supplement to the reforms of Worms. The final decree of August 24th signified a distinct advance, although a new diet at Worms at the end of September was destined to crown the whole work.

A treacherous attack of the French, in spite of the truce and the pending negotiations, now drove the king to vigorous action. With the force that stood at his disposal he reached Montbéliard by September 12th and advanced after the retreating enemy, but was unable to come up with them. He remained a short time at Metz on the way back, as the attempts to effect a longer truce with France came to nothing. The king was equally unsuccessful in dissuading his son from the treaty with France. When, then, at the beginning of the year 1499, Louis entered into an alliance with Venice it was impossible for Maximilian to make any terms, although he was distracted both by the recent outbreak of war with Guelders and the events in Switzerland.

In addition to this, the diet summoned to Worms did not meet. The king transferred it to Cologne, on account of the quarrel with Guelders—but did not appear himself—and thence to Ueberlingen on account of the confederates. Meanwhile, Archduke Philip actually took the oath of fealty to the French king, as promised in 1498. Louis XII. was now prepared to act as arbitrator between the Lower Rhenish territories of Juliers, Cleves,

and Guelders; and in spite of the grave protests of the German king, who threatened the princes with loss of their privileges, peace was ratified by his influence.

Before Switzerland was lost to the empire in 1499, the old peasant freedom in Friesland had been ended. In the diet of Freiburg Maximilian had nominated Duke Albert of Saxony governor of Friesland on July 20th, 1498. The Frisians thus received a territorial lord, but obstinately rebelled against him, so that lasting wars followed. The counts of Cirksena had always to suffer in later times from the ambition of their neighbours; at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War Mansfeld came to an understanding with the States-General. But at last Prussia received from the Emperor Leopold the reversion to the land, and took possession of it after the death of the last count in 1744.

The sea-coast was a great acquisition for Prussia, but the commercial companies, which were immediately founded, did not fulfil their brilliant promises of success. Before his election Maximilian had been famed as an efficient general, but after his accession he was defeated in every campaign which he undertook. All the internal reforms hitherto recorded were in reality only concessions forced from him by his endless need of money. But the work was now begun, and the imperial diet summoned for February, 1500, was to advance it a stage farther. Although the king had been present some considerable time, business did not begin before April. The most important question for Maximilian was that of auxiliary troops, and he came forward with proposals on the point. The "Common Penny" was universally disliked; it had proved nothing but an abortive scheme. For this reason the attempt was made to raise a permanent imperial army of 34,000 men on the basis of the proposal made in 1486. At the same time, for the relief of the assembly of the empire, a standing committee, the Council of Regency, was to be appointed, and the Supreme Court once more established.

The arrangements for the council were completed in July, and the committee itself met at Nuremberg in 1500. But the king's plan with regard to the army did not meet with the approval of the states; on the contrary, the princes, at Berthold's advice, insisted that the requirements of



A MOUNTED KNIGHT OF THE EARLY PART OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
From a life-size reconstruction in the Arsenal at Berlin

the empire should be supplied by every member of the empire. One trooper should be furnished by every 400 persons who had any property, while the lords were to furnish one for every 4,000 florins income. The towns were to pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their revenues, the Jews to pay one florin poll tax. They thus hoped for an army of some 30,000 men ; and the special duty

of the Council of Regency was to be the administration of these funds. On this head Maximilian for once agreed with the states. The assembly, besides treating these questions, was also occupied with the foreign policy, especially the attitude of France, from which an attack long seemed imminent. An imperial embassy to the court of Louis XII. was certainly unsuc-

cessful in its demands, but war was temporarily avoided. Louis was now the real master of Milan, and no one could easily dislodge him from that position. It therefore seemed most prudent to the Council of Regency to offer him for a large sum of money the investiture by the empire. The king, indeed, was not

The Real Master of Milan

quite sincere with his words; but in order to outbid the princes he agreed with Louis in October, 1501, as to his investiture with Milan on condition that Louis would assist him in his expedition to Rome for coronation.

The Council of Regency resisted the preaching of indulgences by the papal legate, Cardinal Peraudi. At first the cardinal hardly ventured to put foot on the soil of the empire. He did so later, when a pledge had been given that the money should remain entirely in Germany. Maximilian hoped for the fulfilment of his wish, that in this way the means for the campaign against the Turks would be forthcoming. The Council of Regency was forced in the end to allow preaching and collecting; but it interfered in the matter, and hindered the enriching of the papal treasury by German gold. Indeed, the treasury of the empire was to be benefited by the proceeds.

As far as the Pope was concerned, the loudly expressed demand that the papal Curia should give back annates already paid, and the revenues from earlier indulgences, was quieted by this undoubtedly large concession. The German princes naturally thought only of the money itself. On no account was the Curia to be enriched at the cost of Germany; but nothing suggested the idea that the states had attacked the indulgence itself as an institution of the Church.

The preaching of indulgences had doubtless revived the idea of crusades, and a diet was summoned to Frankfort to

Proposed War Against the Turks

deliberate on the question. But the king did not appear; the procedure was too troublesome for him. On the other hand, he summoned the princes on his own authority as a feudal lord to a campaign against the Turks; but this was the most direct violation by the king of the newly created constitutional arrangement. Bert-hold, from whom Maximilian had demanded the surrender of the imperial seal, summoned, as a counter measure,

an electoral diet, after the old style, to Frankfort in May. The assembled princes attacked the king with vehement speeches, but expressed their readiness to join in the Turkish war, although only after long and careful preparations.

Meanwhile, Maximilian tried to get possession of the money derived from the Jubilee Indulgence, but the legate remained firm to his compact to hand over the amounts raised to the council, which seemed to be nearly ignored through the turn of events. The king's attempt to invite the electors to his court in order to discuss the matter was ineffectual; in fact, on July 4th, 1502, a formal combination of the electors took place, the object of which was to oppose the king and protect the constitution created at Worms and Augsburg. A diet, to which the other princes were to be invited, was settled for November in Gelnhausen, in order to deliberate about the Turkish expedition. Maximilian summoned a "strengthened Council of Regency" to the same town for August, but countermanded it when he was certain that no one would follow his orders. The

Differences Between King and Electors assembly of the electors did not take place, since the king summoned for the same date an imperial diet to Gelnhausen, on which the electors wished to remove to Würzburg.

In the end Maximilian, for his part, relinquished the plan of an immediate war upon Turkey, and did not temporarily contemplate calling an imperial diet. Indeed, he once more set into operation the high "imperial chamber," with its undefined powers in law and legislation. Permanently strained relations existed between the king and the electors, but neither side took any action, and the king's financial position was improved, since after the year 1503 really considerable portions of the jubilee funds flowed into his coffers. In October of this year the electors once more met at Frankfort, but consented to an imperial diet only if Maximilian himself would appear. But Maximilian was now bent on the journey to Rome and the expedition against the Turks.

While all Upper Germany was being agitated by the dispute as to the succession in Landshut, which broke out after the death of Duke George of Bavaria, and was settled in the summer of 1505 by the "award of Cologne," Maximilian achieved

MAXIMILIAN AND IMPERIAL REFORM

a certain success in his foreign policy by the treaty of Blois in September, 1504, which was followed by a final accommodation with France at Hagenau, in April, 1505. Louis XII. was to be invested with Milan, and Charles, son of Archduke Philip, grandson of King Maximilian, who was betrothed to his daughter Claudia, was to be regarded as his heir. In this way the Hapsburgs might again hope to gain Milan; besides this, Louis paid a large sum to Maximilian for the investiture.

The two Hapsburgs, father and son, and the king of France, now stood in close alliance; their spheres of interest in

attention once more to imperial reform. He may have seen that reform was impossible without an administrative body, and therefore demanded a new Council of Regency, which was not to trench on royal prerogative, but was to be merely advisory. The old idea of a government by the states was completely abandoned in the proposal. But the princes would not consent to this, and withdrew from the task of reform. A renewed establishment of the Supreme Court was determined, but remained on paper, for it would have been impossible to keep it up. The king now asked for



A CONTEMPORARY PICTURE OF A COURT BALL AT MUNICH IN THE YEAR 1500

This quaint picture represents a court ball at Munich in the year 1500. Several of the dancing couples occupy the floor of the ballroom; at the table in the background Duke Albert IV. is playing cards with a lady, while the orchestras in the balconies play alternately, one set of musicians resting while the other is providing the music.

Italy were marked out. And although the treaty was broken by Louis, the international position of the house of Hapsburg was nevertheless more favourable than in previous years, especially since fairly cordial relations existed with Henry VII. of England.

Maximilian turned his steps from Hagenau down the Rhine to Cologne for the diet, and now, encouraged by the issue of the Bavarian War of Succession, as well as by the success of his foreign policy and the conquests of Charles of Guelders, he tried to give his

4,000 men from the empire for one year in order to make good his claims to the Hungarian succession, and his request was granted. The means were raised in the old way, by "register contributions"; thus the idea of a direct imperial tax was abandoned.

But this time also the plan was not carried out, and Maximilian entered into closer diplomatic relations to Ladislaus, as a result of which an arrangement was made in March, 1506, that the Hungarian princess Anne should be married to a grandson of Maximilian. But the danger

was not thus ended, since there was the fear that such a marriage would be vigorously opposed by the Hungarian nobles. The demand of the Hapsburgs, that the nobility should renew their guarantee which they gave in 1491 as to the Hapsburg succession, actually conjured up the war. King Maximilian

**Germany
at War with
Hungary**

entered Hungary in June, 1506, with an imposing force. Oedenburg was captured and Pressburg fell. The struggle was interrupted by the birth of a Hungarian prince, who received the name of Lewis; he was now the only legitimate successor of Ladislaus. But in the Peace of Vienna, on July 19th, 1506, Maximilian's claims to the succession of Hungary were nevertheless expressly established.

Meanwhile, it appeared as if the occasion was finally suitable for the expedition to Rome that had been settled at Cologne in 1505, for Pope Julius II. had completely quarrelled with France and Archduke Philip had won military successes in Spain. But Julius suddenly turned round, and in the autumn Rome and Milan, Naples and Venice combined in order to hinder the coronation journey of the German sovereign. All details of the march over the Alps had been arranged in August, and notwithstanding the gloomy tidings as to the turn of politics in Italy, Maximilian had formed the bold plan of forcing an entry into Rome, when the news reached him of the death of his son Philip, on September 25th, 1506. The idea of an aggressive war against France in combination with him had, therefore, to be abandoned. But, in order to carry out the expedition to Rome, which had not been abandoned, Maximilian assiduously sought the advice of the princes, and could hardly wait for the imperial diet convened for the beginning of 1507.

The relations of the Pope to France had again become cooler towards the end of the

**The Pope's
Coolness
to France**

year 1506; in fact, he tried to mediate between Maximilian and Louis while the latter was preparing to conquer Genoa.

The diet, which was eagerly desired in Germany, finally met towards the end of April at Constance. The work of internal reform was actually concluded by a new system of supreme judicature, but unfortunately the important question of the executive was inadequately met. The Supreme Court of Judicature met in

Regensburg about the end of the year, and was transferred two years later to Worms. The states granted the funds for the journey to Rome, and fixed the amount of the register contributions, which then remained permanently in force. Maximilian, on his own initiative, advanced into Italy from Tyrol during the winter, and assumed, on February 4th, 1508, the title of "Roman Emperor Elect." Since for the moment, owing to the complications with Venice, an entry into the eternal city seemed to lie in the remote future, a vigorous campaign was now undertaken against the great trading republic which had seized Istria.

After a preliminary success at Trautson, the Germans were completely defeated in March near Pieve di Cadore, while the emperor, far from the army, tried to get reinforcements from Germany. The Venetian commander, Alviano, had still further successes; he took the town of Görz in April, and attacked Trieste, which surrendered on May 6th. All the ports fell into the hands of the republic, and a land army threatened Carniola. Maximilian repeatedly tried to obtain money from the states; but the "urgent diet" summoned to Worms was several times adjourned. So he had to consent, on June 6th, to a three years' truce with Venice.

**Maximilian's
Truce
with Venice**

This truce, which did not take into consideration the interest of the French king on the frontiers of the German Empire, made Louis dissatisfied with his former allies, the Venetians, and drew him into closer relations with the emperor. The latter, since the death of his son Philip, was guardian of his infant grandsons, Charles and Ferdinand, and had assigned the regency of the Netherlands to his widowed daughter, Margaret, a woman of great practical ability. The English king, Henry VII., was a suitor for her hand, since he hoped in this way to win influence over the Netherlands, but being rejected, made proposals to enter into a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of France.

Such a reconciliation between England and France would have been fraught with great danger to the Netherlands and Germany, and it was necessary to avoid this at all costs. Margaret, therefore, induced her father to resume the former negotiations with France. The result was the arrangement made in December,



MAXIMILIAN AFTER THE OCCUPATION OF VERONA, WHICH SURRENDERED TO VENICE FOR THE SUM OF \$150,000.
From the painting by C. Becker, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London

1508, at Cambray, which became possible only through the provisional adjournment of the question of Guelders. In the so-called "League of Cambray" the kings of France and Germany had combined with the Pope in common action against Venice, and on the terms that the Venetian territory was divided in advance

**Division
of Venetian
Territory**

between the three parties. Louis on his part was enfeoffed with the kingdom of Milan on payment of 100,000 crowns, and the prospect of investiture held out to him so soon as the French campaign against Venice had actually begun.

While France placed an army in the field against the republic, and won a victory in May near Agnadello, Maximilian in vain sought the means for carrying on the war. Pope Julius and the French king took possession of the parts of the country guaranteed to them. Maximilian could not co-operate, but appeared in the middle of August for the siege of Padua. But he abandoned the attack at the beginning of October, and was by the end of the month once more in Tyrol, while the imperial army broke up, and Louis retired from the seat of war, having gained his desired object. Although Maximilian was convinced that the struggle must be continued during the winter, he could not induce his allies to adopt suitable measures. In fact, the strength of the league was somewhat relaxed during the winter, so that the war in 1510 was carried on unenergetically.

A new imperial diet met at Augsburg in March. The emperor demanded military support, and was now prepared to come to an agreement in the matter of reform. But the princes held back; they agreed to nothing, in the conviction that there could be no permanent settlement with this king on the basis of a constitution. The influence of the Pope also was clearly felt; he was now desirous of a peaceful arrangement, and had freed the Venetians

**League to
Crush
the French**

from the ban in February. His efforts were directed towards reviving a new league to crush the excessive power of the French. It was impossible for Maximilian in his financial weakness to follow a policy of his own. Driven by necessity, he continually drew closer to France, and made an agreement with Louis in November that renewed the Treaty of Cambray for the two powers who now alone participated in it. This alliance was really

directed against the Pope, and the effective weapon in this war was to be a stoppage of supplies to Rome. A new council, which eventually met at Pisa in November, 1511, was intended to deliberate afresh about Church reform.

In consequence of these events, Pope Julius was anxious to enter into relations with each one of the allies, ostensibly in order to restore peace in Italy—in reality, to break up the coalition. However, these attempts miscarried in the spring of 1511. But after the illness which made his life precarious, he was allied with Spain and Venice, and soon found a hearing with Maximilian. He was already inclined towards the "Holy League," especially as England had joined it. In June, 1512, the peace negotiations between Venice and the emperor were concluded. The Swiss, also, in return for the assurance that Massimiliano Sforza would be put in possession of Milan, were ready to strike a blow at France.

The Bishop of Gurk was the emperor's envoy to the Pope; the latter, on the understanding that the council at Pisa should be abandoned, and the Lateran Council acknowledged, made the most valuable concessions, since he depended entirely on the emperor for his position towards Venice. The former, even in the winter of 1512–1513, had not completely broken with France until the death of Pope Julius, in February, 1513, gave a new turn to the matter.

Giovanni de Medici was elected as Leo X. so rapidly that Maximilian could not exercise any influence over the election at all, and his plan of becoming himself master of the states of the Church after the death of Julius was thus finally frustrated. Leo remained apparently loyal to the Holy League, but soon released King Louis from the ban, while Venice formed a direct alliance with France in March. A little later, King Maximilian, at his daughter's instance, allied himself with Henry VIII. of England. The new Pope and Ferdinand of Spain were certainly privy to this agreement. A joint attack on the French territory was a preconcerted arrangement. But neither Leo nor Ferdinand was thoroughly sincere in the matter. Ferdinand, indeed, concluded a truce with Louis at the same time. The situation was cleared up only when the confederates, at the beginning of June, 1513, won a decisive victory over the



THE GREAT BATTLE OF MARIGNANO, IN WHICH THE SWISS WERE DEFEATED

At Marignano, now Melegnano, on the Lambro, on the 13th and 14th of September, 1515, Francis I. of France defeated the famous soldiery of the Swiss, and Milan thus came into the possession of the French.

After the painting by Fragonard in the Museum of Versailles

French at Novara and forced them to evacuate Italy. Ferdinand now showed himself more amenable.

Henry VIII. appeared on French soil in August, and the Swiss were ready for an attack on Burgundy. Maximilian himself appeared in the English headquarters, and shared as a general in the victory of the English army over the French, on August 16th, 1513, near the selfsame Guinegate, where thirty-four years before he had already distinguished himself. The fortress of Terouanne, on the frontiers of the Netherlands, surrendered a few days later. The Swiss at the beginning of September were before Dijon, but retired home again without having made the least use of their favourable position. At the beginning of October the allies gained a victory in Italy over the Venetians, who were now prepared to open negotiations with Pope and emperor.

Although the royal house of England formed more intimate relations with the Hapsburgs through the betrothal of Archduke Charles with Mary, sister of Henry

VIII., and although the English made further preparations against France in the winter of 1514, still King Louis succeeded by skilful diplomacy in ridding himself of his foes. In April, 1514, King Henry, affronted at the breaking-off of his sister's marriage, went over to the side of France. In August a peace was struck on the terms of the cession of Tournay to England, and Mary, the king's sister, was given in marriage to King Louis.

Under these conditions the emperor had only the support of Ferdinand left. At his advice he approached the Pope, and offered him the imperial fief of Modena. But the negotiations were still in suspense when, on January 1st, 1515, Louis XII. died, and his son-in-law, Francis of Angoulême, followed him on the throne.

The new king, who planned the marriage of Archduke Charles, now of age, with Renée, the surviving daughter of King Louis, did not wish in the least to renounce the French dominion in Italy, and made immediate preparations to defend his rights. An army was soon in Italy, and

won a victory in the two days' fighting at Marignano, now Melegnano, on the Lambro, on September 13th and 14th, 1515, over the famous soldiery of the Swiss. Milan thus fell to the French. Massimiliano Sforza

Francis the Protector of Venice

had for the future to live in France. The unexpected death of Ferdinand, in January, 1516, prevented a plan of alliance with the English king, who was willing to lend his help to defend Naples. Venice greeted Francis as her protector.

Venetians and French marched together against the Swiss, who were won over by English gold, but were compelled in March, 1516, to retreat from the Mincio to the Adda, and thence to Milan. Maximilian delayed to strike a decisive blow, and could not afterwards recover the lost opportunity, since his

Swiss mutinied. He still hoped, it is true, for a renewal of the struggle by help of English gold. Henry VIII. was to receive Milan in return. But Henry drew back, and Maximilian, indignant at this behaviour in his ally, began to take part in the negotiations pending between his grandson Charles and King Francis, which led, in December, to an alliance between them.

The basis of this was the surrender of Verona to Venice for the sum of 200,000 thalers in gold (\$150,000), while Riva and Roveredo, together with Friuli, remained to the emperor. The treaty, which, in the form of a five years' truce, was finally renewed on August 26th, 1518, continuously added to the extent of the emperor's power in his hereditary land of Tyrol.

While foreign policy took up the emperor's attention, he had not been inactive

in other matters. A continuance of imperial reform was impossible from the attitude of the princes. But the diet of Augsburg in 1512 passed the constitutionally important decree that all measures adopted in the diets should be binding on all the states. On the other hand, in order to execute the judgments of the Supreme Court of Judicature and to protect the public peace, ten circles with separate organisation had been established. The renewal of the Swabian League in 1512 was of importance for the maintenance

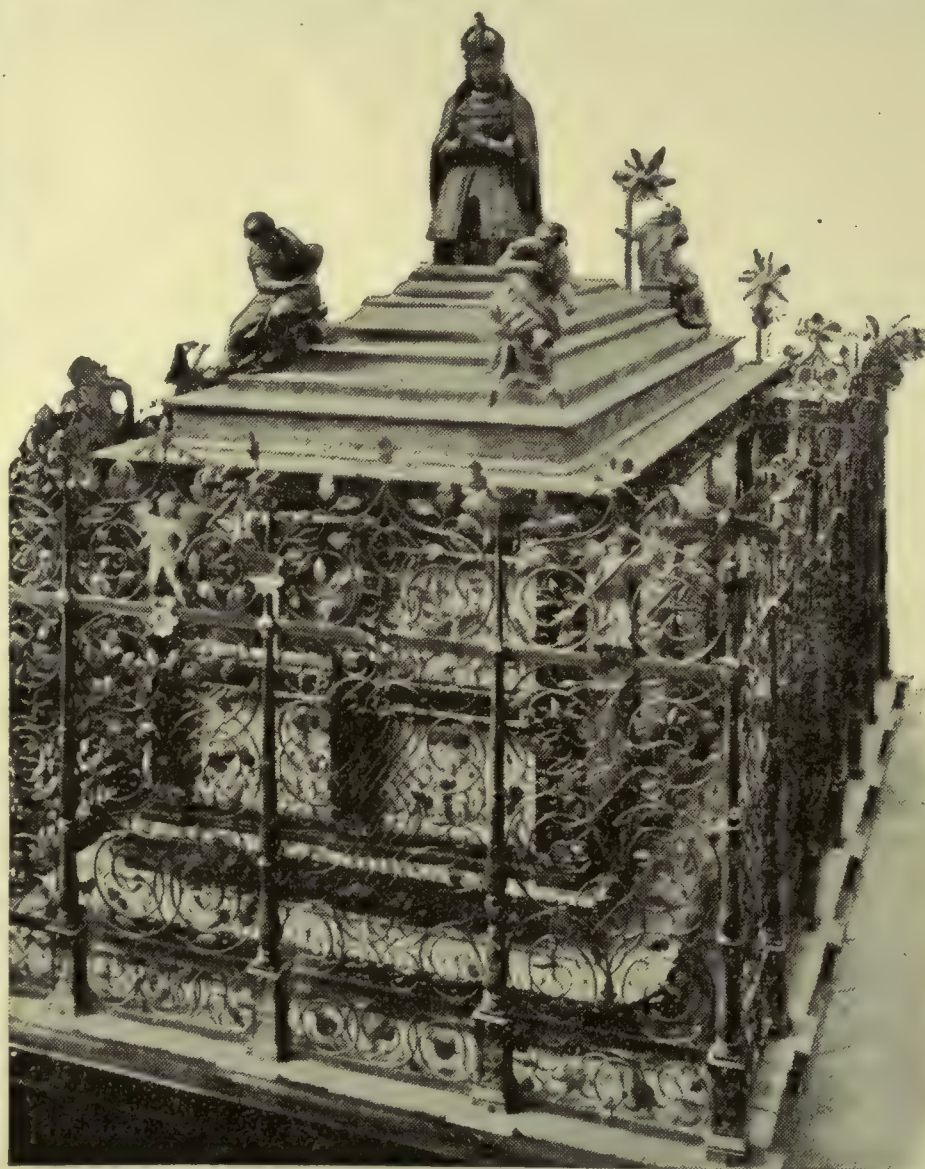
The States and Papal Demands

of internal peace; but the simultaneous formation of a "counter league" lessened in many respects the effect of this excellently designed institution. The impoverishment of the German people by the

financial practices of the papal Curia was discussed in the diet of 1517; and in 1518 a new Turks' tax was claimed on the part of the Pope, although it was proposed to leave the collection and application of it entirely to the nation. But the states refused to hear of a tax in any form whatever, and raised against the papal demands well-founded complaints, which were no longer irrelevant to the doctrines beginning to be expounded in those days at Wittenberg.

The Emperor Maximilian had always been

inspired with the wish to increase the power of his family. But the older he grew, and the less pleasure he could find in the empire and in his foreign policy, the nearer to his heart must have lain the arrangement of the succession. His grandson, Charles, had attained his majority on January 5th, 1515, and had taken



THE MAGNIFICENT "TOMB" OF MAXIMILIAN

Maximilian died in 1519, and was buried in the church of St. George in Wiener-Neustadt. The magnificent structure shown in the illustration, designed after Maximilian's own idea, was raised in the royal chapel at Innsbruck, and not, as he had desired, over his actual grave.

the government of the Netherlands into his own hands.

In the year 1517 the succession in the empire, about which Maximilian had already entertained the most varied views, became an important question owing to his failing health; and just before his departure, Charles, on an understanding with his grandfather, came forward as a candidate. Indeed, the choice of a Roman king during the emperor's lifetime was most important if the Hapsburg succession was not altogether to become doubtful. Some concessions to the electors and payment of old debts soon made them compliant, and the election was fixed for January, 1519, in Frankfort. Maximilian promised at the same time to have his own coronation as emperor completed, and the Pope, according to all appearance, was ready. But the monarch died on January 12th, 1519, at Wels, before he could carry out all these plans. He had not made any definite settlement as to his successor or appointed the pro-

**Death of the
Emperor
Maximilian**

visional government necessary in the absence of both grandsons, and so his reign closed abruptly, leaving all important issues unsolved. His body was buried in the church of St. George in Wiener-Neustadt, but his magnificent tomb, designed after his own idea, was raised in the royal chapel at Innsbruck,

and not, as he had wished, over his actual grave. When Maximilian, on December 28th, 1518, signed his will, twenty-eight of the great bronze statues and 134 of the smaller figures were ready. The masters of the plastic arts at Nuremberg, Landshut, and even in the Netherlands, worked at those statues, the grouping of which, as finally carried out by the grandson, was certainly not according to the idea in the mind of the monarch who gave the original order.

During the reign of King Maximilian, many thoughts were born which afterward obtained a tangible form, and many practical improvements sprang from the creative brain of the king himself. But his changeable nature, with the rapid alteration of plans and intentions, prevented him from carrying out systematically purposes when definitely formed. However little results his exertions in the field of imperial reform may have finally given to the nation, still the nation showed itself grateful. His contemporaries admired him; posterity celebrated him as the "last of the knights." It was, indeed, the chivalry of his nature that won him the affection of his people, notwithstanding the many evils from which, during his reign and partly through his mismanagement, the German nation suffered.

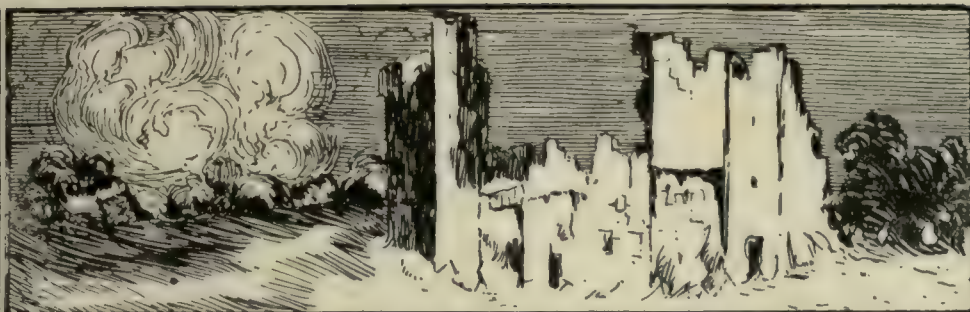
ARMIN TILLE



THE MEETING OF MAXIMILIAN AND HIS FIRST BRIDE, MARY, HEIRESS OF BURGUNDY
After the painting by Anton Petter



THE DEVASTATING ONSLAUGHT OF THE PLUNDERING MAGYARS
The Magyars were a Finno-Ugrian people who loved fighting and plundering, and when they burst into the district of the Theiss and Danube they left desolation in their track. They ravaged the civilisation of Europe at the close of the ninth century, a period during which the resisting power of the countries attacked was at its very lowest



GERMAN EXPANSION ON THE EAST FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO FOURTEENTH CENTURY

THE early settlements of the Teutons in prehistoric times lay between the Elbe and the Vistula, the Kelts being their western neighbours. When the Teutons proposed to migrate westwards and to settle in the Keltic districts to the west of the Rhine, the advance of these barbarians was checked by the fortifications which Julius and Augustus had added to the natural barriers of the Rhine and Danube. Three or four hundred years later the Teutons broke through the Roman frontiers they had often threatened.

While the East Teutons were advancing on their path of victory and death amid mighty conflicts, an event hardly less important was in progress on the frontiers of Middle and Eastern Europe, noiselessly and almost unobserved; this was the occupation by Slav races of those districts which the Teutons had abandoned. They entered the empty space between the Vis-

The Slavs in Possession of Bohemia

tula and the Elbe, and, crossing this latter river, settled on the Frankish ground of Thuringia. They also seized modern Bohemia, which had been abandoned by the retiring Marcomanni, spread over the Sudetic and Carpathian Mountains, established themselves in Pannonia and Noricum, and overran the eastern slopes of the Alps, the districts from the source of the Drave to the Adriatic, and considerable portions of the Baltic peninsula.

This Slav migration, which followed the Teutonic migration, was accomplished during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. So early as the sixth century their oppressors and pursuers, the Avars, pushed forward along the Theiss and Danube into the territories occupied by the Slavs. To this movement were added immediately afterwards a backward Teutonic wave, and, at a later date, a wedge-like advance of the Magyars, with the result that the Slavs were permanently divided into a northern and southern group.

The occupation by the Slavs of these wide territories which had belonged to the Teutons brought the two nationalities into relations providing material for endless conflict. Such conflicts broke out to some extent during the reconquest by the

Slavs and Teutons in Conflict

Germans of the original Teutonic settlements, but led to no definite result any more than the conflict between the Germans and the Romance peoples of South-west Europe, with their constant alternations, which were begun by the struggle for territory, supremacy, and material or moral power, and have continued for some fifteen hundred years.

The history of the struggles between the Slav and the Teutonic military forces and civilisations centred round two regions, which must be separated geographically and historically, one to the south-east and one to the north-east. The line of demarcation between these two coincides almost exactly with the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia. The state of Austria was the result of the conflict in the south-east, and the monarchy of Brandenburg-Prussia was produced by that on the north-east frontier.

A movement eastward at the expense of the Slavs began in the seventh and eighth centuries, and emanated from Bavaria, the duchy of the Agilolfings which was but nominally dependent upon the Frankish Merovingians and Carolingians. Availing themselves of the decline of the power of the Avars, the Bavarians extended their influence over

The Line of Christianity's Advance

the Slavonic Carentanians, the ancestors of the modern Slovenians, or Wends, of Central Austria. At the same time Christianity advanced from the Bavarian bishoprics of Salzburg, Regensburg, and Passau over the frontier districts. The country as far as the Enns and the upper Drave was already thrown open to the German nationality, when a far greater

power prepared to intervene in the struggle which was going on.

After the death of Tassilo, the last of the Agilolfings, Charles the Great began his struggle against the Avars in 791, which ended with the destruction of their kingdom in 796. As elsewhere, the Frankish king founded margraviates on

Conversion of Heathen Peoples the Central Danube, apparently two in number, the East Mark, including the land on the right bank of the Danube, from the

Enns beyond the Vienna forest and extending southwards to the Drave; and the Mark of Friuli, the land to the south of the Drave, including Istria. Passau and Salzburg, which had been an archbishopric from 798, occupied themselves with converting the inhabitants of the former provinces of Noricum, Rhætia, and Pannonia, who were chiefly heathen; Salzburg and Aquileia obtained metropolitan rights over the conquered districts.

Constitutional and ecclesiastical organisation were accompanied by immigration and settlement. Lower Austria and Western Hungary, Styria, and Carinthia, received the main bulk of their German population between the eighth and ninth centuries. Bavarians and Franks made their settlements side by side with Slav inhabitants and also with Slav colonists.

The Carolingian system of government by no means aimed at the extermination of the peaceful Slavs who had become Christians; at the same time the inhabitants of the Slav marks continually became dependent upon German territorial lords, and as early as 828 the word "Slav" (*sclavus*) acquired the significance of slave. There was nothing oppressive in this arrangement, as the land was divided chiefly into large estates belonging to ecclesiastical corporations or secular nobles who appreciated the scattered population at their full value. Thus from the outset the German territories of the

Campaigns of Charles the Great Austrian Alps were brought under cultivation, primarily by large territorial lords, and to a less extent by a class of peasantry.

The process of Germanising and Christianising the south-eastern frontiers of the German kingdom is connected with the Bavarian campaigns of Charles the Great against the Avars; similarly his Saxon wars brought him into collision with the Elbe Slavs on the north-east. The attacks upon Bohemia occupy an intermediate

position. Charles overran this country from the south-east and north-west, until he had made it tributary to himself, though he did not throw it open to German colonisation or to Christianity (805-806). The complicated campaigns against the Elbe Slavs forced the conquered tribes to make a nominal acceptance of Frankish supremacy, but left them in other respects independent and so dangerous that the great organiser founded several frontier counties—the marks of Thuringia, Franconia, and Bohemia—and created a connected line of defence, strengthened by fortresses, along the Elbe, the Saale, and the Böhmerwald.

Here were situated the frontier marks, in which peaceful intercourse with the Slavs was developed, such as Bardowick, Magdeburg, and Erfurt. In the north-west Saxon, Danish, and Slav territories, the frontier of the empire was pushed across the Eider; however, Charlemagne left to the federated tribes of the Abodrites East Holstein, or Wagria, which was not conquered until the bloody conflicts of the twelfth century. After the death of

Foundation of New Slav States the great emperor in 814, his disconnected empire naturally fell to pieces, and the Elbe Slavs, together with those of

the south, with the exception of the Carentanians, broke away from French influence. New Slav states were formed, of which the great Moravian kingdom was the most important and the most hostile to the Germans. In Moravia and Pannonia the Slavs voluntarily accepted Christianity about 870, without obliging the Germans to make much effort for their conversion. Bohemia and Moravia remained untouched by German influence for another century.

The great Moravian kingdom had been hard pressed by the Emperor Arnulf, and was already in process of dissolution when the South-east German marks of the Carolingian period came to ruin; the Magyars, a Finno-Ugrian people, burst into the district of the Theiss and Danube, and, like the Huns and the Avars, ravaged the higher civilisation of Europe, the morality and resisting power of which had never sunk so low as at the close of the ninth century, the age of devastation.

German supremacy was thrown back beyond the Enns; the more accessible districts of the Carolingian Mark became deserted; and the remnants of the

colonial population remained scattered in mountain and forest valleys, surviving two generations of this terror. The inhabitants of the Pannonian plains, who were chiefly Slavs, became serfs, and the Slovacks were reduced to pay tribute; only the Slovenians or Carentanians remained free. A protracted frontier war was in process, which brought forth new royal families, and in particular a new Bavarian ducal house.

The conditions in Saxony were similar. The conduct of the uninterrupted frontier war against the heathen Elbe Slavs brought the ducal family of the Ludolfings to the front. This house—the Saxon emperors—continued the frontier war, which was imposed upon them by tradition and necessity. The second period of successful struggle against the Elbe Slavs began, and Henry I. started by attacking the Hevelli in 928, with the Saxon army, which had been reorganised for the Magyar war.

In the year 928 Henry I. attacked the Hevelli and captured their main fortress, Brennaburg, or Brandenburg, after pitching his camp on the frozen Havel. “Ice, steel, and hunger, these three brought Brennaburg to her fall.” In the same year the king stormed Gana, or Jahna, the town of the Daleminzii, and founded the fortress of Meissen on the conquered territory. Here, again, the defeated population was subjected to pillage, while the warriors were put to death and the remainder sold into slavery. When Henry, in 928 and 929, invaded Bohemia, which had been united for a generation under a duke of the Premyslid house, Wenzel I., the later martyr and patron saint, offered no resistance, but accepted the land as a tributary fief from the hands of the German king. Although Bohemia several times shook off the German supremacy, the feudal suzerainty was upon the whole maintained, so that the duchy and the later kingdom became a permanent portion of the empire, and belonged to the German federation until its end in 1866. By the further subjection of the Redarii, Abodrites, Wilzes, and Liutizi, all the land on both sides of the Elbe as far as the Oder obeyed the first king of the Saxon house.

The civil wars, which fill the earlier years of Otto I., were accompanied by wars upon the Wends. The successor of Henry I. had made over the frontier of

the Saale and Central Elbe to the Margrave Gero, and the district on the lower Elbe to the Duke Hermann Billung. Gero waged war with fearful vigour and with reckless choice of means. In 939, when informed that the Wends had planned a surprise attack, he invited thirty of their chiefs, made them drunk, and killed them.

How Gero Ruled the Slavs He thus ruled the Slavs to the Havel as Hermann ruled the Baltic Slavs; but he was constantly supported by the king, and the Wendish wars of the Saxon period thus assumed a character of imperial enterprise.

Between 950 and 970 the Wends were constantly revolting. After the death of Gero, in 966, the king divided this district into five marks, from which were gradually formed the Northern Mark, or Old Mark, the Eastern Mark of Lausitz, or Saxony, and the Thuringian Mark—the Margraviate of Meissen. Otto's wars with his German rivals, the Danes, for the mastery of the North Sea and the Baltic territories, and the mark organised in 934 by his father and occupied by the Germans between the Eider and Schlei—afterwards the Mark of Schleswig—are legendary achievements.

Throughout this time German merchants and German missionaries, those historical pioneers of military and constitutional supremacy, had been visiting the marsh and forest districts occupied by the Wends; German missionaries had also come face to face with the obstinate heathenism of Scandinavia. In these frontier territories Christianity did not secure its hold until the ecclesiastical institutions of the Saxon period were established. The bishopric of Hamburg, founded in 831—an archbishopric after 834 and the seat of St. Ansgar, who first secured the title “Apostle of the North”—was united with Bremen in 847, and remained under the Saxon kings the starting-point for missions to the north. Otto I. made the bishoprics of

The First Wendish Bishoprics Schleswig, Ripen, and Aarhus, founded in 948, subordinate to the metropolitan see of Bremen. At that time, in 946 and 949, the king founded the first bishoprics upon Wendish soil, Havelberg and Brandenburg, to which the subject Slavs were obliged to pay tithes and tribute. To these must be added the bishopric of Oldenburg in Wagria—East Holstein—known to the Wends as Stargard. In 968 Otto succeeded in his favourite

project of making Magdeburg an archbishopric, independent of Mainz ; and to this the sees of Havelberg and Brandenburg, Meissen, Merseburg, and Zeitz, were subordinate as suffragan bishoprics. Thus Christianity had secured a firm foothold in the marks, and the missions prospered among the refractory Wends.

**The Wends
Back to their
Old Gods**

However, when Otto II. was defeated on July 15th, 982, by the Saracens in Apulia, the Danes and Slavs renewed their attacks in 983, and the patient achievements of fifty years' policy collapsed amid this wild disturbance. Havelberg and Brandenburg were destroyed ; Hamburg was reduced to ashes ; and the Wends returned to the service of their god Gerowitt and the three-headed Triglav, at the places of sacrifice. Tithes and tribute were no longer paid.

The German nationality became powerless between the Elbe and the Oder. The only true method of securing Germanisation had not yet been discovered. Germans had entered the fortresses which the Slavs had already built or reconstructed, and German wardens had replaced the Slav castellans or Zupans. Only under the shelter of the fortresses had the land been cultivated here and there, and it was impossible for such a colonisation to put out strong roots in the territory east of the Elbe.

Under the regency of Theophano some campaigns against the Wends were undertaken between 986 and 990, but under Adelheid (991-996) the frontier was barely defended. The Emperor Otto III., whose sympathies were wholly foreign, and who was absorbed by the dream of a universal monarchy, was sufficiently ill-advised to diminish German influence in the east. It was at that period that the duchy of Poland emerged from the deep obscurity of the time, and Christianity made its way here under the dukes Mesko and Boleslav Chabri. About this time Hungary and

**Hungary and
Russia Adopt
Christianity**

Russia were also Christianised, while Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Iceland and Greenland, followed in the eleventh century. Inspired by sincere reverence for the Bohemian Adalbert, his personal friend, who had been murdered by the heathen Prussians in 997, Otto III. made a pilgrimage in the year 1000 to Gnesen, where a memorial was erected to this saintly martyr, whose corpse Boleslav had covered with gold.

At the wish of Duke Boleslav, and with the emperor's consent, a special archbishopric for Poland was organised in Gnesen ; seven suffragan bishoprics were to be subject to the new metropolitan, including the bishops of Cracow, Breslau, and Kolberg, all to the disadvantage of the metropolitan chair of Magdeburg, to which the Poles had been hitherto subordinate. Only the Bishop of Posen protested against this new organisation of the Polish Church and adhered to Magdeburg for the moment. In that same year Hungary was for ever separated from the German Church, after Stefan I. had made Gran the seat of a primate for the whole kingdom.

From that date Poland and Hungary continued a separate ecclesiastical and political existence, but the Germans never ceased to transmit their own civilisation and that of the west to their eastern neighbours. The kingdoms of the Piasts and of the Arpads resisted German supremacy, which they recognised only under the immediate pressure of German military force ; none the less the time approached when German migration no longer

**Where the
Saxons were
Successful**

trickled, but flowed, into the two countries ; after that date agriculture, mining, trade, manufacture, and town life were stamped with German characteristics. The Saxon emperors were more successful in the south-eastern mark than upon the Wendish frontier ; the former had been shattered by the Magyars at the beginning of the tenth century, but had been restored in 995 after the victory on the Lechfeld.

Once again the rulers gave large tracts of land to secular nobles, churches and monasteries ; and again a strong German and especially Bavarian immigration began. Like the East Babenberg mark, the frontier of which had been definitely advanced to the Leitha since the Hungarian wars of the Emperor Henry III., so also the Carentanian or Styrian mark gradually broke away from the Bavarian duchy. In view of the extraordinary independence of these south-eastern frontiers and their princes, it was possible at a later period that larger independent states might be developed there.

In the time of the Salian emperors the imperial policy paid no special attention to the Slav districts on the Elbe. Colonisation and missionary activity came to an end. It should have been the task of



THE BETRAYAL AND SLAUGHTER OF THE WENDISH CHIEFS BY THE MARGRAVE GERO
Wars with the Wends occupied the earlier years of the reign of Otto, these people being frequently in revolt. The Margrave Gero, none too particular in his methods, hearing, in 939, that the Wends contemplated a surprise attack, invited thirty of their chiefs to meet him, and when they responded, he made them captives and then killed them.

the territorial princes and bishops to continue the work which the empire had ceased to perform. However, even the Saxon dukes of the family of Billung confined themselves to exacting taxation from the Slavs, but made no attempt to foster colonisation or Christianity. For a short time the archbishopric of Bremen, especially under the ambitious Archbishop Adalbert, who died in 1072, whose diocese included the whole of North Europe, revived the missions to the Slavs; he seems to have been the first to induce the Netherland colonists to bring the peat districts on the Weser under cultivation. He was supported in 1046 by the alliance of the Abodrite prince, Gottschalk, who had voluntarily accepted Christianity.

Christianity under the Wends soon made such progress that it was possible to found the bishoprics of Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg. But in a few years the reaction set in. The Liutizi attacked the Abodrites, who reverted to their old gods and obeyed the heathen prince, Kruto, after Gottschalk had been killed in 1066, and Bishop John of Ratzeburg had been sacrificed before the idol Radegast.

No fundamental change took place until the Saxon duke, Lothar of Supplinburg, became German king on August 30th, 1125. The Elbe Slavs were again made tributary; the sanctuary of Radegast in Rethra was destroyed; and even the Polish duke, Boleslav III., did homage to the emperor for Pomerania and Rügen. Christianity had secured a hold in Pomerania in 1124; a pious German bishop, Otto of Bamberg, was an apostle of this heathen country. German customs and language crossed the Elbe in force, extended over the wide river-valleys, and advanced towards the shores of the Baltic.

These districts at the present day are thoroughly German, and are, indeed, the centre of German strength and power. The time had come when the nation was in possession of that superfluous strength which felt the need for conquest and colonisation. The age also brought forth those leading personalities required by every great movement, the heroes of the German expansion beyond the Elbe. These were the Ascanian Albert the Bear, the Schauemburger Adolf II. of Holstein, and Henry the Lion.

In the year 1134 the Ascanian Albert of Anhalt, the son of Otto the Rich of Ballenstedt, was invested with the fief of the Saxon Nordmark, a barren and swampy district then inhabited only in the west. There were no actual settlements in the Wendish territory to the east of the Elbe, and only historical claims to this imperial fief. In rapid succession, however, Albert conquered Prignitz, together with Zauche, restored the episcopal chair of Havelberg in 1136, and concluded a treaty of inheritance with Pribislav of Brandenburg, so that this district, the later Middle Mark, came into his hands in 1150.

The bishopric of Brandenburg was then revived, and it was finally possible for the titular bishops of the marks, who had been driven from their dioceses for a century and a half, to resume residence. Together with Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg (1152-1192) the Ascanian now devoted himself to the colonisation of the Slav districts on the Elbe. The conquests of the sword were secured by the work of the ploughshare. As Ranke says: "The sword, the cross, and the plough

co-operated to secure the land on the right of the Elbe for Germany." The colonisation on the right bank of the Elbe, which is most characteristic of Germany, originated, however, not in Brandenburg, but further north, in Wagria. Count Adolf II. of Holstein, of the family of Schauemburg, had almost exterminated the heathen Slav population of this district in a series of massacres. He then sent out messages to the Lower Rhine, to the Flemings and the Dutch, to the effect that all who wanted land might come and receive arable and pasture land, cattle and fodder, in abundance.

The colonists came and settled in small villages. Adolf II. also built a town; in the neighbourhood of Buku, which was destroyed in 1138, rose the new town of Lübeck in 1143, which was destined afterwards to secure the supremacy of the Baltic and the commercial predominance of the whole of Northern Europe.

For fifteen years German colonists continued to enter Brandenburg. Since the Wendish revolt of 1157 the property and the rights of the Slav population seem no longer to have been recognised. The margrave distributed the land, where he did not keep it for himself, to noble lords, chiefly coming from the Altmark, who

had helped in the process of conquest, to bishoprics, churches and monasteries, and also to his *ministeriales* and knightly adherents. In some cases the Wendish nobles who had submitted were left in possession of their property, and amalgamated with the immigrants to form a new race. Christianity seems to have begun in this quarter with the summons to the colonists from North-west Germany; Bishop Anselm of Havelberg and the Premonstratensian Order were transplanted to the mark from the neighbouring town of Magdeburg, where the founder of the order, St. Norbert, had been archbishop in 1126 and had died in 1134.

The popular Cistercian Order did good service in the colonisation and Germanisation of the north-east. The work of Albert the Bear is continued by his successors in those parts of Brandenburg which were acquired about 1260, the Uckermark and the Newmark, Lebus and Sternberg.

The third of the royal colonisers of the twelfth century was the most powerful of them all; this was Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria. Originally he contented himself with the tributes of the Wendish princes, including the Abodrite Niklot. Purely territorial interests induced the Guelf to initiate an aggressive policy against the Elbe Slavs. After the foundation of Lübeck by Adolf II., the customs revenue of Bardowick, the chief commercial town on the Lower Elbe, belonging to Henry the Lion, began to dwindle, and the duke, by the right of the strong hand, deprived the count of Schauemburg of his new town (1157-1158).

This action redounded to the advantage of the people of Lübeck, for the Guelf overwhelmed this productive source of imposts with privileges. In order to free the town on the Trave from the molestation of Slav pirates, Henry attacked the Abodrite prince, and made his territory, which had hitherto been tributary, a component part of the duchy. Following the example of Albert the Bear, he divided the conquered district among his noble comrades, among squires and knights who had joined in the expedition, and among bishops and monasteries. The three new territorial bishops of Lübeck, Ratzeburg, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin were invested by him personally, and not as were the bishops of Brandenburg by the emperor. In addition to the territory of the

Abodrites, the modern Mecklenburg, he also subjugated Pomerania, though the princes, who were already Christians, were not deprived of their power. On the other hand, the Danes overpowered the last refuge of piracy and heathenism, the Island of Rügen. In the summer of 1168, King Waldemar I. and Bishop Absalon of

The Danes Roskilde conquered the strong
Destroy a defences of Arkona. A deep
Great Idol impression was made upon the
conquered by the action of the
Danes, who broke the four-headed idol
Swantewit in pieces, and threw it into
their camp fire. It was only by secret
intrigues that Henry the Lion could
secure from the Danes the cession to him-
self of half the temple treasures of Arkona
and half of the tribute of the island.

The colonisation of the lowlands on the right bank of the Elbe displays certain features which recur in the German settlements of Silesia and Prussia, also in Bohemia and Hungary. The margrave, the monastery, the noble, or anyone who possessed a superabundance of land, called in colonists, who were chiefly Saxons of the Rhineland. Flemings, and Netherlands, though here and there Central and Upper Germans made their appearance. A contractor, known as the locator, divided the land appointed to him among the settlers who had come with him, and now became village companions. Again, some Slav township might be divided among the new comers when the former population had been expelled. These new settlements generally took the form of villages with one or more streets, according as the houses were built in one or two rows; the land belonging to every house formed a connected strip extending to the wood or marsh. Generally speaking, individual allotments did not exceed the average size of thirty acres.

While the German colonists of the Elbe and Oder district had taken possession of the mainland in the twelfth century, and had founded a countless number of villages, the thirteenth century was especially the age of the foundation of towns. The process of Germanisation was not concluded, and did not show its full power until the foundation of German towns endowed with German rights—chiefly modelled upon those of Magdeburg. In the founding of towns a general plan was also followed, and we discern an

increasing technical power of arranging detail. One or more locators stand at the head of the enterprise proposed by ecclesiastical or secular nobles. At a suitable spot, which is already inhabited in part, a market-place is marked out, which is of large size, square and level, and is generally known as the "ring-platz."

Spaces are marked off for the council house and exchange, and sites are then measured along the market-place for the settlers; these are neither broad nor deep, in order that as many as possible may share this privileged position. In addition to this, a few parallel streets of approach are marked out, and the whole is surrounded by a circuit wall of considerable strength. In some cases new towns and suburbs are formed, which are united upon occasion with the old town. The locator ranks as mayor of the town, in possession of privileges of every kind.

The town annually pays the landowner or territorial lord, after the lapse of the stipulated period of exemption, a

lump sum, which is contributed by the individual families, and becomes a smaller burden as the wealth of the community increases. Whenever German municipal privileges are introduced, the process of development does not cease until complete independence is secured. The mayor is assisted in his judicial functions by assessors; the affairs of the town are in the hands of a town council, and the mayoralty is finally transferred from the lord of the town to the community. When the community has thus become entirely free, the usual struggle begins between the mercantile patriciate and the industrial classes to secure admission to the council and the state offices. This stage of development, however, was undergone by every town in the mother country, and reappears in the colonial towns, though in abbreviated form.

Together with the agricultural village and the commercial or manufacturing town settlements, the mining colony forms a third kind of settlement. After the discovery of the silver mines of Freiberg,



THE STOCKADED HOUSE OF A GERMAN FARMER IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY



THE HOMESTEAD OF A TEUTONIC CHIEF IN EARLY MEDIÆVAL TIMES

Town life was unknown among the early Teutonic races, who dwelt in village settlements around which were fortifications of earth and wood that served as a refuge for the population. The chiefs ruled over small districts protected by wildernesses, swamps and other natural boundaries, their own headquarters being stockaded as shown in the illustration.

the half Slav Erzgebirge attracted not only German miners, whose first starting-point seems to have been the Hartz Mountains, but also other colonists. These completed the Germanisation of the modern kingdom of Saxony. Such colonies developed codes of their own capable of expansion, and in Moravian Iglau and Bohemian Kuttenberg the mining industry soon formed centres similar to that of Saxon Freiberg.

All these institutions which arose upon the old Slav territory are also found in Silesia, which was entered by German colonists at a later date than Brandenburg. Their invasion was directed by the power of the Church and the princes.

In Poland, which was regarded as belonging to Silesia until the thirteenth century, Christianity had become predominant so early as the tenth century. The Polish Church retained the traces of its German origin, and in consciousness of this fact an attempt was made to counter-balance German preponderance by the introduction of French clergy. Circumstances, however, brought it about that in the twelfth century not only the Church, but also, and to a greater extent, the ducal

power facilitated the general triumph of German nationality throughout Poland, and secured the complete Germanisation of the larger part of Silesia. The dukes enjoyed almost unlimited power and property, while the Church and the growing order of the nobles shared the privileged position of territorial lords. In consequence the peasant class, originally free, gradually dwindled, and was replaced by a disorganised mass of occupants, subject to tribute, burdened by forced service, and bound to the soil. There were no free towns, although we can detect traces of an early Polish town constitution, which bears some similarity to the old Russian town system.

After the time of Boleslav III., who died in 1138, Poland was broken into petty principalities, and Silesia also acquired a kind of independence. The neighbourhood of Germany, the connection of the dynasts with German princely houses, the influence of German women and mothers, and of princes educated in German schools, secured the advance of the Germans to the central districts of the Oder in the twelfth century. As in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, this

movement was a bloodless one, completed under the protection of princes of Slav origin, without the slaughter or expulsion of the non-German previous and present occupants—a peaceful contrast to certain proceedings in Wagria, Brandenburg, and Prussia. Where the authorities failed to support the movement and the Polish

**German
Advance
in Poland**

nationality was able to maintain its ground, as in Upper Silesia, the Slavs were also left in possession. In the rest of Poland, whither the Germans advanced in the thirteenth century, with no less success than in Silesia, an irresistible national reaction took place forthwith.

The peasant colonisation of Silesia by the importation of German immigrants was begun by the German Cistercians—who were first called in by Duke Boleslav the Long—to Leubus in 1175; these were soon followed by Premonstratensians and Augustinian Canons. The Germans settled in new or old villages—the latter were, however, in ruins—under the same favourable conditions as in Brandenburg. From the first moment the settlements of the tenant peasantry struggling with the swamps and primeval forests formed a salutary contrast to the scattered villages of the Polish serf population, who were both incapable and disinclined to work.

It was not surprising that princes, bishops and lords began to found villages “of German right” both in Greater and Lesser Poland. As Schiemann observes, “The privileges of the German peasant colonies consisted in the fact that they enjoyed immunity from the princely jurisdiction except in criminal cases, while they had free markets, freedom from imposts and military service, and were relieved from the manifold forms of forced service which oppressed the Polish peasant.”

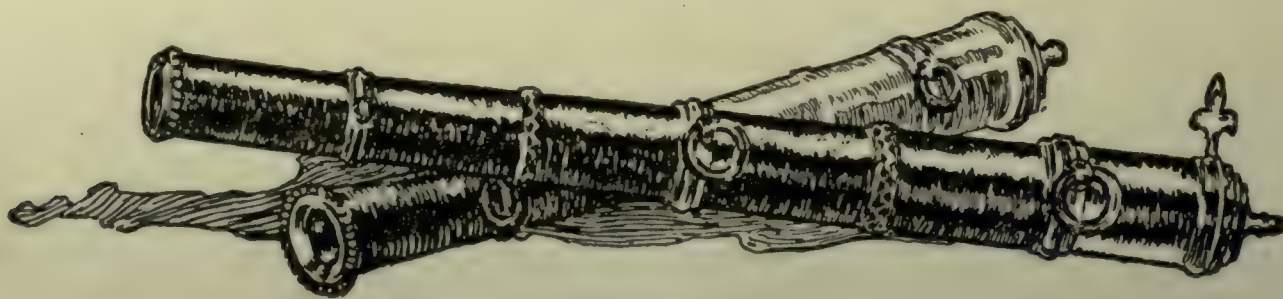
Of the Silesian dukes none performed greater service for the Germanisation of the country than Henry I. the Bearded (1202–1238). Under him were founded such towns of German right as Neumarkt,

Löwenberg, Neisse, Goldberg, Oppeln, Ratibor, etc. Especially after the great invasion of the Mongols and the bloody battle of Liegnitz on April 9th, 1241, the process of colonising and founding of towns received a greater impulse. At that time Breslau began its development and secured the privilege of Magdeburg in 1261, while Liegnitz, Landshut, Brieg, Glogau, Beuthen, etc., were also prosperous. The Duke Henry IV. Probus, after the battle of the Marchfield in 1278, received Silesia as a fief from the German king, Rudolf I., and thus the political separation of Silesia from Poland was completed. United with Bohemia by the last Premyslids after 1291, it became in 1327 “feudatory to the crown of St. Wenzel.” During the time of Charles IV. it was once more prosperous, but upon the whole it remained a mere appendage of that kingdom. As such it passed to the Hapsburgs in 1526, with whom it remained until Frederick II. in 1740 asserted the hereditary claims of the Hohenzollerns to Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, and Jägerndorf.

The German element in Silesia suffered no diminution by the union with Bohemia, though its eastern expansion came to an end. The Polish clergy declared against German colonisation in 1260, and from the time of Vladislav I. Lokietek (1320–1333) the Polish crown generally displayed a spirit hostile to the Germans. This

**Nobles as
Professional
Robbers** spirit predominated among the powerful nobility until German influence was entirely broken down under the Jagellons, and the kingdom of the national Polish Schlachta began to decay.

At the close of the fourteenth century the general culture of Silesia was at a low ebb. The nobles had degenerated, and were professional robbers; the towns were impoverished, especially the smaller of them, and the peasants were overwhelmed by a stupefying servitude which was very little more tolerable than that of their Polish and Bohemian equals.





THE KNIGHTS OF THE SWORD

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER

HENRY THE LION seemed to have assured the position of the Germans on the Baltic. The Osterlings, the German Baltic navigators, sailed the sea as far as Gothland and the Gulf of Finland. German factories existed before the end of the twelfth century in Wisby and in Great Novgorod. The Germans began to vie with the Scandinavians and the Slavs for the possession of a world that had hitherto been inaccessible to them. The ecclesiastical or secular conqueror and coloniser was now joined by the merchant, who had been a somewhat insignificant figure in the expansion of Germany until the end of the twelfth century.

The prospects of further advance suddenly became extremely gloomy; the all-protecting power of Henry the Lion collapsed, and Frederic Barbarossa divided the remnants of the Guelf

**Conquests
of the
Danish King**

possessions among his adherents in 1181. The barrier was now torn away which had hitherto checked the advance of Danish conquest. The Danish king, Waldemar II. (1202-1241), overpowered Holstein, forced Mecklenburg and Pomerania to do him homage, brought Lübeck under his supremacy, and received the confirmation of his possession of all lands beyond the Elbe and Elde from the Emperor Frederic II., who, in 1214, at seventeen years of age, had come to Germany. In Esthonia the Danes also established a footing, and thence they menaced the new colonies of the Germans.

Suddenly, however, fortune changed. Duke Henry the Black of Schwerin captured the Danish king and his eldest son, who bore his name, to satisfy a private quarrel, at the little island of Lyö, near Fünen, in May, 1223, and brought them in safe custody to Danneberg. While Waldemar II. was confined in the "king's hole," the Germans again secured possession of all the terri-

tory to the east of the Elbe with the exception of Rügen. The king, when set free on November 17th, 1225, attempted to recover what he had lost by force of arms, but was defeated at the battle of Bornhövede on July 22nd, 1226. The German imperial forces had no share in this great victory over the Danes. As

**German
Advance on
the Baltic**

affairs in the country on the Elbe and the Oder had developed without their interference, so also upon the Baltic coasts the advance of German nationality continued without their aid. Their interference, as a rule, was a hindrance rather than a help, and their lack of interest, upon the whole, proved a benefit.

At the time of Waldemar II. a remarkable colonial settlement had been formed upon the shores of the Baltic on the fifty-seventh parallel of north latitude. Nations of foreign tongues inhabited the country south of the Gulf of Finland—Esthonians, Livonians, Courlander, and Oeseles—who belonged to the Finnish branch of the Mongolian races; to the south-west of them were settled Indo-Germanic peoples—Letts, Lithuanians, Semgallians, and Prussians. The ethnical characteristics of this region were complicated, even from primitive times, by the infusion of Finnish and Lettish elements and by the influence of Scandinavian immigrants. These races were, without exception, still in a state of barbarism, and none rose to any form

**How Small
Districts were
Protected**

of constitutional organisation. Chiefs ruled over small districts protected by wildernesses, stockades, and swamps. Apart from village settlements there were also fortifications of earth and wood which served as refuges for the population when revenge or the instinct of piracy led to raids upon the country. Town life was unknown. While the Letts were occupied in cattle-breeding and agriculture, and also in hunting, the Finns

were fishers and mariners or pirates. The religion of the Finns was allied to Shamanism. As regards the religion of the Letts we know that the old Prussians had a national sanctuary in Romovo, in which the high priest, Kryve-Kryvejto, tended the everlasting fire in honour of Perkunas and offered the sacrifices of

Religion of the Baltic Peoples victory. All the Baltic peoples believed in a life after death, as is clearly shown by the objects found in their tombs.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Baltic districts were repeatedly ravaged by the Russians, who were unable, however, to secure more than a temporary payment of tribute. In the year 1030 the people of Novgorod built the fortress of Vurieff to overawe the district; this was destroyed by the Esthonians thirty years afterwards. The modern Russians have, however, given the old eleventh-century name to the German town of Dorpat, which rose on the same spot.

It was not, however, fated for the Russians to bring Christianity and the elements of civilisation to the Baltic territory; this was the work of the Germans, especially of the Low Germans, who extended their linguistic area to the Gulf of Finland, while it touched the allied district of the Dutch and Flemings on the west. German merchants first came from Gothland (Wisby) to the gulf at the mouth of the Dvina. Sailing up the Dvina they came to Poleck and Witebsk, whence an overland route led to Smolensk in the district of the Dnieper. It was, indeed, possible to reach Smolensk from Novgorod, but the road was longer, and in Novgorod the Germans were exposed to the hostile rivalry of the Scandinavians, who were older settlers in that town. Thus, the Germans, and especially the sailors of Lübeck, gained a trading district free from rivalry by this "passage of the Dvina." They left their country in the spring,

Missionaries to the Livonians pitched their booths on the Dvina in the summer, and returned home in the autumn. Individuals even then began to pass the winter among the Livonians and among the Esthonians.

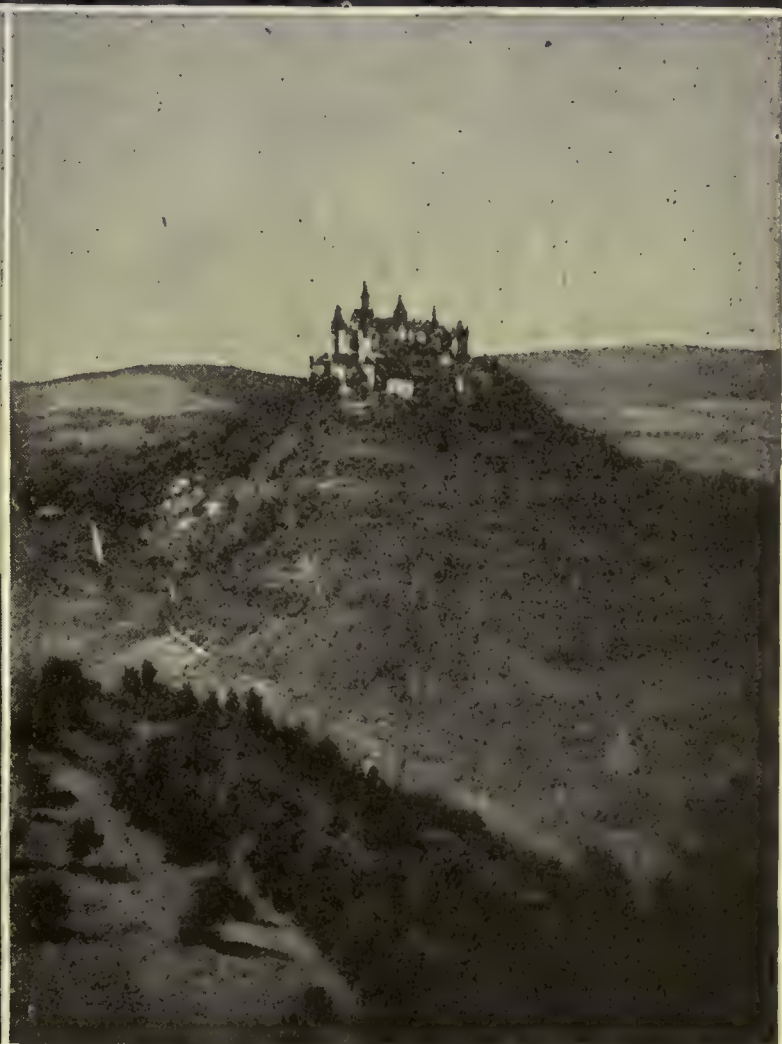
Missionaries soon ventured to Livonia; among these were the Augustinian canon Meinhard, who built the first stone church at Uxküll, and was consecrated bishop in 1186 by the Archbishop of Bremen, Hartwig, and the Cistercian, Theodoric.

The Germans gathered about their settlements, clearing the forests and setting an example of higher morality to the natives. But neither Meinhard nor his successor Berthold, who summoned the crusaders into the land and was killed in battle in 1198, was ever more than a mere pioneer. After the retreat of the first crusaders the Livonians adopted so threatening an attitude that priests and merchants fled from the country.

At this critical moment the right man appeared to found the predominance of the Germans in the Baltic territories. This was the canon of Bremen, Albert of Buxhövede—also called Albert of Appeldern—who had been consecrated third bishop of Livonia. Before entering his new sphere of work, he secured the favour of the Danish ruler by a personal visit, gained the protection of King Philip of Swabia, and was granted a crusading bull by Innocent III. In 1200 he sailed up the Dvina with twenty-three ships to the settlements of Uxküll and Holm, which had been founded by Bishop Meinhard. He chose, however, a more suitable spot for his residence; at the mouth of the little river Riga, at its confluence with the Dvina, where a considerable bay appeared likely to invite merchants, he began the construction of the town of Riga in 1201. In the following year citizen settlers came out from Bremen and Hamburg, and even at the present day the civic shield of Riga combines the armorial bearings of Bremen and Hamburg.

The Cistercians entered the new monastery built at the mouth of the Dvina in 1208. The Order of St. Bernard was followed by the Premonstratensians, and within a short time, in the extreme north-east, the two spiritual corporations were rivals in the work of colonisation. It was never possible, however, to bring a sufficient number of German peasantry to Livonia and to the territories on the far side of the Niemen; the peasantry would not go by sea, and it was quite impossible to reach this remote district by land without crossing hostile and inhospitable districts.

The German plough was thus unable to conquer Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia as thoroughly as Brandenburg and even Prussia. Hence the difference between the history of this Baltic land and that of the territory between Lübeck and Memel.



GREAT MEDIÆVAL CASTLES OF GERMANY AS THEY ARE TO-DAY

In the late Middle Ages all Germany was a land of splendid princely strongholds, as witness the castled Rhine. Many of these castles are still inhabited, like that of the Counts of Eltz, shown at the top of this page, the picturesque Schloss Lichtenstein on the left, and the ancestral castle of the Hohenzollern on the right. None excelled in grandeur or beauty of site the Castle of Heidelberg, which is to-day a splendid ruin of its past.

Photochrome

The struggle with the Finnish and Lettish peoples did not begin until the moment when the Livonians were regarded as subjugated and baptised—shortly after 1200. An occasional body of crusaders was then no longer enough to guarantee the protection necessary for colonial expansion. Hence, about 1202, the knightly

“Brothers of the Sword” Order of the Brothers of the Sword was founded by Bishop Albert, and confirmed by the Pope in 1204. This ecclesiastical

and military brotherhood was organised upon the same principles as the Templars, the Knights of St. John, and the Teutonic Knights, who had originated in the Holy Land. Like these Orders it was divided into three classes—the priests, the knights, and the serving brothers—among whom the squires were to be distinguished from the artisans. The uniform of the “Brothers of the Knighthood of Christ in Livonia” consisted of a white coat and cloak to which a red cross was sewn, formed from two swords crossing each other, hence the name “Brothers, or Knights, of the Sword.” On service the heavy armour then in use was naturally worn, though covered with the cloak of the Order.

At the head of the Order was the Master, who was chosen by the Knights from their own class, and all the authorities of the order, the Commanders, Bailiffs, etc., were unconditionally subordinate to him. In important cases the Chapter was summoned, which, however, could only advise, and not decide. The number of the Brothers was never great; like the Order of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, they rather formed a kind of official or general staff corps, to officer the local levies and reinforcements of Crusaders. The Order was recruited chiefly from the North German nobility as long as it remained independent.

Hardly had Bishop Albert been invested by King Philip with Livonia, and elevated

The Knights’ Struggle for Independence to the position of an imperial prince in 1207, when the Order, in return for its

services, took a third of all the land that was conquered or was to be conquered thereafter. Forthwith the destructive opposition of the episcopal power began; the bishop wished to secure sole authority in the country while the Order was struggling for independence. Innocent III. did not wish to institute any new metropolitan power, and decided that the

Order should pay no other service to the bishopric of Riga, in return for the third part of the land, than that of providing security against the heathen.

Meanwhile the Order had advanced to Esthonia in 1208, and in about nine years had nominally conquered the country. Among the Livonians and Letts a state of ferment had prevailed for a considerable time, a sign that Christianity and German civilisation had gained no real hold of the country. In the year 1218 Livonia was threatened by a great Russian invasion. Bishop Albert then applied in his necessity to Waldemar II. of Denmark, who promised help if the Germans undertook to cede to him all the territory he might conquer.

To this they agreed, and the Danish king landed in 1219 with his naval and military power at the spot where the town of Reval afterwards arose. A surprise of the Esthonians at the castle of Lindanissa was successfully repulsed. It was this battle in which, according to legend, a red flag with a white cross descended from heaven to lead the Danes to conflict. This was the “Danebrog,” afterwards the imperial banner of Denmark. A war

Danes and Germans at War between the Danes and Germans for Esthonia was inevitable, as the Order of the Sword had by

no means surrendered its old claims to this district. For the moment the Order made an arrangement with Waldemar in respect to Esthonia, without the knowledge of the bishop, so that the presumptuous Dane now claimed the supremacy of Livonia.

This danger united the Order, and King Waldemar then, in 1222, renounced his claim to Livonia, for the reason that he had never had that country in his power. In January, 1223, a revolt of the Esthonians broke out, the castles of the Knights and of the Danes were reduced to ruins, and in May, the Count Henry of Schwerin captured the Danish king, who, more than all others of his nation, had threatened the German supremacy of the Baltic.

The Order of the Sword now secured the whole of Danish Esthonia in the course of their struggle with the rebels. More important was the fact that Waldemar’s blockade of Lübeck came to an end, so that crusaders, merchants, and Knights could advance eastward from this point of Baltic emigration. With their help it was possible to reconquer the castle of Dorpat, which the Russians had taken



KNIGHTS OF THE SWORD AND KNIGHTS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER

The Brothers of the Knighthood of Christ in Livonia, wearing on their white cloaks the device of crossed swords in red, came to be distinguished as the "Knights of the Sword." Those of the Teutonic Order, which eventually absorbed the former brotherhood, wore the symbol of the Cross. The above shows military and priestly members of both orders.

From the original drawing by W. E. Wigfull

from the Knights. The Russians were now reduced to impotence for a considerable period by the Mongol invasion. The Germans were thus able to subdue the island of Oesel in a winter campaign across the frozen sea, and to force Christianity upon the inhabitants. The subjugation of this piratical state concluded the political foundation of German Livonia. Before the death of Bishop Albert, in 1229, the German king, Henry VII., the son of the Emperor Frederic II., had conferred Esthonia upon the Brothers of the Sword as a permanent fief, and permitted the Bishop of Riga to coin money and to grant municipal liberties. After the death of this great ecclesiastical prince hard times came upon the land and the Order. Waldemar II. again secured possession of Northern Esthonia, including Reval.

Death of the Great Bishop Albert The Order of the Sword was oppressed by the bishops, who were jealous of its power. It possessed, indeed, a territory of 730 square miles in extent, whereas the five bishoprics of Riga, Dorpat, Oesel, Semgallia, and Courland had only 870 square miles between them. The Brotherhood, therefore, applied for union with the Teutonic Order, which had meanwhile entered Prussia. Probably the Grand Master, Hermann of Salza, would have refused this request had not the Master of the Order of the Sword, Volkwin, met his death with fifty Knights in battle against the Lithuanians on September 22nd, 1236.

Thus, under Pope Gregory IX., an amalgamation with the Teutonic Knights was concluded. The Master, Hermann Balk, came to Livonia and took possession of all the land of the Order of the Sword in the name of the Teutonic Order. The claims of Denmark and Northern Esthonia were recognised for the moment, and it was not until 1346-1347 that the Danish territory passed into the hands of the German Order.

Colonisation in the Hands of the Knights After the first half of the thirteenth century the fate of colonisation in the north-east, once occupied by a Teutonic, and then by a Slavo-Lettish and Finnish population, was in the hands of the Teutonic Knights. Until the fourteenth century the nation was in process of a development which is reflected in the history of the Order no less than the succeeding stagnation and decay. The last of the great knightly Orders of the crusading

period had originated in a brotherhood of ambulance bearers founded by German pilgrims, especially by merchants during the siege of Acre in 1190. As early as 1198 this brotherhood of hospitallers had been formed into an Order of Knights on the model of the Templars, except that in the case of those who served the hospitals the organisation of the Knights of St. John was adopted at the outset. The "Knights of the Hospital of St. Mary of Jerusalem" gave a national character to the new Order by accepting only scions of the upper German nobility, not excluding knights and, therefore, citizens who had a knight's standing in their towns.

The uniform of the Teutonic Knights was a white cloak with a cross; the same emblem was worn both on their surcoats and their caps, while the priests of the Order wore a white cowl with a black cross. The centre of the Order and the residence of the Grand Master was at Acre until the conquest of that city in 1291 by the infidels, although the Knights had meanwhile secured extensive possessions in Europe, amounting to a connected territory. As early as 1211 the Knights had acquired a large sphere of activity in Europe, when Andreas II. of Hungary summoned its members to Transylvania to fight against the heathen Cumanians, and rewarded them with the Burzenland. The Order, however, protected the country from papal influence, declined to recognise the supremacy of the apostolic king, and attempted to gain complete independence, so that the Hungarians, in deep suspicion of these political moves, expelled them.

The Knights Expelled from Hungary

At that time negotiations were proceeding between the Grand Master, Hermann of Salza, and Conrad of Masovia. This Polish petty prince was also in possession of the land of Kulm, which was devastated by the heathen Prussians. The Cistercian monk, Christian of Oliva, the first titular bishop of Prussia, had, in 1215, undertaken a crusade into the heathen district beyond the Vistula, with the support of the Polish duke, an enterprise which failed. When Duke Conrad saw that his own possessions were endangered, he applied to the German Order. Taught by the failure in Transylvania, Hermann of Salza first negotiated with the emperor, who, in 1226, readily gave away what was not his to give, by investing the Order



MEDIÆVAL GERMAN CASTLE, SHOWING THE DEFENSIVE USE OF NATURAL WATER

with the land of Kulm and with all future conquests. After some hesitation the Duke of Masovia abandoned his claim to the whole land of Kulm in 1230. The Order then offered it to St. Peter, whereupon Pope Gregory IX. returned it to them in 1234 as a permanent possession on payment of a moderate tribute.

By this means the Order became independent of episcopal power, which in Prussia, as in Livonia, was struggling for

the supremacy. Moreover, they were left entirely free with respect to the Poles, and could appeal to their Imperial charter against the Church and to the protection of the Pope against the empire. It must be said, however, that the evils which finally overthrew the Order originated in these conditions which then appeared so favourable. The Popes treated it as they treated any other power, to satisfy the momentary interests of their world-wide

policy; the bishops undermined the supremacy of the Order, in which task they were outwitted by its enemies, the country and town nobility. When the Polish petty princes were brought into a strong centralised state by their union with Lithuania, the Order learned the disadvantage of the position that they had taken up, in the days of their splendour, between the kingdom of the Piasts and the sea. The empire, however, for which the Knights had shown but little respect, made no offer to preserve the loose bond of union from rupture or foreign supremacy.

When Hermann of Salza sent the Grand Master to Prussia in 1228, the colonisation of the Vistula district was proceeding from the fortress of Nassau. With seven brothers of the Order he erected a wall and a ditch—the castle of Thorn—which is supposed to have stood on the left bank of the stream around an oak-tree the top of which served as a watch-tower. Crusaders soon began to struggle against the heathen, and other people arrived to occupy the space around the castle of the Order. Between the years 1231 and 1233 arose the towns of Thorn, Kulm, and Marienwerder; by the charter of Kulm, on December 28th, 1232, the privileges of Magdeburg were granted to them.

After the great defeat of the Prussians on the Sirgune, in 1234, the Order advanced to the sea. Elbing was built in 1237 and colonised with settlers from Lübeck, who were allowed to live according to the rights of their native town. The important connection between the Order and the mercantile towns of the Saxon Wendish district was thus broken. Both peasants and nobles came, the former with their “locators,” to the allotments assigned to them, and the latter to the great estates which the Order divided among them, in extent from 100 to 300 hides.

The Power of the Brotherhoods The power of the Teutonic Knights advanced continuously. In 1237 the union with the Brotherhood of the Sword was accomplished, and the problem now arose of securing the coast connections between the Frische Haff and the Gulf of Riga. The advance of the Teutonic Knights had already aroused the jealousy of the Pomeranian dukes, who both secretly and openly offered help to the unconquered heathen and to the Prussians, who had already been

baptised. The new constitution was also endangered by the Mongol invasion of 1241, though this for the moment was turned chiefly against the rival power of Poland. The papal bulls urging Christians to the crusade against the Prussians rightly asserted that the heathen Tartars were preparing a general destruction of the Christianity founded in Livonia, Esthonia, and Prussia. The union of the Tartars with the Russians of the Greek Church in heathen Lithuania threatened destruction not only to the possessions of the Order but to the whole of Latin Christianity. The crusading enthusiasm was inflamed, however, by the greatness of the danger.

At that time (1254–1255) Ottokar II. of Bohemia undertook his famous crusade to Prussia; Samland was conquered and Königsberg was founded. An important step had thus been taken to secure the unity of the divided Baltic colonies. The Order had now taken possession of the land of amber, and had monopolised this valuable commodity, and made it a staple article of trade. At the same time as Samland, Galinden in the lake district of Masuria also came into possession of the Knights of St. Mary. At the moment when it seemed that the Prussians had been overpowered, they began a desperate struggle for their national existence, in the course of which the supremacy of the Order was more than once endangered. It was not until the years 1280–1290 and the subjugation of the Sudanians that the Prussian people was actually subdued, that is to say, for the most part annihilated, expelled, or enslaved. Only those who had remained faithful and had given in their submission at an earlier date were able to live in tolerable comfort. The remainder of the Prussian people was gradually crushed under the colonial population which overran the country.

When Pomerellen was occupied, and the capital was changed from Venice to Marienburg by the Grand Master, Siegfried of Feuchtwangen, in 1309, the Teutonic Knights had reached the height of their splendour. In the last quarter of that same fourteenth century a rapid and inevitable decay began.

There was yet a task of historical importance before the Order—the struggle against the unbaptised Lithuanians; reinforcements of crusaders still came in, who

advanced against the heathen under its leadership. But the Knights of Western Europe in the fourteenth century had lost the heroic character of the age of the Hohenstauffen; they were but a caricature of their more capable forefathers. However, the Order long preserved its predominance against Poland, which had become a kingdom in 1320, as is proved by the Peace of Kalish in 1343. The Poles not only definitely renounced their possession of Pomerellen, but also ceded some frontier districts. The Lithuanians also learned to fear the superiority of the German arms, when they abandoned their frontier warfare for an attack upon Samland in alliance with the Russians and Tartars; at Rudau, on February 17th, 1370, they experienced a defeat, which was celebrated as the most brilliant exploit in the great period of the Knights.

However, it was not until the beginning of the next century—in 1405—that they succeeded in securing the Lithuanian province of Samaitia, or Samogita, which hitherto had interrupted the communication between Prussia and Courland. Thus

The Stringent Discipline of the Knights

it was not until the period of decay was at hand that the whole of the Baltic coast from the Leba to the Narva was under their supremacy. In the course of the fourteenth century the position of the Knights had been consolidated both in the Prussian and in the Livonian territory. These districts were ruled with an iron hand, while within the Order itself a no less stringent discipline prevailed, which educated the scanty but picked troops of the Brothers for the work of government. After the transference of the residence of the Grand Master to Marienburg the system of military bureaucratic rule was brought to completion.

The state was well organised both for defence and attack, and was based upon a sound financial system, while the administration was characterised by indefatigable supervision. Committees representing every province met together in the Grand Master's castle at Marienburg. Wonderful stories were current of the treasures which were preserved there, concerning which only the Grand Master and the Treasurer could speak with certainty.

As the Knights considered themselves the proprietors of the country by right of conquest, they held large estates in their

demesne, and to the products of these were added the revenue in kind and the taxes paid by their subjects. Taxes were first levied in the fifteenth century. A regular income was provided by the regalities; the right of justice and of coinage, forestry and hunting rights, including bee-keeping, the use of water-

The Teutonic Order's Resources

The income of the Order in money was estimated at \$1,375,000. The large supply of natural products which the Brotherhood received from the demesnes by way of taxes and dues necessitated the provision of intercourse with foreign markets, and such were found in England, Sweden, and Russia. Apart from amber, other articles of trade were corn, pitch, potash, building timber, wax, etc., though we have no means of learning the value of these exports.

The extent of the transmarine interests of the Order may be gauged by the fact that about 1398 it suppressed the ravages of the Vitalien Brothers, an organised band of Baltic pirates, and occupied Gothland and Wisby. This position, which was the key to the Baltic north, was, however, surrendered in 1407 to the king of the Union, Eric VII. (XIII.).

Next to the Order the Church possessed the largest amount of land. In Prussia a third of the territory was subject to ecclesiastical supremacy, which extended over two-thirds of the Livonias. To prevent the acquisition of supreme power by the Church, the Order opposed the development of monastic life, and granted full liberty only to the mendicant friars, who possessed no land, were popular in the towns, and worked to convert the heathen. Thus in the territories of the Order there were only two monasteries of any importance, and these, with the land attached to them, had come under the power of the Knights; they were the Cistercian foundations of

When Architecture Flourished

Oliva and Pelplin in Pomerellen. Knights and monks were at one in their half unconscious and half intentional indifference towards all higher culture. The rule of the Order was thus unfavourable to the growth of science and literature and of all the fine arts; the most practical alone, that of architecture, became flourishing.

The relations of the Teutonic Order with the bishops were marked by greater difficulty. This was not the case in Prussia

itself, as here bishoprics were generally occupied by brethren of the Order or by others in sympathy with its views, apart from the fact that the Order was immediately subordinate to the Pope, and that no bishop would have ventured to pronounce such a sentence as excommunication upon a member. The case, however,

**The Knights
Subordinate
to the Pope**

was very different in Livonia, Esthonia, and Oesel, where the Knights were obliged to deal with conditions that had existed before its arrival, and had been complicated by the interference of Rome.

Only in Courland and Semgallia, which were conquered for the first time by them, did ecclesiastical affairs develop as in Prussia. When the Order secured the inheritance of the Brothers of the Sword in 1237, Livonia was already occupied by a number of ecclesiastical principalities, of which Riga was the most important. The elevation of Riga to the position of an archbishopric in 1253 made possible the formation of an ecclesiastical state in Livonia.

The object of the Knights was to deprive the Livonian bishops of that temporal power which had been already wrested from the bishops of Courland and Prussia; the result was a series of severe struggles and a permanent state of tension between the opposing forces. At the time of its prosperity in the fourteenth century the Order was upon the verge of securing its desire. This was achieved by its connection with the episcopal vassals, who had become politically independent in the Baltic territories and had thus obliged the bishops gradually to concede all the rights of sovereignty to such feudatories as were pledged to military services. The consequence was a corporate development of the vassal class, which was impossible in Prussia and Courland, but was repeated in Esthonia during its subjection to the Danes until 1347. Though the alliance

**Military
Service in
Prussia**

between the Knights and the episcopal vassals was by no means permanent, it yet provided the Order with a possibility of restoring the balance between its own power and that of the bishops.

In Prussia there was also a class of vassals pledged to military service, from which a landed nobility developed; but the Order did not divide its supremacy with this class, but rather kept these members at a distance. Only for excep-

tional reasons was the rule broken that the Prussian or Livonian nobility and their Low German relations were not to be admitted to the Brotherhood of the Knights. The Order drew recruits from Upper and Central Germany even when the Grand Master had transferred his centre to the north.

This exclusive attitude towards the native nobility sowed the seeds of an internal conflict, which assumed a character dangerous to the state of the Order in the fifteenth century. During the fourteenth century the German-speaking nobles who had immigrated amalgamated closely with the remnants of the native nobility of Lettish origin, "the Wittungs." The Brotherhood conferred upon them the same rights as were enjoyed by the other feudal nobles, as a reward for their faithful submission.

The great mass of the population in the villages and manors enjoyed until the fifteenth century a freedom which was in strong contrast to their later servitude and subordination. Serfdom and oppression were the lot only of the rebels among the Prussian tribes. There was,

**Freedom of
the German
Peasants**

however, a difference between this happier portion of the Prussians and the German colonial population, in so far as the former were bound to "unlimited" and the latter to "limited" service in war, the latter being confined to the defence of the country. At the same time, even the native villages seemed to have secured the privileges of Cologne, which gave the German peasant a very desirable amount of freedom and independence.

Upon the whole, the rural population of Prussia and Livonia consisted of tributary peasants, who were mildly treated. They had hereditary rights of ownership to their house and land, and claims to forest, pasture, water, and game, and upon occasion ownership without liability to rent. During the "golden" time under the Grand Master Winrich of Kniprode (1351-1382) there are said to have been some 18,000 villages in all the territories of the Order.

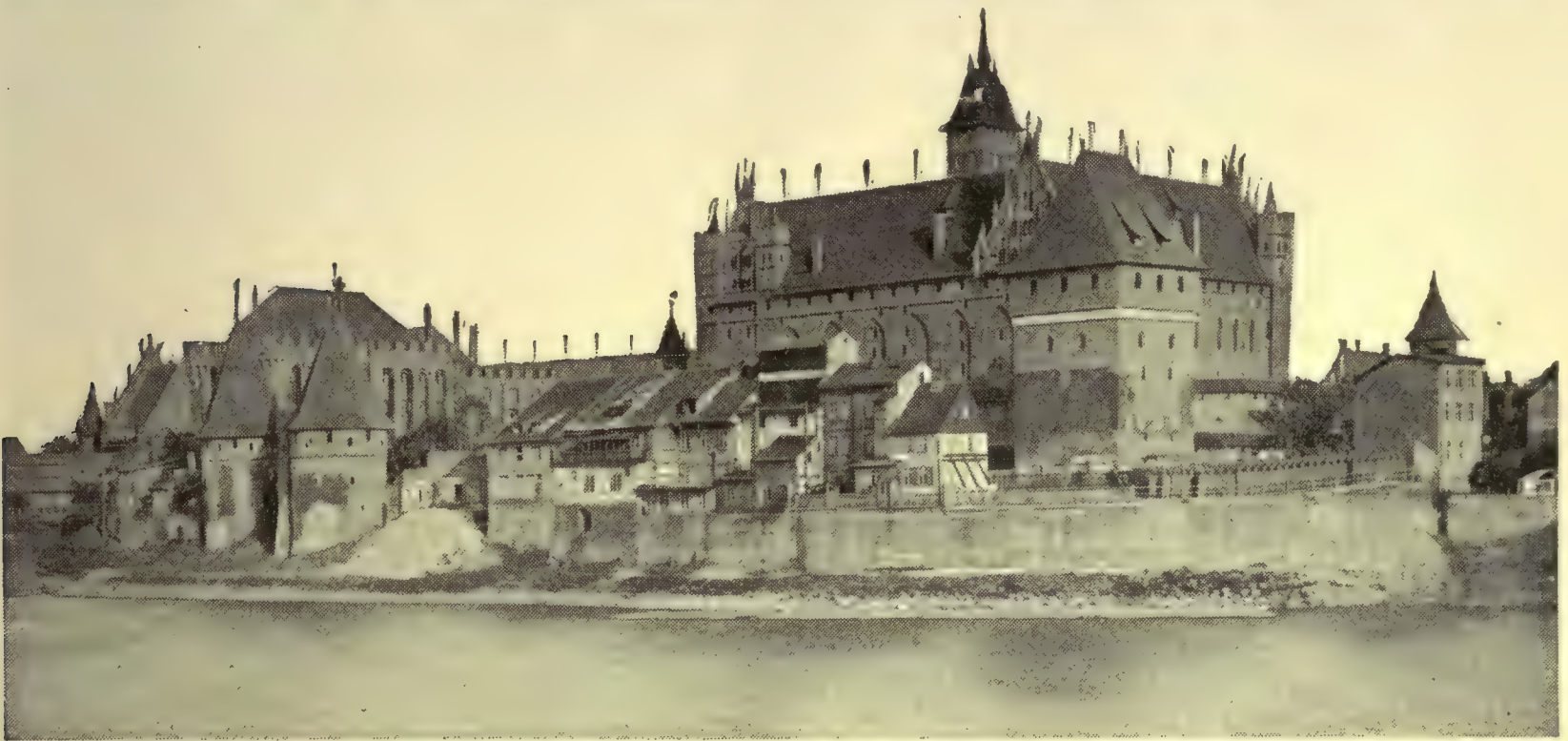
Prussia was a land of German towns to a greater extent than Brandenburg or even Silesia. From the outset the Knights of the Order occupied uncultivated territories in alliance with the German citizen class. In the towns of Prussia there was, as formerly in Germany, a municipal aristocracy under whom the towns

KNIGHTS OF THE SWORD AND THE TEUTONIC ORDER

secured complete independence; here, too, there followed an age of struggle between the aristocratic and industrial classes which never ended either in the complete supremacy of the one or the entire defeat of the other. The peculiar characteristics of the Prussian and Livonian towns are derived from their attraction to the sea and the tendency to form alliances, which they manifested at an early date. Such alliances were further stimulated by Russian carrying trade in districts where they had a common interest in securing the exclusion of all rivals. Thus there were alliances of Prussian towns—Danzig, Elbing, Königsberg, Kulm, Thorn, Braunsberg—and of Livonian towns—

either supported or opposed the Hansa as they did.

In the fourteenth century the supremacy of the German nation began to fade and the pulse of life at home and abroad to beat more slowly. The foreign ambitions of the empire were replaced by a wise domestic policy. The expansion east and south came to an end; colonists were wanting and crusades had ceased. The population had been diminished by the ravages of the Black Death and other plagues. Not only the productivity but also the reproductive power of the nation seem diminished; stagnation and decay were universally prevalent. Eventually the neighbouring nations, who owed so



THE STRONGHOLD OF THE GRAND MASTER OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER AT MARIENBURG

Started originally as a religious society of German Crusaders, the Teutonic Order of Knights gradually became a military rather than a religious caste, and in 1237 it absorbed the Order of the Brethren of the Sword, who had laboured to convert to Christianity Livonia, Esthonia and Courland. The Teutonic Knights held sway during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Belonging to the Order were many famous strongholds, the chief of these being at Marienburg, shown in the illustration. Committees, representing every province, met together in the Grand Master's castle at Marienburg, and wonderful stories were told of the treasures which were preserved there.

Riga, Dorpat, Reval, Fellin, Pernau, Wolmar, Wenden—like the alliance of the Wendish towns, at the head of which was Lübeck, until all these unions were eventually absorbed by the great and general alliance of the Hansa, to which also the Prussian and Livonian towns belonged, though they did not abandon their narrower objects and confederations.

It was then found that the general interests of the Hansa and the special aims of Prussia and Livonia failed to coincide; quarrels ensued, and the Hansa launched a sentence of boycott. The situation became the more complicated when the Order began to carry on trade on its own account, and was now a rival and now an ally of its towns, and

much to Germany, abandoned their defensive policy for exclusion and attack, menaced the acquisitions of earlier days and plundered the empire, which could protect itself neither as a whole nor in its individual parts.

The anti-German reaction in the east reached its most dangerous point in the kingdom of the Szlachta. The Poles and Lithuanians delivered a series of vigorous blows which shattered the power of the Teutonic Order and made its territory the prey of foreign peoples. We have here to chronicle not merely the cessation of German achievements or the degeneration of German institutions, but rather a number of permanent and irrecoverable losses.

Poland had long ceased to be a tributary vassal state of the German king; none the less German municipal institutions, German right, and German colonisation had secured an entry. Even under Casimir the Great, who died in 1370, and Louis the Great, who died in 1382, the Polish state maintained a friendly attitude to the

Poland Friendly to the Germans German nation and civilisation which passed its frontiers. When Jagellon of Lithuania became king of Poland in 1386, and the heathen Lithuanians adopted Roman Catholicism, German immigrants and German town rights were admitted to the newly converted country. The union, however, of these hereditary enemies placed the Teutonic Knights in a dangerous position. The Poles regarded the Order as an unlawful intruder and as the plunderer of Polish territory. They could not forgive the occupation of Pomerellen, the land of Kulm and Michelau; and the new state founded by the Order had cut off the approach to the sea.

Polish hostility had been less openly expressed, but the open animosity of the Lithuanians now led to an outbreak here. Before the time of the union of the Prussian and Livonian territories under the government of the Order, the Lithuanians had been an obstacle to its further extension. Even in the fourteenth century Christian Europe shared in the continuous wars against the Lithuanians by sending crusaders. Now, however, the Lithuanians had become Christians.

Foreign participation in the military enterprises of the German Knights immediately ceased, and the previous religious excuse for a continuation of the struggle was no longer possible, for on many occasions the religious war had been nothing more than a pretext. It was a struggle for power, and primarily for the possession of Lithuanian Samaitia, which advanced in a wedge-shaped form and divided the

Polish Support for Lithuania two halves of the territory of the Knights. The Order had quarrelled with its subjects, who were weary of the burden of war, and was no longer supported by reinforcements of crusaders; but none the less it continued its struggle with the Lithuanians, who were now Christians, and eventually secured the disputed landmark of Samaitia. Lithuania was now, however, in enjoyment of the support of Poland. From the time of Casimir the

Great, the Polish army was well organised, and the Lithuanian prince, Witold, had rearranged the national defences, whereas the Order was obliged to enlist mercenaries for lack of other means of help. In the great battle of Tannenberg, on July 15th, 1410, the heavily armed Knights, trained for single combat, were overthrown by the vast hordes of light troops brought against them by the East.

The heroic defence of Marienburg by Henry of Plauen saved the Knights from immediate downfall, and a tolerable peace was made at Thorn on February 1st, 1411, which obliged the German rulers merely to renounce possession of Samaitia and Dobrzyn; but the Order never recovered from this blow, for the reason that domestic disruption had begun. The line of cleavage between the Brotherhood and its subjects became a yawning chasm which could no longer be closed. The landed nobility who yearned for the freedom of their Polish equals concluded treacherous alliances, the most important of which was the "Lizard League," and endangered the existence of the community, while the towns, led by Dantzic, were filled with commercial jealousy of the Knights and were merely awaiting the moment which would secure their independence.

Prussia's Domestic Differences The aristocracy of the towns and country united for common action. Henry of Plauen made an attempt to compose the domestic differences of Prussia by an organisation of estates, but his efforts failed. The bold reformer was deprived of his Grand Mastership in 1413, while the forces of decay attacked the Order itself. Knightly and spiritual discipline disappeared, while selfishness and lawlessness gained ground.

None the less the State of the Teutonic Order endured for a time, though its existence was embittered by domestic and foreign conflicts. A change for the worse began when the "Prussian Alliance" was formed at the Assembly of Marienwerder on March 14th, 1440; this was a union of Knights and towns against the Order. The Grand Master applied to the emperor, and Frederic III. issued a decree condemning the confederation, which then sent a letter of renunciation to the Order and offered the supremacy of Prussia to the Polish king Casimir IV. in 1454. The king graciously accepted the offer, and appointed as his representative



ONE OF THE STATELY CASTLES OF THE GERMAN KNIGHTS

Few chapters of history are more interesting to-day than the strange mediæval story of the various orders of knighthood that flourished in Germany and sought to extend Christianity by the sword. The sheer love of combat and lust of power were greater driving forces to these mediæval knights than any spiritual impulse towards the Christian life. In this picture the artist has given a realistic impression of a Knight's castle, admirably arranged for defence, every detail, to the place of the gibbet, as will be seen, carefully and ingeniously studied.

the leader of the opposition, Hans von Baisen. For thirteen years the civil war which the Knights carried on with mercenaries continued to rage. Even the Grand Master's castle in Marienburg was mortgaged to provide money for the mercenary troops, who were drawn chiefly from Bohemia, and who sold the mortgage with

**Decay of
the Teutonic
Order**

other castles to the Polish king; many a noble family in East Prussia derives its descent from some ancestor who then gained wealth as a leader of a band. Eventually the Order was completely exhausted, and concluded a second Peace of Thorn on October 19th, 1466. Western Prussia became Polish; and Polish it remained until the partition of Poland (1772-1795). The Grand Master was obliged to do homage to King Casimir for East Prussia.

It was not until a century after the Peace of Thorn in 1466 that the fate of the Livonian territory of the Order was determined. The Teutonic Knights remained in existence even after the secularisation of 1525; at Mergentheim, in Würtemberg, the previous ruler of the Order assumed the title of Grand and Teutonic Master, and was thus styled until 1809, while in Livonia the Master of the army, who had been in any case for a long time independent, remained at the head. None the less, the prospects of the German nationality in this district were worse than in the Polish feudal state of Prussia. The only German elements in Livonia were towns and the nobility, who were chiefly Westphalians. In this district there had been no thorough peasant colonisation, and in every quarter a clannish peasantry of Letts and Finns had survived. The non-German elements felt for the Germans the slow hatred of the serf for his master; it was a hatred that foreboded no danger provided that no enemy gained a footing on Livonian soil. However, the Baltic territories were surrounded by

**Where the
Germans
were Hated**

greedy neighbours, who regarded them as an easy prey; such was the attitude of the Swedes and Danes, the Poles and Russians. The only question was whether the Livonian Order would be able to make head against the divided forces of its opponents.

Apart from the hatred of the Germans entertained by the original inhabitants, there were other causes of friction which

facilitated foreign interference. There was, in particular, the quarrel which had continued since the days of Bishop Albert as to whether the Order or the bishop was the true master of the country, and the comparative equality in the forces of these two powers prevented the possibility of ending the struggle. The bishops, who were generally the weaker party, often attempted to secure their own preponderance by treacherous intrigues. The Order was also upon bad terms with the towns; Riga was itself often at variance with its own archbishops.

The Livonian towns also had commercial interests of their own, which divided them from the Hansa, and exposed them to the hostility of the Muscovites. When the Reformation came into the country, neither the episcopate nor the Order ventured upon any decided step, as had been done in Prussia, but remained isolated, with their outward show of dead Catholicism amid a Protestant population.

For a while the Livonian Order was able to enjoy prosperity, but after a considerable interval, Ivan IV. the Terrible, renewed the war with it in November, 1557, and the Knights in power were

**The Last
Battle of
the Knights**

once more in dissension as to whether they should buy Danish, Swedish, or Polish help at the price of submission. It was an event of decided importance when the Master of the army, Gotthard Kettler, applied to Poland. King Sigismund Augustus accepted the protectorate of the land of the Order and of the archbishopric, though at the price of the immediate cession of some frontier districts. However, the Order was defeated in the battle of Ermes on August 2nd, 1560, the last occasion on which the banner of the Knights appeared in the battlefield. No alternative now remained. Livonia beyond the Dvina submitted to the king of Poland in 1561. The Privilegium Sigismundi Augusti of November 28th contains the constitutional arrangement by means of which the Order was able to maintain its existence as a separate organisation for another three centuries under foreign rule. George Kettler received Courland and Semgallen, with the ducal title as an hereditary fief dependent upon Poland, and made Mitau his capital. Esthonia with Reval had submitted to Swedish supremacy some months earlier in the same year, that is, in June, 1561.



THE VENERABLE BEDE ON HIS DEATH-BED DICTATING HIS TRANSLATION
OF THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN

From the painting entitled "The Last Chapter," by J. Doyle Penrose, by permission of the Autotype Co.



DURING THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE REFORMATION

CHARLES' kingdom of God was a unity which could not be maintained by his "pious" son Louis; it was broken into a plurality of nations. All who had the welfare of the Church at heart would naturally strive to preserve this unity, in spite of political disruption. The present task before the Church, the education of the half-civilised nations, could be performed only if it were hindered by no boundaries of nationality, if its power were everywhere the same, and acting by uniform means. Long ago the papacy had regarded itself as the centre of the universal Church, standing far above all political change. But how could these aspirations be fulfilled?

It was impossible that Church and State should advance upon separate paths, continually thwarting one another for the reason that their boundaries were coterminous. The idea which Charles the Great had so brilliantly realised was too splendid and too illuminating to admit this final possibility. The object now before the Church must be a new kingdom of God, with the Pope at its head. The Emperor Charles had formed a

kingdom of God and obliged the Church to serve him in its own sphere; the kingdoms of the world were now to serve the Popes for the same object. Not until this ideal was realised would peace and harmony reign, though it was not likely that the transformation would be completed without severe struggles. The theories of Charles had met with unanimous support, because they were in

harmony with the views already prevailing in the Frankish Church that the Church of the country should be subject to the ruler of the land. The Pope's idea overthrew these traditions, proposing, as it did, to secure the contrary object, the supremacy of the Church over secular princes.

**The Pope
Among
the Rebels.**

Hence the great struggle was inevitable. And no less inevitable was a return to the theories of Charles; but as long as the whole ideal of the kingdom of God upon earth was not surrendered, the struggle would continue until the Church attained her goal.

The question then arose—who would support the papacy in this conflict. Even under Louis the Pious we can observe the terrible division which separated the friends of Church and State. When the emperor's sons, for the second time, took up arms against their father, the Pope is also to be found in the camp of the rebels. The bishops were divided in their attitude.

Some there were who were wholly in accord with the theory that the Pope acted as Christ's representative, on behalf of the peace of the Church; and to this extent the emperor was also bound to obedience to the papacy. Others gathered round their emperor, and sent a document to the Pope in which they reminded him of his oath of fealty, and declared that they would refuse him their fellowship should he decline submission to his master. The Pope himself was overthrown. But those Frankish prelates who regarded the papacy as the sole guarantee

for the unity of the Church advanced a number of claims on behalf of papal authority, which revived the courage of the Pope. In the Pope was centred all authority and the supreme power of the Apostle Peter; it was for him to judge, and to be judged of none. This theory becomes more definite and general among

The Great Aim of the Church the West Frankish bishops when the actual division of the empire had taken place.

There was an anxiety to see the Church and its bishops secured against the secular princes, and to make the Church a great and independent power; further, in order to secure general recognition for these views, it is alleged that false decretals were employed. The new regulations devised under new circumstances to secure the prosperity of the Church were given the stamp of primitive laws. Three of these decretals were produced. The first two, the so-called "Capitula of Angilram" and the "Collection of Capitularies of Benedict Levita," are pieces of bungling; but the third, "The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals," was a much stronger document.

This collection of ecclesiastical law, ascribed to Isidore of Seville, who died in 636, but concocted within the Frankish Empire, was increased by a number of other decretals, which were dated as belonging to the first Roman bishops. Nearly one hundred purported papal letters were inserted in the collection, apart from other well-known pieces of the same kind. Of these latter, one was the "Donation of Constantine," alleged to have been fabricated in the time of Pippin and already cited against him; the document asserted that the Emperor Constantine, when healed of leprosy by Pope Sylvester, arranged that the bishop should be supreme over all priests in the world, that his chair should be superior to the emperor's throne, that senatorial honour and consular rank should be given to the clergy who served the Roman Church, and that they should in consequence have the right of decorating their horses with white trappings.

When the Pope in his humility declined to wear the golden crown the emperor served him as a squire, holding the bridle of his horse, and promised him the possession of all the provinces in Italy and

Emperor as Squire to the Pope the northern districts, transferring his own capital from Rome to Byzantium. Thus,

what the emperor was to be henceforward in the East, the Pope was to be in the West in virtue of Constantine's Donation.

In the case of the alleged false decretals we must distinguish between their intention and their actual influence. The object was the elevation, not so much of the papal as of the episcopal power. It was declared that according to the Apostle Paul no secular court had jurisdiction over a priest. Only the provincial synod could proceed against a bishop; neither the laity nor the inferior clergy could be admitted to the proceedings as plaintiffs or witnesses, though seventy-two witnesses were demanded. That the forcible expulsion of a bishop might be made impossible it was provided that no charges against a bishop should be considered until he had been completely restored to his rights and property. In order to preserve the episcopal power against secular violence principles were announced concerning the papacy which made it the "head of the whole world"; the papal chair was invested with a right of final decision in all ecclesiastical matters. Only the Pope could summon

How the Papacy was Elevated a synod, and all questions of difficulty must be submitted to him. The world at large was unaware of the facts,

and these decretals thus actually contributed to give the papacy an unexampled elevation in the eyes of the public. We have a fine example here of the nemesis of history. To secure a desired standpoint for themselves the bishops assigned an absolute ascendancy to the papacy. But the Popes then used their superiority for the subjugation also of the clergy, and their yoke was heavier than that which lay princes had formerly imposed,

and no treachery or deceit could avail to shake it off.

The first Pope who appealed to these new decretals as though they were recognised documents was Nicholas I. (858–867). He may be called the first mediæval Pope. He was also the first Pope who was not only consecrated but also crowned upon his accession; for he was the first to assume supremacy over the princes of the nations, in order to facilitate the exercise of his supremacy over the Church, and for this purpose he declared himself lord of the united kingdom of God upon earth. In his opinion the Christian Church depended upon the papacy; upon the existence of the papacy depended not only the religious, but also the social and political order of the world. Within the Church the Pope was an absolute monarch; his word was God's word, his action God's action. The synods could only execute the decrees of the Pope, while the bishops were merely his commissioners; "their capacity is to be measured by their subordination to the papal chair." The emperor and all other princes are concerned only with secular affairs. Hence there

**The Pope
Above Kings
and Princes**

can be no secular judgment of the clergy, and secular laws can never bar ecclesiastical rights. Should the contradiction occur, secular law is thereby proved unsound, for even in purely political matters the princes were bound to fulfil the Pope's orders. To the Pope all the rulers of the earth must bow down. Hence a king who governed badly, in the Pope's judgment, was not a lawful prince, but a tyrant against whom revolt was obligatory. And, above all things, the emperor must never forget that his crown was given him by the Pope.

Nicholas ruled in full accordance with this theory. Emperors or kings, bishops

or archbishops, might attempt to maintain independence of ideas or position, opposition might arise from the East or from the West, his own legates might prove incompetent to preserve his supremacy, but never did he diverge a hair's breadth from his principles. His victories were by no means invariably brilliant, but he always maintained his claims to be a ruler by divine right.

In accordance with these principles his successors devoted their attention to limiting the imperial power. Eventually they were able to confer the mighty crown of Charles the Great upon a Carolingian vassal, a duke of Spoleto. They had failed to consider that if the "protector" were

no longer master his protection would disappear, though it was especially needed against the defiant Roman aristocracy, who were anxious to secure the temporal supremacy of the papacy. The rapid changes in the papacy became plain when it was no longer subject to the political and moral influence of the Teutonic nationality. In the eighteen years between 896 and 914 no fewer than thirteen Popes were overthrown.



POPE JOHN X.

He was elected to the chair of St. Peter through the efforts of Theodora, the wife of a senator, who desired that he should be near her.

John X. had ascended the chair of St. Peter. As a deacon he had often been sent to Rome from Ravenna, where Theodora, the wife of a senator, had chosen him as her adviser. It was said that she influenced his election as Pope. Another woman, by name Marozzia, succeeded in throwing him into prison. She had a "spiritual son," as she called him, by her first husband, and this man was raised to the papal chair in 931. Her "secular son," Alberic, governed the city as patricius. She offered her hand to the treacherous and voluptuous Prince Hugo of Provence, who came to Rome hoping to secure the imperial crown through his wife. Their

marriage was celebrated in the castle of St. Angelo, but Alberic, fearing for his position and his life as a result of this connection, roused the people to arms. The bridal couple were forced to let themselves down from the castle by a rope, and Alberic, who was appointed Senator of the Romans, imprisoned his mother. After a reign of twenty years, when he felt the approach of death, he convened in St. Peter's Church a meeting of the ecclesiastical and secular magnates of Rome to recognise his son as the heir to his temporal power, and as the future successor to the papacy. Hence in no long time—in 955—this youth of fifteen years was able to unite the spiritual and temporal powers. John XII., whose original name was Octavian, then became Pope, and was the first to initiate the practice of changing the pontiff's name. Otho the Great of

**Life of
Pope
John XII.**

Germany at first favoured him, but later used his influence to obtain his deposition. The results that occurred were only to be expected when the papal crown was transferred so often and so easily. The influence of the papacy upon the Church outside the walls of Rome became practically non-existent, and every national Church went its own way. John X. did not hesitate to scold an archbishop who was famous for his faithful devotion to duty because he had conferred the gifts of the Holy Spirit as though they were earthly property upon an unworthy recipient. Again, in a letter to another archbishop, he could boast of his personal prowess in battle and could speak of his inexpressible grief to hear of scandals from different parts of the world, by which he could not but be pained, as the cares of the whole world were incumbent upon him.

**Religion
in Italy.**

In Italy, where the papacy was before the eyes of the people, a rapid lapse of religious life became obvious in this very period. The traditional ceremonies were indeed continued. This task being the sole reason for the existence of the clergy, the taste for education and science gradu-

ally but inevitably deserted them, and the ignorance of the Roman clergy became a byword among other nations. To the assertion of French bishops that science was practically unknown in Rome, the papal legate could reply: "The representatives of Peter and their scholars will have neither Plato nor Virgil for their masters, or any other philosophic cattle. Peter did not know everything, and yet he became the doorkeeper of heaven."

Together with this self-satisfied ignorance we may observe another tendency which turned to heathen authors for that satisfaction which had been previously found in religion. It was not the great and noble thoughts that were admired in these authors, but their heathenism and the shortcomings of their culture.

Among the Teutons the new faith had been received with deep feeling and religious seriousness. Here we may observe among the bishops a zealous desire to influence the people for their good, the spirit which supported the false decretals, and the ideas of supremacy entertained by a Nicholas; humble submission to, and veneration of, the Church was their object.

The sound system of education initiated by Charles the Great and his scholars was a barrier against that thaumaturgic spirit which had passed from the Græco-Roman world to the Frankish kingdom, and had become associated with heathen superstition. This tendency was able to develop unchecked under the successors of Charles the Great. It was most zealously forwarded by the Church, which was anxious to secure the reverence of the people as the possessor of divine power and the guardian against all the powers of darkness. Every church and every monastery therefore attempted to gain possession of some relic. It seemed impossible to impress the rude minds of the people more deeply than by showing some supernatural power proceeding from these remnants of decay. The more extraordinary the character assigned to these

**The Desire
for
Holy Relics**

treasures, the greater their value. It is even said, probably in ridicule of the whole-hearted credulity of the peasantry, that one monastery could show a piece of the cradle in which the Infant Christ had lain, and a piece of the wood of which St. Peter had wished to make three tabernacles at the Transfiguration.

It must be said that the number of relics offered for sale increased so enormously that apprehensions of possible deceit began to arise. In those cases an attempt was made by a three days' fast to induce God to prove the genuineness of the saint's body by a miracle. The celebrations held upon the translations of relics resembled triumphal processions. The bands that joined the procession increased at every stage of the journey, for the holy relic might perform a miracle at any and every moment upon the way. If no other miracle were to be seen, it often happened that after a heavy night's rain the heaven grew splendidly clear upon the morning when the relic was to resume its journey.

There was, however, something even greater than these relics of the saints, for the Church in her services had Christ her Lord present in person. It had long been taught that in the Mass the bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Christ by the words of the priest, and the ignorant said blood was often to be seen upon the host, or that a lamb might be seen upon the altar. Great was the power that had been given to the Church; the simplest person, when once the Church had made him a priest, could perform this highest of all miracles, and bring down the lofty King of Heaven from on high.

The Church's Power over Evil Spirits

With what reverential awe must the people have celebrated divine service when at any moment Christ might show to the eyes of those present the mystery concealed beneath the forms of bread and wine. As a matter of fact, the attempt to withdraw the people from their faith in the old gods proved unsuccessful. They might indeed be persuaded to praise God the Father Almighty, and to renounce the devil and all his works; but they retained a firm conviction of the powers of those demoniacal spirits who filled the world.

There was no surer means of securing the reverence and obedience of the masses to the Church than by representing the

Church as triumphant over the dark powers of evil spirits. Hence the people were taught to obtain blessings for the house in which they lived, for the spring from which they drank, for the bread which they ate, for the orchard and the field from which they gained their harvest. The first ears of corn, the first apples, the first grapes, eggs, cheeses, and meat were brought to the Church that the blessing of the Church might preserve all from harm. It was thought well to say a blessing upon the dogs when the cattle were driven to the pasture, upon the bees when they left their hive, upon caterpillars and sicknesses, that they might pass away. The Church did not fail to appreciate the danger that the ignorant population might modify these Christian uses and formulæ to the form of their old heathen magical rites, that the old heathen superstition might merely assume a veneer of Christianity. Equally alive was it to the danger that such action might cause Christianity to be regarded as nothing but a means of protecting mankind from earthly misfortunes. Deeper minds all this

Development of the Confessional

time had a more spiritual conception of Christianity. What must be remembered is that the Church through the ages was a Catholic Church for all sorts and conditions of men, saints and sinners alike—not a society of Saints alone.

The confessional was an institution that in course of time was developed. Everyone had now to come to confession. If all were not conscious of their sins, the priest was obliged to begin an examination, and to address the penitent in such terms as these: "Perhaps you do not remember all that you have done; I will therefore question you. Have you committed —?" The result was inevitable; the conscience was certainly awakened to what was forbidden by God, and in such a way that people learned to regard their own sins with sorrow and shame.

The sense of penitence that transforms mankind was quickened and widely developed by this questioning, for the reason that such examination aimed merely at inducing men to confess the sins they had committed; that is, to confess where false shame would forbid their utterance. A knowledge of evil was thus produced, which, far from killing, rather expanded the conscience. The theory was that the

penance imposed upon the sinner would deter him from a repetition of the offence, and therefore improve him.

But when the acknowledgment of sin, at which such confession aimed, brought no inward change, confessors found themselves obliged to modify the weight of their penances, because "in these times the

**Lighter
Penances in
Favour**

zeal for penance is no longer what it was." A man, for instance, who might have been condemned by the old rules to bread and water for a year, was now commanded to fast in this manner only for one day in the week. Even so little as this often proved unattainable. Thus the time of penance was abbreviated, and the deficiency was filled by the saying of psalms and other prayers. Or money might be paid in lieu of penance;

and churches and priests were also included in the "pious purposes" for which such money was given. "The weakness of the penitent" was so far considered that performance of penance by a third party was permitted. Priests and monks were especially competent to act thus as proxies, and

**Penance
by
Proxy**

were often offered gifts by the penitent whom they thus relieved of his duties. Such a proceeding inevitably fostered

the theory that man could buy back his sins from the Church, and that all he needed was to offer the Church his blind obedience.

When Alberic was ruling over Rome, religion in Italy had sunk to such a pitch that this far-seeing prince recognised the immediate necessity of a change. No help could be expected by appealing to the Popes, and he therefore appealed to the Cluniac monks. This order had been founded on Romance soil in Burgundy about 910, and was originally intended merely to reform the degenerate monastic system by the reintroduction of a strict Benedictine rule. It was obvious, however, that the reasons for the decay of the orders were to be found in the fact that they were not entirely independent of the temporal or episcopal powers.

Hence it was thought well that the Pope

alone should have authority over the Cluniacs. At an earlier period individual monasteries had existed in isolation, and had consequently lost much of their power of resistance to foreign influence; all were now to form a congregation conducted upon uniform principles, living according to the rule of the Cluniac movement. From these beginnings naturally developed the great influence which this order exercised upon the history of the Church. If the Pope were to be the sole head of the order, and if only harm could be expected from the secular power, it was necessary to secure that no ecclesiastical power should have any influence in the Church except the Pope. At that period it was impossible to conceive any separation between the spiritual and secular spheres of the state, so that this

order became the champion of the papal programme as put forward by Nicholas I.

These zealous brethren were summoned by Alberic in 936, and in many cases they succeeded in arousing a sense of religion and a desire for improvement even in the papal court. This party, which was disgusted at the appalling prevalence of immorality, probably inspired the despatch of that embassy which asked the German king, Otto I., for help.

Otto came to Italy, but declined to interfere in the government of the Church. He was anxious only to secure the secular subjection of the Pope to his own authority, and thus to remove any obstacle to the execution of his political plans. Hence when he was crowned emperor in 962 he left the Pope the secular power over Rome, but this he could exercise only in subordination to the emperor; in consequence no Pope could be hereafter consecrated until he had sworn allegiance to the emperor.

The Pope, however, by his conspiracy with the emperor's enemy, Berengar, to whose sons he threw open the gates of the town, forced Otto to go further than he had intended. John even instigated the wild Hungarians to invade Germany, that Otto might be obliged to leave Italy. When the emperor marched upon Rome, John fled,



AN OPPOSITION POPE

Benedict V. was elected Pope on the flight of Leo VI., but when the latter was brought back and replaced in the papal chair, Benedict, the opposition Pope, was exiled.

and declined to appear when summoned to answer for his actions. The emperor, therefore, held at Rome a synod, over which it should have been the duty of the Pope to preside; and in accordance with the wishes of the people and clergy he deposed the unworthy John, and appointed Leo VI. Roman faithlessness obliged him once more to sit in judgment

**Popes
Who Ran
Away**

upon a Pope. The Romans had recalled the miserable John, and Leo was forced to flee. John then lost his life as the result of a plot, and Benedict V. was appointed to succeed him. Otto returned, overpowered the revolt, replaced Leo in the papal chair, and condemned the opposition Pope to exile from Italy.

Immediately after Otto's death desperate party struggles broke out in Rome; the prestige and influence of the papacy was much impaired. In France, where the voice of the Pope had often been represented as that of God, they referred to the Pope as "the Anti-christ, sitting in the temple of God, and acting as though he were God." They considered the advisability of separation from the Roman Church as prophesied by the apostle. It was Germany that came to the rescue of the papacy at the time of its greatest confusion. A synod consisting almost entirely of Germans broke the strength of the strong French opposition. German emperors gave German Popes to the Church and assisted in the work of its reorganisation.

Gregory V.—formerly Bruno, the son of the Duke of Carinthia—a cousin of Otto III., was the first German Pope; he was distinguished both for his intellectual powers and his strong character, and was firmly resolved to raise the Church from the depths into which it had fallen. Otto III., who was crowned emperor by the new Pope in 996, regarded himself as the head of Christendom. His theory was that the Pope should advance the general welfare, in subordination to himself, as one of the magnates of the empire. If synods were held, the emperor presided, taking the advice of the Pope and of those who were present. He issued "orders" to the Pope, while papal decisions were re-

vised by him. It was a renewal of the theories of Charles the Great, provoked by the moral bankruptcy of an independent papacy. On the death of Gregory, Otto bestowed the papal chair upon his former teacher, the famous scholar, Gerbert.

An open breach was prevented only by the close friendship uniting these two Popes with the emperor, for the divergence of opinions concerning the due position of the papacy was bound to lead to some rupture. After the deaths of Otto and Gerbert, the papacy again became a plaything in the hands of the Roman nobility, and lost all influence in consequence. In 1012 two rival Popes were in existence; one of these applied to the German king, Henry II., who recognised his adversary Benedict VIII. as Pope. In conjunction with Bene-

dict, Henry attempted to reform the Church, but once again it was the emperor who took the initiative. Henry's high respect for the Church and his rich presents gained him the title of saint, but he insisted that the Pope should address him as "lord," and he appointed or deposed bishops. He was no less anxious than the Cluniac monks for monastic reform, but this he strove to secure by methods of his own. He wished to



THE FAMOUS GERBERT

Famous as a scholar, Gerbert became Pope on the death of Gregory and took the title of Sylvester II. He is said to have introduced Arabic numerals and invented clocks.

make the monks models of self-renunciation and piety, but still the servants of the papacy. He fought with the Pope against simony and many of the acts of the clergy. His object, however, was not to release the bishops and clergy from all connection with secular affairs, but to purify the spiritual office of its faults.

The Church was, in fact, reformed, but the real reformer was the emperor, not the Pope. Strangely enough, we hear of no general objection to the theocratic position thus occupied by the emperor. In the cathedral of Mainz the archbishop could say to the new king, Conrad II., "Thou hast reached the highest dignity, thou art the representative of Christ," and in German circles this saying met with cheerful approval. Conrad II. ruled the Church as his predecessors had done, but not with the same consciousness of duties imposed by

his position, or with the same warm interest in ecclesiastical reform, though the necessity for this had again become imperative. Pope Benedict IX. was a boy of twelve years old. He was the son of the count of Tusculum, Alberic, and in 1044 was deposed and a new pope, Sylvester III., was chosen. Eventually, however, Benedict's party won the day and he was able to return.

A well-meaning man was placed in the apostolic chair: this was Gregory VI. Benedict IX. did not feel himself bound by the contract of sale, but continued to regard himself as the successor of Peter. There existed at one and the same time three Popes, all in opposition. In vain the best of them, Gregory, attempted to draw Rome and the Church from the condition of anarchy. Once again Germany brought help. A synod assembled in Rome, though without a summons from any Pope;

it begged Henry III. to save the Church, and not in vain. The views of Charles the Great and Otto III., who had regarded the emperor as priest and king, were also shared by Henry; inspired by honest piety, he devoted all

his powers to the reform of the Church.

The state of affairs was indeed appalling. The example given by Rome and its bishops had found imitators far and wide. As might had for so long been right in Rome, a general tendency had arisen throughout France and Germany to disregard human and divine right, and to seize any advantage that could be grasped. There was no security for private property,

while robbery and bloodshed were the order of the day. The practice of prosecuting private quarrels had risen to boundless excess. The Christian world had now learned from the papacy to regard the spiritual calling as a distinction which guaranteed earthly success. Simony had become general. Anyone who desired an ecclesiastical office was prepared to pay for this source of revenue, while every patron was anxious to make capital out of

these privileges; at the same time, there was not the smallest consciousness of the contemptible nature of this practice. Even the "saint" Henry II. had shown no hesitation in accepting money from the applicants who demanded ecclesiastical posts.

In France the Cluniac monks had succeeded by strenuous efforts in securing the observance of the Truce of God, which, at any rate, gave a short breathing space between incessant feuds and quarrels. In Germany, Henry III. secured even greater results. By example, requests, and orders he forced the nobles to respect the general Land-peace which he had proclaimed; he then declared war upon simony. He had no intention of surrendering his right to fill up vacant bishoprics, nor did anyone demand so much of him; it was not until a later date that public opinion ventured to brand this as simony. He renounced

all profit, however, which might accrue to him in consequence of these rights. On his pilgrimage to Rome he held a synod at Pavia, and delivered an impressive speech to the audience who had all secured their ecclesiastical offices



THE POPES BENEDICT IX. AND GREGORY VI.

Benedict IX. was driven from office, but was subsequently restored to power. Gregory VI. obtained the papacy from Benedict IX., but the latter continued to regard himself as Pope; Sylvester III. also claimed the papal chair, and thus there were three Popes at the same time.

improperly. So deep an impression was made upon those present that they begged him for mercy and forgiveness, in fear that they would all lose their posts. A general order was then issued that henceforward no spiritual office or dignity was to be acquired as in their cases.

The next task was the salvation of the papacy, which was now claimed by three co-existent Popes. This schism was ended in 1046 by the synods of Sutri and of Rome. All the Popes were deposed, and Henry invited the Romans to choose a new one. They replied: "Where the royal majesty is present, our rights of election do not exist." The German bishop, Suidger of Bamberg, was presented to the papal chair, under the title of Clement II. From his hand Henry received the imperial crown. The Romans conferred upon their emperor the patrician power, and with it the right of appointing

the Pope. So great was the joy at the services which the emperor had performed for the Church that the strongest ecclesiastics showed no indignation at the cession of these high rights to the emperor, but regarded his powers as a divine reward for his efforts in "snatching the Church from the jaws of the insatiable dragon." The

**Emperor
as Church
Reformer**

time was to come when a papal election would be declared accursed if conducted by other powers than those of the Church; but it was necessary also to provide that this new manner of election should make the advance of slackness impossible. Would that such men as the papal nominees of Henry III. had invariably been appointed! His next appointments were the Germans, Poppo of Brixen (Damasus II.), Bruno of Toul (Leo IX.), and Gebhard of Eichstätt (Victor II.). Under the emperor's orders they co-operated with him in the task of church reform.

The revival of the imperial power and the reformation of the Church was accompanied at that time by a resumption of missionary activity, which had been almost entirely dormant since the death of Charles the Great. With this revival of missionary zeal, marked as it is by a somewhat secular and political character, we may observe also a renewal of intellectual activity, though not immediately obvious in the theological sphere. The famous poem "Waltharius," composed by Ekkehard of St. Gall about 927, heralded a new era in literature. In a short time theology made a tentative advance. Notker Labeo of St. Gall, who died in 1022, composed a number of translations and commentaries on the books of the Bible in a language chiefly German; we still possess his commentary on the Psalms. William, the abbot of Ebersbach in Bavaria, compiled his famous commentary on the Song of Solomon. In France the master of the cathedral school of Rheims, Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., was a famous figure.

It is, however, remarkable to observe the peaceful manner in which these two tendencies co-operated, while aiming at a revival of religious influence; there was the imperial tendency, based upon

the theories of Charles the Great, and the papal tendency, originating with the Cluniac reforms. The condition of the Church cried so loudly for improvement that help was accepted from any quarter, no matter what the nature of its ultimate object. Even religious movements wholly foreign to the German nationality commanded the respect of Germans, provided that they implied the renunciation of the prevailing godless spirit.

It perhaps was a consequence of Cluniac influence in Italy that many, in horror of the immorality of the age, abandoned the world and took refuge in asceticism to atone for the sins of their contemporaries. Romuald, who belonged to the family of the dukes of Ravenna, founded the hermit order of the Camaldulenses in 1018. The holy Nilus lived as

a hermit in Lower Italy, clothed in a black goatskin, going bareheaded and barefooted, and eating nothing but a fragment of bread every few days. Peter Damiani practised self-mortification by psalm-singing, an expiation which relieved the sinners of the world from centuries of penance; his friend Dominic, as a result of incessant practice, was able to rain blows upon his back with such incredible rapidity that he did penance for a century in six days.

Romuald, like Nilus, was visited by the Emperor Otto III. and revered as a saint of God. In the garb of a penitent the powerful emperor prostrated himself before the hermit, and lay beside him upon his hard rush couch; it seemed that he would gladly have remained with Romuald as a humble monastic brother.

Such facts teach us that the momentary supremacy of the German over the Roman Church was but external, based upon the degeneracy of the latter, and that the spirit of the German Church was entirely Roman. This spirit, if carried to its logical consequence, leads to the theories of Nicholas I. The papacy and the Roman Church were saved by the German emperors.

The return which Rome made for this rescue from the slough of despond was a revival of its claim to the due obedience of all human beings, the emperor included.



POPE CLEMENT II.

In 1046 the Romans elected the German bishop, Suidger of Bamberg, to the papacy, under the title of Clement II., and from his hand Henry III. received the imperial crown.

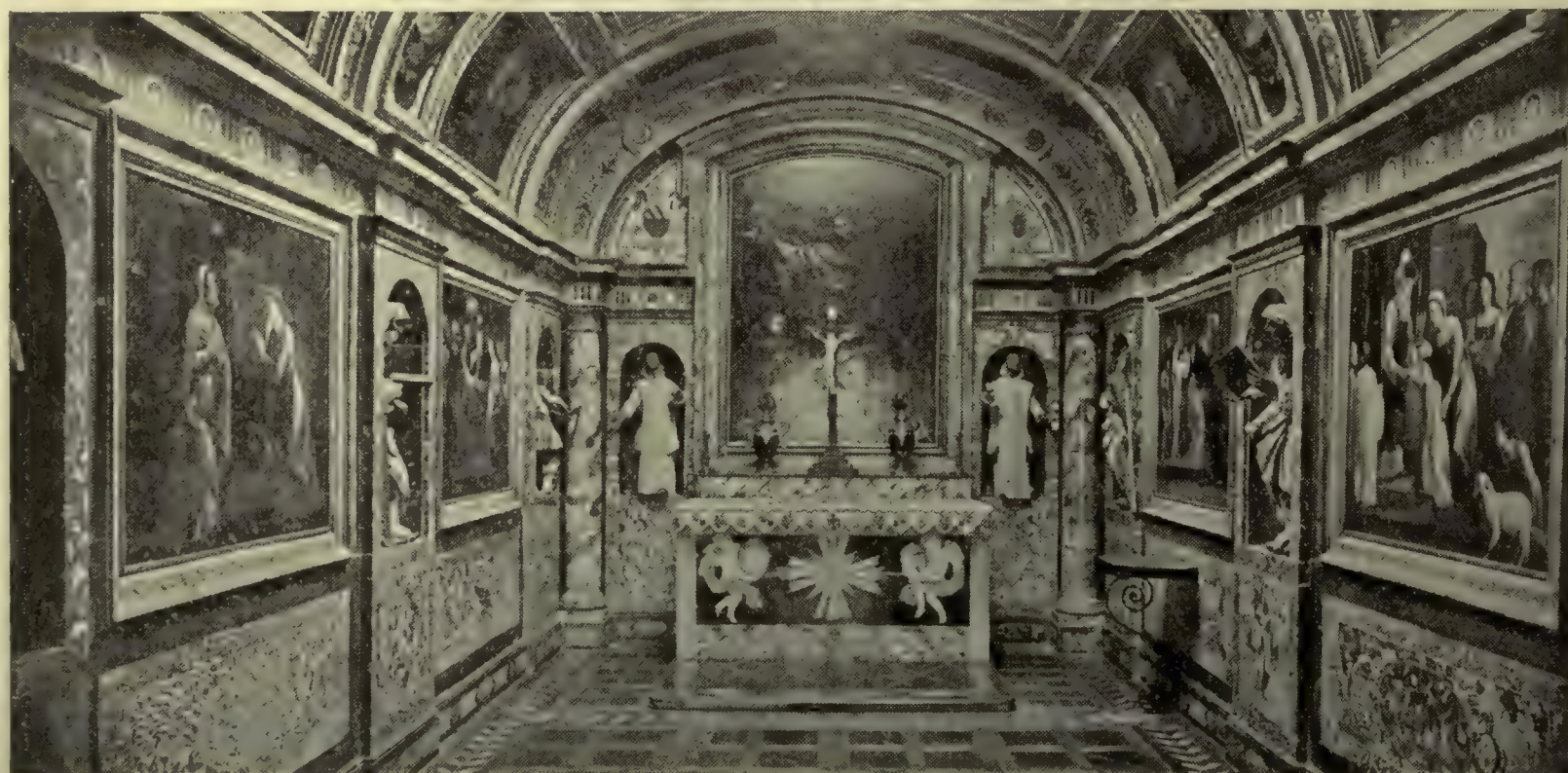
**Saviours
of the
Papacy**



THE ENTRANCE TO THE CONVENT OF THE GRAND CHARTREUSE



THE HUMBLE REFECTORY OF THE MONKS



THE CHAPEL OF ST. LOUIS WITH ITS ELABORATE WALL-PAINTINGS

VIEWS OF THE CONVENT OF THE GRAND CHARTREUSE



ZENITH OF THE PAPAL POWER

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MONASTIC ORDERS

WHEN Bishop Bruno of Toul entered his palace at Rome, after having been nominated by the emperor to the Holy See, he announced to the clergy and the people that he had come to them at the emperor's desire, but would gladly return to his own country if he were not confirmed in the papal chair by their free election. Hildebrand, who was entirely inspired by the Cluniac spirit, had been willing to accompany him to Rome only upon the condition that he should not regard himself as Pope by imperial appointment, but should also seek legal election in Rome. In this way Leo IX. became Pope on February 12th, 1049. Further developments entirely corresponded with this beginning; Hildebrand became the adviser and guide of the Popes until he himself secured that dignity.

His objects were the logical continuation of the theories of Nicholas I. The Pope was the head of the Universal Church, and the clergy in every land must therefore be his subordinates. The secular princes were also bound to serve him, as the body serves the soul. It was an intolerable distortion of the system proclaimed by God if princes were to have any power over the Church—if, for instance, they were able to give away ecclesiastical offices or to appoint Popes. They received their powers solely from the Church, as the moon derives its light from the sun; the Pope was thus the representative of Christ upon earth.

Hildebrand was well aware that the practical application of these theories would provoke a fearful conflict, and he therefore prepared indefatigably for the struggle. The chief necessity was to revive the prestige of the papacy. Leo X. travelled throughout Christendom in person, holding synods, consecrating churches, pronouncing decisions, and giving blessings. To restore the reputation of the clergy, the struggle against simony and ecclesiastical

misdeeds was renewed. Upon the accession of Henry IV., who was a minor, Hildebrand ventured to reorganise the method of electing to the papal chair. The Lateran Council under Nicholas II. ordained in 1059 that the purely ecclesiastical college of the Roman cardinals should elect the Pope. The question then arose as to what became of the chartered imperial rights; and upon this subject a sentence was added, which was such a masterpiece of diplomacy that it is difficult even at the present day to say exactly what it means—"without prejudice to the respect due to our beloved son Henry."

Money, however, was needed for the war, and Hildebrand therefore reorganised the finances of the Roman Church. As he needed allies, he invested the princes of the wild Normans, who had constantly been excommunicated, with wide districts of Italy, which naturally were not his to give, and made them swear allegiance in these terms: "I will help thee to retain secure and honourable possession of the papacy, the land of St. Peter, and the princely power." In Northern Italy he entered into an alliance with the Pataria, a revolutionary movement directed against nobles and clergy, and with their help broke down the resistance of the powerful Archbishop Theobald of Milan, so that henceforward "the obstinate cattle of Lombardy" were the vassals, not of Germany, but of Rome.

At length Hildebrand ascended the papal chair as Gregory VII., on April 22nd, 1073, and it was then possible to begin the struggle for the unlimited freedom and supremacy of the Church. He declared his sole intention to be the extirpation of simony. But by simony he understood not only the selling, but also the conferment, of an ecclesiastical office by a temporal lord. At the same time the appointment of a bishop was by no means a purely ecclesiastical

**How the
Roman Church
Found Money**

**What the
Pope
Stood for**

**New Pope's
Hatred
Of Simony**

matter. Since the days of Otto I. the episcopacy was also a purely secular office, involving all the rights and duties of a secular prince. Hence, it was not likely that the secular power would immediately release from their feudal obligations these secular lords exercising territorial rights, merely because they were clergy or bishops; it was even less likely that they would be quickly surrendered to another power and to the sole supremacy of the Pope.

There would be few subjects and but little influence remaining to secular sovereigns if these bishops received their power from the Pope, and not from the king. If Gregory wished to secure that the bishops should receive their offices from himself alone, there was but one possibility open—the bishops must resign all secular power and supremacy and become mere ecclesiastics. This simple idea, however, did not occur to him, for he was anxious that the bishops should remain princes. In his view, the Church required wealth and power to rule as she should. Even as she possessed the papal states in Italy, and could make the Normans her vassals, so should every bishop possess some secular power with which to serve the papacy and to defy the secular ruler, if occasion arose; for this reason, again, no ecclesiastic should take the oath of fealty to a secular lord.

Such a struggle would have been hopeless if opened by a weaker man than Gregory VII., who was blindly enthusiastic for the justice of his aims, and would have beheld the ruin of the world unmoved provided that his own objects were retained thereby. This victory he hoped to secure through the magical power of the words spoken to Peter, "What thou loosest on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Gregory considered that this promise enabled him to depose kings, to relieve

subjects of their oath of fealty, to decide all quarrels as he would, "to take from any and to give to any the possessions of all men, to make illegality legal, and legality eternal wrong." These means, indeed, made it possible to continue the struggle between the empire and the papacy for more than thirty years; it was a struggle which entirely paralysed

Germany, and for a long time secured the predominance of the Romance peoples in Europe, while it also brought terrible pressure to bear upon consciences. Henry IV. was reduced to beg for absolution for three days as a penitent at Canossa in 1077. These means, however, did not secure victory for the Pope, and Gregory was reduced to an exile's death.

Gregory's ideas, however, were steadily disseminated by the Cluniacs, both elsewhere and in Germany, where Hirsau

in the Black Forest had become a central point of this tendency. The extent of the papal prestige could be seen in the fact that Urban II. placed himself at the head of the Romance countries to liberate the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels, and induced thousands to cry, "It is God's will," at the Council of Clermont in 1095; it is evidenced by the

half-million of Crusaders who set out for the Holy Sepulchre with the Pope's blessing, and by the Pope's ability to declare the newly acquired kingdom, with its capital of Jerusalem, an ecclesiastical fief. It must be said that the

struggle between Pope and Emperor was steadily renewed.

Henry V., whom the Pope had chosen and raised to the throne against his father's opposition, had no intention of showing his gratitude for this infidelity by blind obedience. Eventually peace was concluded by the Concordat of Worms in 1122. The temporal possessions



THE POPE LEO IX.

Raised to St. Peter's chair in 1049, this Pope held a synod at Rheims, in defiance of the wishes of the king of France; there he appointed and removed French bishops, and declared that the Pope was the sole primate of the Universal Church.



THE CELEBRATED HILDEBRAND AND INNOCENT II.

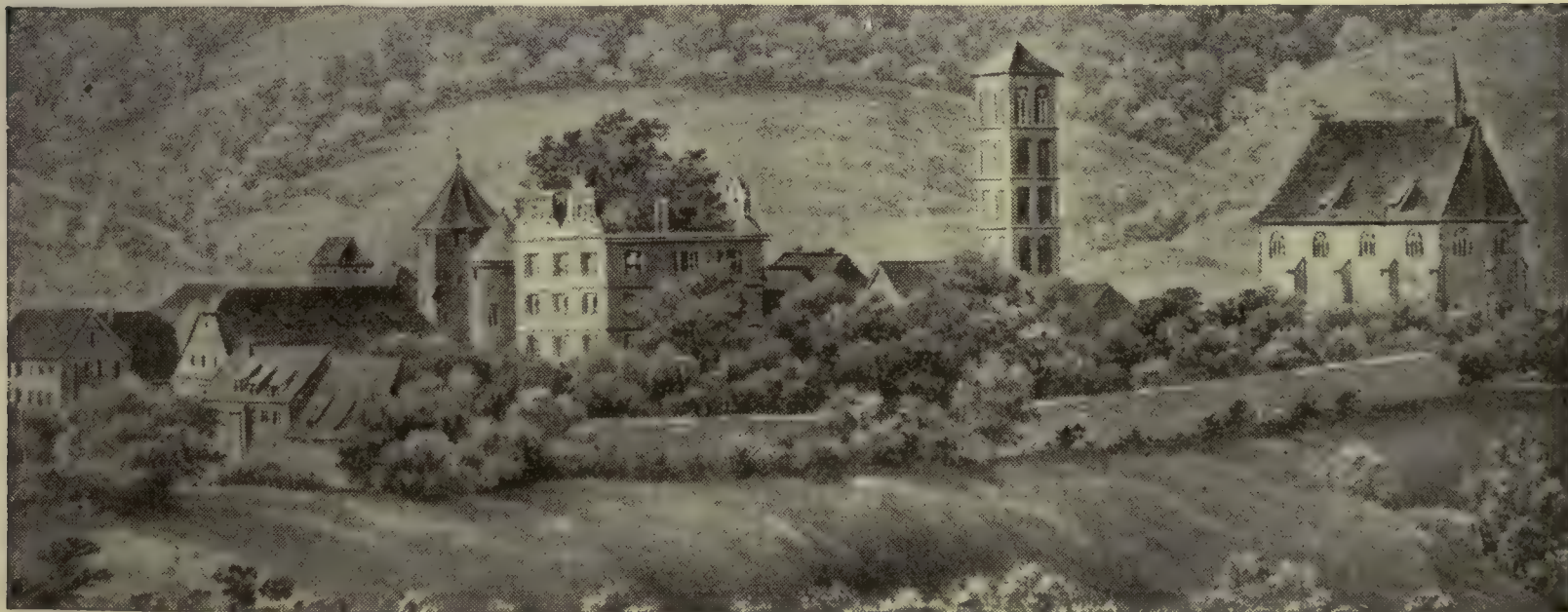
Pope Gregory VII. was the celebrated Hildebrand, the champion of the papal supremacy over secular princes, while Innocent II. was an opposition Pope, elected in 1130, who fought hard for the supremacy.



ZENITH OF THE PAPAL POWER

and powers of the bishops were differentiated from their ecclesiastical office; the latter was conferred by the Church through consecration, and the former by the emperor through investiture with the sceptre. Thus, the Church and the State were placed upon an equality; henceforward ecclesiastical supremacy was the sole prerogative of the Pope, and the emperor had nothing to do with ecclesiastical affairs. But it was questionable whether this peace could be anything more than an armistice, whether all future German emperors would agree to this complete surrender of the theories of Charles the Great and Otto III., and whether Rome would be contented with what she had gained. The demands of the papacy were far more comprehensive; not only was the Church to be entirely

College presented Christianity with two Popes in the year 1130. The rivals waged a bloody conflict for the supremacy; and on two occasions the German emperor, Lothair, was obliged to appear in Italy to secure the preponderance of Innocent II. Lothair's victory confirmed the Romans in their convictions that the imperial aspirations of the papacy deprived them of peace, and that peace could be restored only if the Church abandoned this struggle for wealth and power and returned to her original poverty, while the people took political power into their own hands. It was impossible, in view of the past, to feel reverence for papal authority; Gregory VII. and his friends had constantly supported, and indeed instigated, revolt and revolution.



HIRSAU, A GREAT CENTRE OF POPE GREGORY'S CLUNIAN IDEAS

Pope Gregory VII. engaged in a long and strenuous struggle for the supremacy of the papacy, and though for a time he was victorious, in the end he was defeated, and he died an exile's death. His ideas, however, were disseminated by the Cluniacs, in Germany and elsewhere, and Hirsau in the Black Forest became a centre of this tendency.

free from temporal power, but she was also to be a universal and world-wide ruler. When Gregory and his helpers had once proposed this ideal as a solution of all difficulties, and had secured for it a wide acceptance, the Concordat of Worms could never imply a final peace.

The succeeding events seemed as though intended to demonstrate to the papacy the folly of these aspirations to world-wide power. The papacy could not even maintain its authority in Rome, or secure itself from self-destruction, without the help of Germany. That purely ecclesiastical corporation which had been entrusted with the papal elections in order that a decision might be inspired by the spirit of God and not by that of the world was unable to agree. The Cardinals'

With burning words Arnold of Brescia preached, in his native town, the life of poverty led by Jesus and His apostles, asserting that wealth and worldly power in the hands of the clergy were nothing less than sin. The movement broke out in Rome itself, under Eugenius III. (1145-1153). The secular power was to be taken from the Pope and entrusted to the hands of the Roman senate, while the papal state was to be made a Roman republic. It was not, as before, the constant disturbances of the nobles, but the people, that inflicted this deadly blow upon the Pope. Arnold of Brescia came to Rome. He swore fidelity to the Roman senate and the republic, and fulminated against the ambition of the clergy and the Pope, who was no

shepherd of souls, but a man of blood, and the torturer of the Church. The Pope could find no other means of safety than the recognition of the Roman republic.

Even those bitter experiences failed to bring the papacy to its senses, and beyond the frontiers of Italy it continued to claim supreme sovereignty. In order to com-

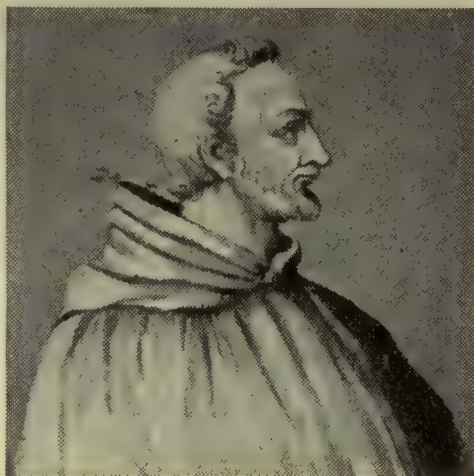
plete the organisation of a brilliant Crusade in 1147, the Pope did not hesitate to interfere with private property, and trampled underfoot the imperial rights in reference to episcopal appointments. The Decretum of Gratian, the great ecclesiastical law-book, was compiled under this Pope, and in it the claims of the papacy, which had been so often and fiercely disputed, were represented as legally established. It was no wonder that the great Hohenstauffen, Frederic I., made a

further attempt to crush these papal ambitions for supremacy. "From whom has the emperor his dignity, if not from the Pope?" was the question asked by the papal legate, Roland of Siena. Frederic replied, "By means of the Empire God has raised the Church to the head of the world. Thus standing

at the head of the world, the Church is attempting to destroy the empire. This is to us intolerable, for we owe our crown only to the gift of God."

In the year 1159 the College of Cardinals had again elected two Popes, and Frederic, as

German emperor, then claimed to decide the legality of the election. Alexander III., his old enemy Roland, against whom he decided, was recognised by France, Spain, and England, and the German bishops felt as though cut off from the rest of Christendom. The defeat of Legnano, which the defiance of Henry the Lion inflicted upon him in 1176, forced



THE POPE EUGENIUS III.

During the reign of this Pope, which lasted from 1145 till 1153, an important movement broke out in Rome. The secular power was to be taken from the Pope, and, to save himself, he recognised the republic.

the emperor to the unwelcome step of concluding peace with Alexander in 1177. The supremacy of the German Church was gone for ever.

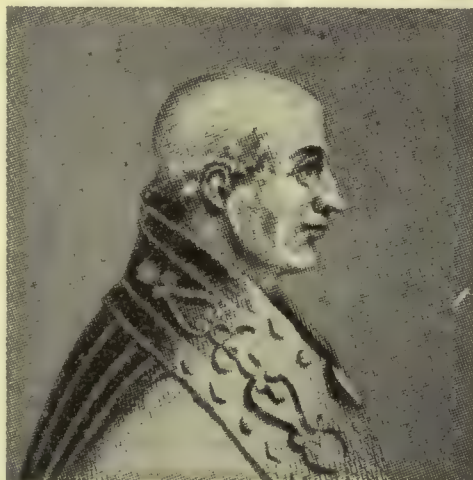
At the same moment the prestige of the papacy was greatly advanced by a second victory. Henry II. of England proposed to govern the Church of his country in the old fashion, and issued the Constitutions

of Clarendon to limit the privileges and jurisdiction of the English clergy. Thomas Becket had been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by Henry in 1162, and swore obedience to the Constitutions. Afterwards, however, he did public penance for his oath, and was solemnly released by Alexander.

The subsequent murder of Becket only ensured the prompt triumph of his cause. The Pope in 1172 declared Thomas a saint and martyr. The king was forced, by popular opinion

and by his sons, to undergo in 1174 a humiliating penance at the grave of the man who had thwarted his plans.

Thus the papacy had broken down the resistance of the Teutonic nations; and, when it had reached the zenith of its power, Alexander III. convoked a brilliant third Lateran Council in 1179. The council



THE ONLY ENGLISH POPE AND ALEXANDER III.

Hadrian IV., who was appointed Pope in 1154 and died five years later, was the only Englishman that has ever occupied St. Peter's chair. He issued in favour of Henry II. of England the celebrated Bull which sanctioned the conquest of Ireland. Alexander III. was one of the greatest Popes of the Middle Ages, and showed his power in many ways.



decided among other points that the clergy could never be brought before a secular court, and that Church property should be taxed only with the consent of the bishops and clergy, and only in extraordinary cases; these innovations were intended to separate the Church from political life, and to preserve its wealth unimpaired.

While the Church was thus rising to supreme power under its head, the papacy, a new series of events provoked the question whether it would invariably succeed in maintaining its predominance in religious thought, which was its peculiar sphere. The signs of a

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revival of religious individualism began distinctly to increase.

Since the Franco-Germanic world had become outwardly Christian, the work of religion had for centuries consisted merely in driving back the remnants of heathenism and in securing a general outward adoption of Christian doctrine. Even during the time when literary impulse found expression in religious work, as under Charles the Great, such work consisted essentially in the mere repetition of early Church tradition. Occasionally some slight indication of an independent appropriation of Christian teaching appeared, as in the "Heiland," but the complete assimilation of this great inheritance was yet very far distant, and any such flashes speedily disappeared.

religious feeling. Its development in the Teutonic world follows the reverse order of that visible in the old Church. In the beginning the circle had widened from the individual believer to the national Church. In the Middle Ages the national Church is the beginning, and the gradual progress to individual belief the conclusion.

The first tendency observable within this process of development does not shrink from revolt against the Church. From the beginning of the eleventh century heretics constantly reappear; they are found in the dioceses of Chalons, Liège, Arras, Orléans, Turin, the Netherlands, in Brittany, and in Goslar. Especially in Southern France did Peter of Bruys inveigh against the Church and all its institutions, asserting the true



MEETING BETWEEN THE GREAT POPE ALEXANDER III. AND THE DOGE OF VENICE

The papacy reached the zenith of its power during the latter part of the twelfth century, when the great Pope Alexander III. sat in St. Peter's chair. In 1179 the Pope convened a brilliant Lateran Council, which conferred on the Pope alone the right of canonisation, and drew up the laws under which the election of the Pope is still governed.

During the eleventh century, however, new characteristics come to light. It is as though a child, as yet capable only of imitation, had become a boy, able to ask himself questions upon what he was taught or upon the difficulties he felt. Until the year 1000 Christianity was essentially corporate, but after that date it becomes personal. Its manifestations are of very various character. In one case we find, as it were, a boy who consciously attempts to break away from the guardianship of his parents; in another case, one who does not renounce their leading, but would at the same time advance upon paths of his own; again, one who consciously follows his parents' lead for the first time. The common element, is, however, in every case the beginning of personal

Church to exist within the heart of the believer. At last, on a strict fast day, he made a heap of shattered crucifixes, upon which he cooked meat. For this he was thrown into the flames by a raging mob in 1137. His place was taken by the monk Henry and his "Petrobrussians," whose efforts were so successful that St. Bernard was forced to confess, "the churches are without people, and the people without priests." Unusually widely disseminated were the Cathari, who rejected the Old Testament, the sacraments, pictures, crosses, and relics. Petrus Waldus was inspired by nothing but a spirit of revolt against the Church, when fear for his salvation led him to give up all his property, to study the Bible, and to found a union in 1177, the members of which were

to renounce the world and private property, and to go through the country preaching repentance. However, the religious independence attained by himself and his friends enabled them, when the archbishop prohibited their preaching, to appeal to the Bible text that people should fear God rather than men; they were so

The Miracle at the Communion wholly out of sympathy with the Roman spirit that their appeal to the third Lateran Council was rejected, while their strength enabled them to disregard this supreme decision.

A second tendency becomes more clearly obvious in the opposition of Berengar of Tours to the views of Radbertus, which had gradually gained a universal acceptance. Radbertus held that the bread and wine of the Communion were transformed into Christ's body and blood. Berengar asserted that only truth could prevail in the Church, but that truth was not secured by ecclesiastical office or a Church council, and here his anti-Roman spirit is manifest. He further asserted that whatever was unintelligible to reason was impossible, and he also acted as though he considered commonsense his own peculiar possession. This is nothing more than the first appearance of the aberrations, often repeated at a later period, which are caused by the desire for religious independence. These first principles, however, proclaimed him a dangerous opponent of Roman teaching.

It is remarkable that Berengar's doctrine of the Holy Communion met with the approval of Cardinal Hildebrand, who attempted to protect him from his fanatical opponents. When, however, the Roman synod condemned the freethinker as a heretic in 1079, Pope Gregory VII. immediately sacrificed his own convictions. The condemned man attempted to appeal to a conversation which he had held with the Pope a short time previously. The

Freethinking Heretic Silenced Pope ordered him in a voice of thunder to fall to the ground and confess his error. The truths actually considered as such by the Church were less important to the imperialist ideas of the papacy than the necessity of uniformity upon questions of belief.

The fate of this man who had attacked the existing doctrine at one point only must have induced others to conceal their special opinions. Many erroneous views

on Church doctrine existed, as is shown by the next scholar who was unable to silence his independence, the great dialectician, Peter Abelard. He regretted that so many rejected the Christian teaching, and was yet more repelled by its defenders, who demanded simple submission to Church authority. He therefore declared that what could not be proved could not be accepted, and attempted in consequence to demonstrate the truth of Christianity, rejecting as wrong or unimportant all that his reason could not grasp. His opposition to Church doctrine was generally concealed. For instance, in his dialogue between a philosopher, a Jew, and a Christian, he compared the different religions together, but carefully avoided the inevitable inference from his investigations that the substratum of truth in heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity was ultimately identical. He also was expelled from the Church by the Council of Sens in 1141.

A third tendency is manifested by those who remained faithful to the Church and her doctrine, but either in theory or practice displayed a personal conviction previously unknown. In the early Church

Early Conceptions of Sin sin was generally considered an irremediable defect, and the chief question therefore was in what manner this defect could

be remedied, and how the strength of virtue could be imparted to the sinner. When the Teutonic spirit began personally to grapple with Christian truth, the results acquired were wholly different. The "Heiland" represented God as the great and benevolent lord of the heavens, to whom mankind owed obedience. Sin was now conceived as a debt to God, and, according to Teutonic views, such a debt necessitated expiation and atonement. Upon such theories is based the famous work of the scholastic Anselm of Canterbury, "Why did God become Man?" (*Cur Deus Homo?* 1198). Man cannot make atonement for his sins; the burden of his unfaithfulness is too great. Hence God became man in Christ, and this divine Man performed what no mere man could do, and voluntarily gave His blameless life to wipe out our debt. As this attempt had been inspired by a personal feeling of guilt, so, too, the sense of personal forgiveness might arise.

These are new lines of thought foreign to Rome. The mystical Bernard of Clairvaux makes the same attempt by other methods.

Hitherto fear had been announced even among the Teutons as the normal attitude of the Christian towards God; but Bernard makes love the centre of his theory—the love of God which condescends to man, and the love of man which can rise to God. In prayerful joy his looks and thoughts hang upon the Christ as the sacrifice of love: “All hail, thou bleeding Head!” His desire is to show love of Christ, not only for what He did for us, but also for the sake of the Man who could do so much. In correspondence with this mystical interpretation, the actual progress of the world is represented as a second manifestation of the love of God. What freedom and what independence did the individual Christian gain through such beliefs!

Bernard is also in agreement with the ideal of ecclesiastical supremacy, and regards the Pope as the head of Christendom. When the struggle broke out again between Pope and Emperor he helped the papacy to victory. With no clear consciousness of the inconsistency, he ascribed claims of supremacy to those who were bound to God by love. In consequence he

Bernard and the Cistercians was himself able to intervene in all ecclesiastical movements, and could even offer serious advice and stern exhortation to the Pope. This new tendency he communicated to the order which his initiative made influential, that of the Cistercians, which he entered in 1115 with thirty companions. In contrast to the Cluniacs, who had already become worldly minded, in spite of their original seriousness, these monks were to live in the strictest renunciation. Quiet contemplation and busy effort, both inspired equally by the love of Jesus, were to fill their lives. Bernard also attempted to bring the laity into this sanctuary. The institution of a lay brotherhood, which already existed in embryo, was further developed in this order.

At that time arose a large number of orders pursuing different objects. These were so many manifestations of the awakening spirit of religious individualism. The religious community of Grammont, founded by Stephen of Thiers, was to follow no human rule, but the threefold law of the Gospel—poverty, humility, and patience. Bruno of Cologne attempted to surpass the strictness of all previous orders in his foundation of the Chartreuse, which

he planted in an almost uninhabitable mountain gorge. To this retreat he was driven by indignation at the unspiritual character of the Church. The Carthusians, or the monks of Chartreuse, were even denied the consolation of conversation.

When the preacher of the Crusade, Robert of Abrissel, had roused the enthusiasm of large numbers of men and women, who were incapable of crusading effort, he united them in the Order of Fontévrault, in which enthusiasm for the Holy Land was replaced by enthusiastic veneration for the Virgin Mary. Lay brethren who served in the hospital connected with the monastery combined to form Hospital Orders, among which that of St. Antonius was best known. From crusading enthusiasm rose the knightly Orders of the Templars, the Knights of St. John, and the Teutonic Knights, in whom German chivalry was combined with Catholic monasticism and the service of Christian love. As the mysticism of Bernard found the highest flight of faith in the most humble and self-sacrificing love of Christ, so these orders regarded the most distinguished proof of knighthood as the service of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, the help of the sick and miserable—a further proof that the fundamental ideas of Christianity were being reconceived. The Premonstratensians attempted to raise the secular clergy from their degradation, and thus to improve their spiritual efficacy among the people.

At such a period the expansive powers of the Church inevitably resumed activity. They may also have contributed to the Crusades. The Church sent Saint Vicelin to work among the Wends of Holstein, a labour carried out with unspeakable trouble and constant disappointment. The Church raised a crusade against the Abodrites of Mecklenburg, and when this effort proved abortive, inspired the Cistercian monk, Berno, to sow the seed of Christianity with unwearying effort upon this hard ground. The Church again induced Bishop Otto of Bamberg to undertake his missionary journeys to Pomerania.

The problem then arose whether the hierarchy would interpret these as the signs of a new period. Would they join the movement towards personal religion and recognise that movement as largely a

protest against their methods and their aims? Or would they continue to regard the outward sovereignty of the world as their supreme object, and thus for ever lose the opportunity of leadership in their true religious sphere?

Once again it seemed as though supreme power was to fall, not to the papacy but to the empire. Henry VI. (1190-1197), a son of the great Barbarossa, became master of the whole of Italy. Homage was done to him by Cyprus, Armenia, and Antioch; the Greek Empire and the Mohammedan princes of North Africa

by no common ambition or selfishness; he had no love for the world, or desire for power as an end in itself. His thorough mediæval piety led him to despise the world and to renounce its joys; and if he sought supremacy, it was because the consciousness of his responsibilities impelled him to give the miseries of the world some show of godliness. He succeeded where Gregory VII. had failed, and where Alexander III. had been only half successful. Innocent was indeed a favourite of fortune.

The widow of Henry VI. feared that her son, who was only three years old, could



THE CISTERCIAN MONKS AND THEIR SIMPLE METHODS OF LIFE

At the beginning of the twelfth century there sprang into existence quite a number of ecclesiastical orders these being indications of the awakening spirit of religious individualism. Bernard of Clairvaux was drawn to the order of the Cistercians, and, with thirty companions, entered it in 1115. These monks agreed to live in the strictest renunciation, and their lives were to be filled by quiet contemplation and busy effort, both inspired by the love of Jesus.

paid him tribute. Westward he proposed to extend his supremacy over France and Spain, eastward over Syria and Palestine. His achievements and plans were then suddenly destroyed by death, and a few months later the papal chair was occupied by a man who seemed designed for imperial rule; this was Innocent III. His intellect was as keen as his will was powerful, while his foresight was not inferior to his tenacity; he never hesitated in the pursuit of his objects, and he showed no fastidiousness in his choice of means. His imperialism was inspired

not retain possession of his Sicilian inheritance without some powerful ally. She therefore accepted the kingdom as a papal fief and made the Pope guardian of her son. After her death Innocent wrote to the boy that he might thank the Lord who had given him a better father in place of his earthly parent, and a better mother—namely, the motherly care of the Church. When the Germans desired a man at the head of the empire, some electing Otto of Brunswick and others Philip of Swabia, the Pope declared that as he had the right of conferring the

imperial crown, he was also bound to scrutinise the election of a German king, and, in the case of a doubtful election, to decide whether one of the rivals or a third should receive the crown. He declared in favour of Otto, and his legates proclaimed the excommunication of Otto's opponent. Innocent's position became desperate as Philip's power steadily increased. However, the murder of this opponent extricated the Pope from a difficult situation in 1208. But now Otto, though previously compliant,

of Meran, the daughter of a German duke. The Pope laid the whole of France under an interdict, declaring to his legate that the affair, if properly conducted, would redound to the credit of the apostolic chair. France was forced to yield, and the king to make an outward show of submission. Upon the death of his beloved Agnes he was deeply grieved by the illegitimacy attaching to her children, and the Pope then declared them legitimate, exercising his power by way of consent, as he had formerly shown it in refusal.

King Alfonso IX. of Leon also experienced the power of the Pope on his marriage with his niece. King Sancho I. of Portugal, who had defied an archbishop, was reduced to obedience. King Pedro II. of Aragon voluntarily declared his kingdom to be a papal fief. The Bulgarian prince Kalojoannes petitioned Innocent to grant him a crown. The Pope decided cases in Hungary, Sweden, and Norway.

In England a dispute had broken out concerning the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Innocent declared the two elections to be null and void, summoned the electors to Rome, and forced them to appoint a third candidate, his friend Stephen Langton. Furious at this interference, King John of England swore by the teeth of God that he would hang Langton as soon as he set foot upon English soil. Innocent drew his usual weapon; he laid the kingdom under an



THE DEATH OF ST. BRUNO OF COLOGNE

The founder of the Order of the Chartreuse, Bruno of Cologne, attempted to surpass the strictness of all previous orders; and, planting his convent in a mountain gorge, he retired to it.

attempted to recover the ecclesiastical rights which he had surrendered to secure the crown. Innocent excommunicated him, and relieved his subjects of their oath of allegiance. Frederic, the son of Henry VI., who was now a youth, promised the Pope all that he desired, and Innocent therefore placed Frederic on the throne in 1212. Thus the proud family of the Hohenstauffen became subject to the papal chair.

Philip Augustus of France had divorced his wife Ingeborg, and married Agnes

interdict, the king under sentence of excommunication and deposition, and finally assigned his country to the king of France, promising great benefits to the latter and to his army, such as had formerly been assured to the Crusaders. John then crawled to the foot of the cross, and, not content with yielding the point in dispute, surrendered his land to the Holy See, to receive it again as a papal fief. The promises made to the French king naturally no longer held good;

Philip would never give so much as had been obtained from John. The princes were as puppets in the hands of the Pope. He was able to triumph even over the Greek Church, which had proved so refractory towards the successor of St. Peter. The host of the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople and founded the

**The Latin
Empire
Founded**

Latin Empire in 1204; and Innocent could rejoice that, after the destruction of the golden calves, Israel had returned to Judah. These victories of the papacy over the temporal powers were accompanied by an extension of its ecclesiastical prerogatives. Ecclesiastical legislation, which had formerly belonged to the synods, fell more and more into the hands of the Pope. He decided individual questions of administration and right, while lawyers who had been trained in Roman jurisprudence instructed the Pope to regard every papal decision as a precedent of binding force in future cases.

Innocent completely severed the old ties which had united the German Church and the crown. Otto, and afterwards Frederic, had sacrificed all their ecclesiastical rights in order to secure the crown. They renounced the regalities and the "Jus Spoliorum," and left Rome entirely free to receive appeals and issue citations; they gave the cathedral chapters the exclusive right of electing bishops, and recognised the canonical objections which the Pope raised to such elections. Hence Innocent was able to exercise an unquestioned right of scrutiny and confirmation in the case of episcopal elections. He was able to establish the rule that if he rejected an election as uncanonical, application must be made to him for a second candidate, or "*postulation*," and that when rival candidates were elected, the decision should lie with him. In consequence it was possible for him to concede the postulation, or make his own appointments conditional upon such promises as the oath of obedience to the Pope. Nor was it only over the bishoprics that his power extended. For a considerable time previously the Popes had been in the habit of recommending candidates more or less

definitely to individual bishops for posts in their gift. Innocent claimed this right as one founded upon "the plenitude of the ecclesiastical power" (the right of provision), and extended his claims to include the power of disposing of the reversionary interest to posts not yet vacant (right of expectation).

Formerly candidates for ecclesiastical office were obliged to make payments to the secular lords as owners of the churches in question; now that this "simoniacal" practice was abolished, they were obliged to pay the Pope. The difference between the two institutions consisted solely in the fact that dues had now to be paid upon all business communications with the Curia, and that in certain cases these reached an extraordinary height, but were no longer known



THE POPE INNOCENT III.
A man of keen intellect, powerful will, and thorough piety, Innocent III. was inspired neither by selfishness nor by love of the world, and he succeeded where some of his predecessors had signally failed.

as simony. Clerical freedom from taxation, with its consequent and entire independence of political life, was regarded by Innocent as insufficiently secured by the arrangements of Alexander III. Innocent announced that exceptional and voluntary contributions of the clergy to the expenses of the state required papal permission before payment. On the other hand, he claimed the right of taxing the whole of Christendom for his own purposes, and actually used this right in support of a crusade. Innocent displayed to the eyes

of the world his unexampled power and supreme dominion on the occasion of his great Lateran Council in 1215. More than four hundred bishops had accepted his invitation, together with eight hundred abbots, many princes, lords, and ambassadors from kings and republics. In the midst of this brilliant assembly the

**The Great
Splendour of
the Pope**

Pope occupied the throne as the representative of God upon earth, in splendour such as Rome never beheld before or since. After his death, in 1216, the struggle for the supremacy broke out again between the Hohenstauffen and the papacy, and the result was that Conradin, the last of the Hohenstauffen, ended his life upon the scaffold in 1268.

The missionary activity of the Church was in proportion to its supreme power.



CISTERCIAN



CARTHUSIAN



BENEDICTINE



CLUNIAC

MONKS OF VARIOUS MONASTIC ORDERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

For this age the peaceful preaching of Christianity seemed too slow a process. Crusades were organised against the heathen Livonians, and the Order of the Knights of the Sword was founded in Riga to crush any opposition to the Church. The conversion of Prussia was accom-

**Massacres at
the Conversion
of Prussia**

panied by massacres, and appeals were made for the help of the Teutonic Order. This appalling struggle continued for fifty years, annihilated a large proportion of the rightful owners of the country, and ended with the supremacy of the Teutonic Order over Prussia.

The intellectual weapons of science were employed with equal vigour in the service of the Church. Ecclesiastical science may be compared with those Gothic piles which then arose, which seem to remove their stone material from the influence of gravitation, forcing it to rise majestically so high, though with full solidity and coherence; so also ecclesiastical science was combined and built into systems, into that scholasticism which comprehended all human thought and knowledge, all speculation and contemplation, within a magnificent system intended to protect Church doctrine from doubt or opposition. It seemed impossible that the world should doubt when such a system showed the necessity or the rationality of all that the Church would have men believe. "See," cries Richard of Saint Victor, "how easily the intellect can prove that the Godhead must be a plurality of persons, neither more nor less than three in number." Another thinks it possible to prove the doctrines of the Church by strict logical treatment, even to such as do not recognise its authority—to Jews, Mohammedans, and heretics. This science also proved, by the mouth of the famous Thomas of Aquinum, who died in 1274 [see page 47], that salvation was to be found only in the

**Peerless
Position of
the Pope**

Church from her priests and sacraments, beneath the shadow of the Pope. The Pope decides the nature of Church doctrine. He is above all princes, and as the governor of Christ can depose them and relieve all subjects of their allegiance. Otto of Freising writes at this date: "The kingdom of Christ seems at the present time to have received almost all the things promised to it, with the exception of immortality."

Now, however, that the Church had attained these long-standing ambitions, we have to ask, what was the nature of its inner life? The question may be answered by examining the decrees passed in that famous Lateran Council. The council considered that it was necessary to draw up a confession of faith, and to enforce measures of the utmost severity for the extermination of the countless heretics who had appeared in the Church. It considered the decree inevitable that every man who had not confessed his sins to a priest at least once a year and received Holy Communion should be excluded from the Church. Though the Church can rule the world, she steadily loses her hold upon souls. Though imagining that all is subject to her as a matter of faith, her faith is yet rejected. This is more than a chance coincidence. The foundation of faith begins to shake beneath the superincumbent structure of temporal power. The claims of the apostolic power and of its servants have become presumptuous, the manner of their assertion too often intolerable, and the proofs adduced too threadbare.

**What the
Heretics
Aimed at**

turned in numbers to the heretics, who desired no earthly supremacy and no earthly riches. The apostles of the Cathari and the wandering preachers of the Waldenses led a truly apostolic life of humility and poverty. In Southern France, where the Cathari were generally known as Albigenses, from the little town of Albi, the princes and lords of the country belonged to their congregation almost without exception. In this quarter the Church had been almost supplanted by the sectaries; these same enemies of ecclesiasticism had overrun Italy, and were predominant in Spain and in the Netherlands. About the middle of the twelfth century Bernard of Clairvaux, and other devoted servants of the Church, had spoken in favour of a method that should "bring back the wicked to repentance by patience and long suffering," and not by the sword. Such characters as Innocent III. could not possibly doubt that, as the Church was certainly called to rule the world, her opponents could claim no right of existence. His legate, Arnold of Citeaux, was sent to France, and summoned the king and nobility to a crusade against the heretics in 1208. Thousands were slain by this army, and

in the single town of Béziers 20,000 are said to have perished in one day. In 1215 the heretics were by no means exterminated, and the Lateran Council, therefore, issued a decree that all temporal lords should purify their lands of heresy on pain of excommunication and deposition, and that episcopal commissaries were to examine and to exterminate heretics. The world-wide power of the Church was unable to exist without the Inquisition.

Not only the Church, as such, but Christianity itself, was menaced by a different movement, which appeared sporadically; this was a tendency to freethought widely disseminated, especially among the educated classes. The origin of the tendency is not far to seek. There is no greater menace to the power of faith than the use of it by its chief exponents to support interests purely secular, especially when, as in that age, the Church based all belief upon authority, and made doubt of her authority a sin of infidelity, while upon the other side a yearning for independent religious conviction had arisen in many minds. In high-sounding

**Teachings
of the
Popes**

religious phrases the Popes had excommunicated prince after prince, had preached on one day the duty of revolt against an emperor, and on the next the necessity of rebellion against his opponent, with a persistence that aroused suspicion. The scholastic philosophers had attempted to make the creeds an acceptable system, but those appeals to reason which they brought forward could bring conviction only to minds still convinced of ecclesiastical authority.

Eventually a host of new impressions overwhelmed men's minds. The Crusades had brought a knowledge of the East, and the West had learnt to know the "infidel" Mohammedans. It was observed with surprise that they were by no means morally bad, and were, in this respect, even more to be respected than many Christians. Hence, it seemed possible that the uniqueness of Christianity existed solely in the imagination of the Church. The different religions appeared like identical rings, each of the owners of which were merely foolish in regarding his own as the only genuine example. More was learned of the philosophy of the "heathen" Aristotle, and study produced admiration. The works of the Arabian

philosophers became known, especially those of Averroes, who died in 1198, and the systems of the Jewish philosophers which had arisen under their influence. In consequence, questions hitherto unknown came into prominence and shattered the traditional beliefs.

At the University of Paris this tendency to freethought was openly manifested.

**Religion only
for the
Lower Classes**

So early as 1207 Amalric of Bena was obliged to renounce heresies of this nature; and, as he was supposed to have derived them from Aristotle, Innocent III. prohibited the study of this great philosopher's scientific works. In the year 1240 the bishop and chancellor of Paris were obliged to oppose the teaching of Averroes, which had made its way to the university. Averroes had taught that while religion was indispensable for the masses, it could represent supreme truth only in symbolical form, whereas philosophy possessed such truth in its purity. Philosophical teachers attacked theological truths, and, when called to account, proceeded to explain that heresy was an ecclesiastical conception, but that philosophy had no connection with the Church, and that religion need not be taught to students, as it existed only for the lower classes.

Under the protection of this theory the teaching that God created the world out of nothing was explained to be sheer nonsense. Organic life had developed from inorganic matter. The world was governed, not by God, but rather by a rational necessity, or by chance. Attacks were also directed against the ethical system which had hitherto held the field. The monastic theory was unnatural, and genuine morality was not impaired by the influence of material life. The shortness of life should rather teach men the enjoyments of its benefits. The satisfaction, for instance, of the sexual instincts was, in any case,

**Emperor
Defies Pope
and Church**

a moral desire, and the strictness of the marriage laws was senseless prejudice. A further centre of freethought would, perhaps, hardly have been discovered had not a renewed struggle between Pope and emperor brought it before our eyes. Frederic II., who had grown up as the ward of the Pope, and had been educated as a blindly devoted son of the Church, proceeded to defy both Pope and Church. He regarded the different religions as so many conflicting theories of equal truth

or falsehood, and was accustomed to mock at Christian doctrine with confidential friends. The epigram about the three impostors—Moses, Christ, and Mohammed—which is ascribed to him by his enemies, may not be historical, but his life clearly showed the laxity of his religious views. It was a matter of total indifference to him whether a man was Mohammedan, Jew, or Christian. He chose Arabs as his high officials, carried about a harem in the Mohammedan style, and studied the philosophy of Averroes by preference.

The Church had now to deal with these premonitions of the downfall of Christianity. She began by drawing the reins tighter and insisting upon Easter confession to secure the ecclesiastical control of every individual. The same council made the doctrine of transubstantiation a dogma. For the glorification of this miracle performed by the Church the festival of Corpus Christi was instituted in 1264. The Church ordered that the Sacrament should be adored by all whom the priest might meet in the street when he was bearing it. In the Communion the cup was reserved more and more for the priests. The Church, however, made no inquiries into actual belief, demanding only submission. Innocent III. had laid down that the confession of true faith was not a primary necessity, but only the admission of readiness to agree with the doctrine of the Church, and that this "implicit" belief existed in cases where a man's belief might be erroneous, if he were not aware of the error. What more could the Church do to make actual faith simple and to encourage real Christianity?

Heresy, moreover, was unable to annihilate Christianity; the real religious sense of a true personal belief had been too widely awakened. At this moment such believers became conscious of the necessity for a religious revival.

It was in the year 1209 that Giovanni Bernardone, better known as Francis of Assisi, heard at Mass the lesson from St. Matthew's Gospel, which relates how Jesus sent out His disciples to preach the Gospel, without gold or silver, without shoes or staff. Deeply moved, he abandoned his possessions, and announced to others the peace which he had found in poverty and in trust in God. His complete renunciation of the world, his fiery love for God and man, made a tremendous impression at that moment. A number of associates like minded with himself gathered round him; these he sent out "to preach to mankind peace and repentance for the forgiveness of sins." For their benefit he drew up a rule upon the principles which Jesus had laid down for His apostles. He attempted to secure its confirmation by the Pope, but Innocent felt that the spirit of Petrus Waldus was working here. He feared that a refusal might drive this fiery enthusiast into opposition, as had happened in the case of Waldus. He resolved to wait a while before confirming the rule, but gave the missionaries permission to continue their labours. Within a few years the brethren of Francis penetrated into one country after another, and inspired a movement of mighty power. Many who were unable themselves to travel and preach repentance formed in 1221 the fraternity known as the "Brothers of the Repentance of St. Francis"; these were the Tertiaries, the third Order, corresponding to the female Order, the Clare Sisters, founded in 1212 or 1224.

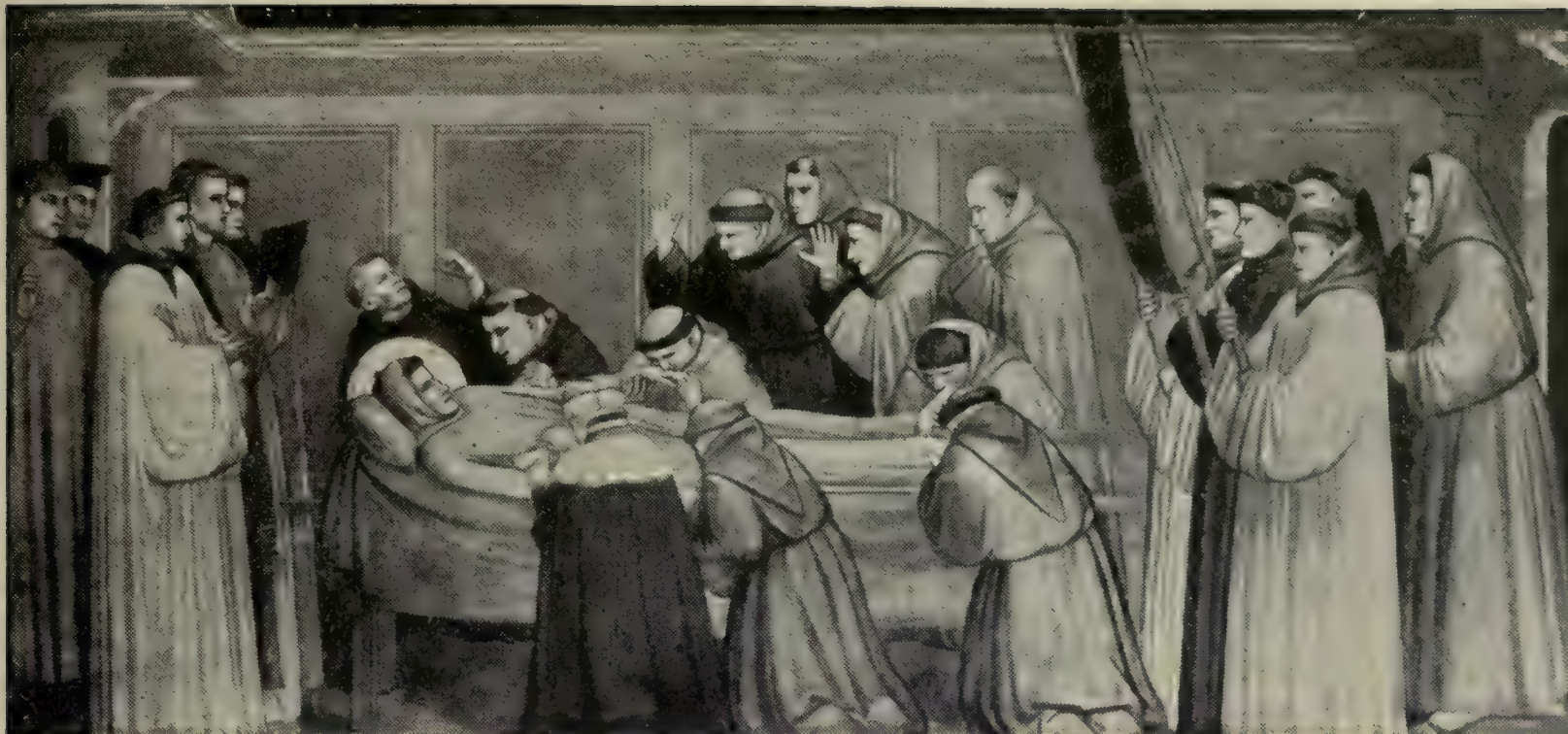
Francis was a true son of his Church, and diverged from its doctrine in no single point. His object, however, was not to unite men with the Church, but to lead them to personal holiness. He did not even desire to found an Order; the union which he founded was only a means to an end, and was intended to



ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

Deeply impressed, in the year 1209, by the example of Christ, St. Francis abandoned his possessions, renounced the world, and went forth to lead others into the peace he had found in poverty and trust in God.

From the statue by Luca della Robbia



THE PASSING OF A GREAT SAINT: FRANCIS OF ASSISI ON HIS DEATH-BED

help his object of planting Christian humility by his example in all hearts wherever possible. The movement, thus working for religious independence, might be a considerable menace to the Church unless it were organised and confined within ecclesiastical boundaries. The danger was recognised by Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Pope Gregory IX; he succeeded in making the free union an order with a novitiate, with irrevocable vows, and with a chief elected by a general chapter.

Convents now arose in different countries; the brothers devoted themselves to preaching and to the spiritual care of the people. To increase their competency for this purpose they founded schools, and Franciscans soon occupied professorial chairs in Paris and Oxford. The papacy, now fully secularised, attempted to unite the Order firmly to itself, and therefore granted it great privileges; in consequence, the Order acquired wealth. All this was opposed to the theory of the founder, who in his enthusiasm

for poverty and frugality regarded beggary as an honour. The result was violent quarrels within the Order concerning this change of the old rule. We cannot, however, assert that it would have been more efficacious if a lack of organisation and property had laid it open to every chance influence.

In any case the influence of the Franciscan order has been infinite. Some of its members attempted to use German as a

literary language, desiring, like David of Augsburg, who died in 1271, to disseminate among the people that mystical piety once the special monopoly of scholars. Others, by popular and stirring sermons, succeeded in turning misguided humanity from dead ecclesiasticism to a real reformation of life. Berthold of Regensburg travelled from Switzerland to Thuringia, from Alsace to Moravia, attracting everywhere congregations so vast that no church could contain the multitude of his hearers.

Many marched with him for days from place to place, in order to hear a repetition of his earnest warnings. Under the influence of his words deadly enemies embraced one another, mockers began to pray, and many restored their unrighteous gains to those they had defrauded.

Almost at the same time a second mendicant Order arose, founded by St. Dominic; its object was to bring back by preaching and spiritual care the heretics alienated from the Church. This order also founded a female branch and a

lay brotherhood of penitents. To it Gregory IX. in 1232 entrusted those special inquisitorial courts which he instituted for the extirpation of infidelity. Previous to 1179 we have seen the movement of personal religion among the more intellectual classes; the following period saw a movement towards the liberation of personal Christianity from submission to the hierarchical system, in which the papacy involuntarily helped.



FOUNDER OF DOMINICANS

St. Dominic was the founder of a mendicant Order, the object of which was to bring back by preaching and spiritual care the heretics alienated from the Church.



THE ARREST OF POPE BONIFACE VIII. BY THE SOLDIERS OF KING PHILIP OF FRANCE

Remarkable for his diplomatic cunning and passionate recklessness, Pope Boniface VIII. engaged in a long struggle for supremacy with King Philip IV. of France, and when the French nation and the clergy supported their king, the Pope laid an interdict upon France, and removed the whole clergy of the country from office. He was preparing to go even further, but on the very day when his Bull excommunicating and deposing Philip was to be proclaimed, he was apprehended at Anagni by the king's emissaries. Boniface was released a few days later by the inhabitants of the town, but the experience had so broken his health that he died a few months afterwards.



DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER AND THE EARLY DAWN OF THE REFORMATION

IN the year 1294 the papal chair was occupied by Boniface VIII. He was a man of great boldness, of extraordinary diplomatic cunning, and remarkable for his passionate recklessness. When Philip IV. (the Fair) of France proposed, on his own initiative, to tax Church property, in order to carry on war against England, the Pope threatened with excommunication and interdict, in his Bull "clericis laicos" in 1296, all who should pay or exact ecclesiastical contributions without his permission. The king revenged himself by prohibiting "the exportation of precious metal from the country," while the clergy in England who refused to pay a tax on account of the Bull were threatened with outlawry by Edward I. It was impossible for the Pope to dispense with his income from France, and he therefore proceeded to explain away the force of his Bull. Philip considered that so compliant a Pope was a suitable arbitrator to decide his quarrel with England.

**How Boniface
Filled
His Purse**

Boniface, however, decided as the supreme judge upon earth, and against the king, who thereupon declined to submit, and burnt this Bull at his court. Boniface, recognising that a decisive struggle was now inevitable, resolved both to advance his prestige and to fill his purse. He issued a decree of jubilee for the year 1300, proclaiming that all who should visit the Church of St. Peter in Rome during that year, for confession of sin and penance, should receive "the most plenary absolution of all their sins." The result showed with what general confidence the papal supremacy was still regarded. The streets of Rome were not wide enough to contain the masses of the believers who flocked into the city. Enormous sums flowed into the Pope's treasury.

In full confidence of victory, he sent to Philip a French bishop, by whom the king considered himself so insulted that he imprisoned the envoy and accused him

of high treason. The Pope replied by a prohibition, forbidding the king to exact any taxes from the Church, and, in 1301, by the Bull "ausculta fili," which contained the claim, "God has placed us above kings and kingdoms." Philip replied, "Your illustrious stupidity

**The Pope's
"Illustrious
Stupidity"**

should know that in secular matters we are subject to no one." In order to secure the national support he summoned to the States General not only the deputies of the nobility and clergy, but also those of the towns; and the consciousness of nationality was now so vigorous throughout the nation that the assembly solemnly declared the French kingdom independent of the Pope.

Carried away by the tide of his passion, Boniface, in 1302, issued the memorable Bull, "unam sanctam," an open proclamation of the papal theory regarding the Church and the temporal power. "When the apostles said, See, here are two swords, that is to say, within the Church, the Lord did not reply, It is too many, but It is enough. Hence there are two swords in the power of the Church, the ecclesiastical and the secular. The one is to be used for the Church and the other by the Church; the one by the hand of the priest, the other by the hand of kings and warriors, but at the order and permission of the priest. By the evidence of truth the spiritual power must include the secular and judge it when it is evil. Should the supreme spiritual power go astray, it will be judged by God alone, and cannot be judged by man. Moreover, we declare, assert, determine, and proclaim that submission to the bishop of Rome is absolutely necessary for all men to salvation."

**France
Under the
Papal Ban**

When the French nation and the clergy supported their king, the Pope removed the whole clergy of the country from their office. He prepared a Bull threatening the king with excommunication and

deposition, and relieving his subjects of their oath. On the day, however, before the solemn proclamation of this Bull, the king's emissaries made their way to Anagni, the Pope's summer residence, and took him prisoner, that he might be brought before a court. The inhabitants of the town set him free some days afterwards,

**What Dante
Wrote
About Rome**

but the experience had broken his health, and a few months afterwards he died. No one moved a finger to save the honour of the papacy. Dante wrote: "The Church of Rome falls into the mire because the double honour and the double rule confounded within her defile herself and her dignity." In France the national excitement continued; the nation was not content to defend the king's procedure with the pen. For Philip's justification the Pope, whom death had taken from the struggle, was to be prosecuted by a general council. The enemy, though defiant before, had lost their heads in excitement at the sudden fall of this bold Pope.

His successor used every conceivable means to pacify the king, and upon his death in the following year the cardinals expended no less than ten months in the choice of a successor. Eventually the French party, who looked for safety in compliance, won the day, and a French archbishop was chosen. He resisted the requests of the Italian cardinals; and, instead of proceeding to Rome to ascend the chair of St. Peter, he remained in France. In the year 1309 he took up his residence in Avignon.

The seventy years' exile of the papacy now begins. It was a voluntary exile; the Pope and cardinals preferred to live under French protection. But a profound impression was made upon the Christianity of that age by the fact that the Popes no longer resided in Rome. It must be remembered that the proof of the Roman Bishop's superiority to all bishops and of his supremacy over all secular beings centred in the fact that he occupied the chair of Peter. It might be supposed that the tradition of Peter's occupation of the Roman chair for twenty-five years was a fable invented to convince mankind

of the papal claims. Because Peter had been Bishop of Rome, the Pope must be all that Peter had been. In the eyes of those who believed that the evidence of papal primacy was provided by the Biblical texts, the papacy and Rome were indivisible. If Popes could reside elsewhere, they must themselves have lost their belief in the superiority granted by Christ and handed down by the apostle princes. It was not likely that the common people would believe it, and the idea emerged that the papacy did not exist by right divine.

The absence of the papal Curia from Rome also produced a second effect. The revenues accruing from the States of the Church became uncertain, and in some respects ceased entirely. New taxes became necessary, and within fifteen



POPE JOHN XXII.

The year 1314 witnessed the double election to the German throne of Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria, and the interference of this Pope led to much trouble

years the French kings paid no less than three and a half millions of guildens. This French papacy, however, generally preferred splendour and luxury to economy, and some new sources of income had therefore to be provided. In the first place, many gifts were made by the countless numbers who applied to the Curia for dispensations, privileges, and powers of every kind. With most astonishing dexterity the papal rights were extended to include patronage and ecclesiastical appointment, and enormous sums were received for institutions or confirmations. Special sources of revenue were also reserved to the Curia, such as the property

left by a bishop at his death, the income of vacant livings until their re-occupation, the first year's income of any benefice which amounted to more than four and twenty guildens.

**New
Methods of
the Papacy**

Many archbishops were obliged to pay ten thousand guildens for their confirmation, and during one year the Curia exacted more than 175,000 guildens from the archbishopric of Mainz—more than \$2,500,000 of our money.

At this time there was much discontent with the papacy, and the methods employed were most unpopular among all classes. This feeling continued to increase as years went by. In addition to these

DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER

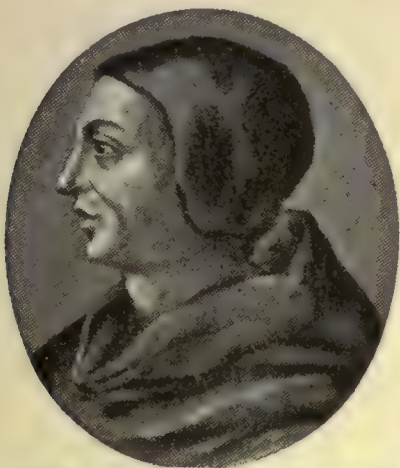
facts the Pope, residing near France, was by no means free. The world was already aware of the extent to which this power, which claimed to bind and to loose all others, was itself in bonds to the French monarchy, to such an extent indeed that it could not even contrive to protect the rich and powerful order of Templars from the king's avarice.

The Pope indeed forbade the continuance of the prosecution of the Templars, which had been begun with the prison and the rack. But he was even forced publicly to declare that the king had proceeded against the Templars, not for selfish motives, but in pure zeal for the Church and was finally forced to pronounce the dissolution of this unfortunate order.

The part which the papacy played in this unhappy transaction was the more

During this struggle, which brought unspeakable confusion to men's consciences, many personalities appeared in opposition to the Pope, whom no one would have expected to find against him. Though the Franciscans now possessed and enjoyed great property, they wished to retain their reputation of complete poverty in contrast to other orders. They, therefore, declared that they held the property of the order only in usufruct, and that the right of ownership belonged to the Pope, while they solemnly proclaimed the opinion that their models, Christ and His apostles, held no rights of ownership in their common possessions.

This assertion, which aroused the envy of the Dominicans, was condemned by the Pope. The chief of the order, Cesena, and



THE LEARNED SCOTUS

The new tendency of theological thought found an able exponent in John Duns Scotus. The Franciscan Order sent him to Cologne to found a university, where he died.



OCCAM THE SCHOLAR

A pupil of the learned John Duns Scotus, the great scholar Occam prepared the way for the downfall of the prevailing scholastic system by the doctrines he taught.

likely to lower its prestige when it boldly proceeded to assert its old claims to predominance against other princes, and thereby plunged the whole of Germany into unspeakable misery. In the year 1314 took place the double election of Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria. Pope John XXII. declined to regard either as the legitimate sovereign until he had given his papal decision. When Lewis took his adversary prisoner, John forbade any member of the German Empire to give obedience or support to the "usurper." The king's counter declaration, that his position depended entirely upon the choice of the electors, was answered by the Pope with excommunication; when the king appealed to a general council an interdict was proclaimed on all persons and districts which should remain faithful to Lewis.

the great scholar of the order, Occam, protested against this decision and fled to the German king, Lewis. They accused the Pope of heresy, and their friends publicly preached that John was no Pope but a heretic. As they enjoyed the prestige of apostolic poverty, their words found special reverence among the people. In the end the order gave in its submission; but these years of bitter conflict undermined the papal prestige to the most dangerous degree.

No small impression was made upon higher circles by the fact that clever authors attempted to reduce the Church and the papacy to their former sphere, and that the boldness of their attempts increased. Marsiglio of Padua declared in his "Defensor pacis" that the papacy was the chief disturber of the peace, through its interference with constitutional rights;

that the supremacy lay, not with the Church, but with the nation or with the ruler of its choice, and that this extended over the servants of the Church. The Church was not the hierarchy, but the Christian nation represented in councils. An even greater impression than that produced by these radical theories of

Signs of Revolution in the Church natural right was made by the writings of the Franciscan, William of Occam. He broke the ground for the coming revolution in the Church by his teaching that the creed and the welfare of the Church are the supreme law. Hence, in cases of necessity the traditional order of the Church must give place to a new organisation. Hence, also, every prince and the most simple layman, if only possessed of the true faith, can acquire extensive rights over the Church. Neither the hierarchy nor the papacy is secure against downfall; on the contrary, true faith confers the right of argument with the Church. Hence a council, though by no means infallible, is competent to sit in judgment upon the Pope.

These ideas are closely connected with the new tendency of theological thought, and this again runs parallel with the development of the papacy. As the supremacy of the Church in political life disappears, so does that confidence with which it claimed to rule public opinion through ecclesiastical science. A revolt against intellectual tyranny becomes manifest. The schoolman, John Duns Scotus, who died in 1308, asserted that there was no logical proof for the existence of God or for the Trinity. His pupil, the above-mentioned Occam, differentiated between natural and religious knowledge, between science and faith, and thereby prepared the downfall of the scholastic system. He definitely rejected that realism—using the term in its philosophic sense—which had dominated science during the

The Church and Christian Morality period of ecclesiastical supremacy either sought or secured. Universals had been considered as the only reality, and the individual had been thrown into the background. Hence that general conception, the Church, had been regarded as the reality, while the individual and the detailed decisions of human laws and of Christian morality were regarded as unjustifiable when such a view seemed likely to promote the welfare of the whole—that

is, the Church. After the time of Occam nominalism revives, which teaches that the universal is only a mere name, *nomen*, or abstraction. The only reality is the individual thing. Hence the individual believer may be of greater importance than the hierarchy, which represents the whole Church, and the papacy is thus conditioned by the individuals who form the Church.

We must not forget that, during the fourteenth century, Popes constantly secured obedience in political questions by placing wide districts under an interdict for long years at a time; in this way they made it impossible for the Church to satisfy such religious instincts as still survived in the people, and the religious consequences of this procedure are perfectly obvious. If the religious spirit did not disappear entirely, it steadily broke away from ecclesiastical authority and struggled for independence. It was no mere coincidence that exactly at that time a desire for vernacular translations of the Bible arose among the people. This was a need that had already been experienced by the heretics divided from the Church.

Bibles Burned at Metz To a question of the Bishop of Metz, Innocent III. had replied that attempts on the part of the laity to interpret the Scriptures were culpable presumption; in order, however, not to alienate such men from the Church by excessive strictness, they might be left with the Bible translations in their hands, provided they were not thereby seduced to a lack of reverence for the apostolic chair. In Metz, the translations of the Bible were thereupon confiscated and burnt; and a series of councils prohibited unauthorised translations of any theological books in the vernacular.

Now that the prestige of the papacy was sunk to a low ebb, men began to look for some other basis even within the Church. With the desire for personal faith arose also a popular tendency to draw immediately upon that source of truth which Occam had praised as a supreme authority. In the most varied districts men proceeded to translate the whole Bible, or individual books of it, into the vernacular tongues. In the year 1369 the Emperor Charles IV. prohibited "all books in the vernacular dealing with holy Scripture," but was unable to prevent the satisfaction of this desire when once it had been felt.

DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER

The individualist tendency of Christianity is also evidenced by the widespread spirit of mysticism in the fourteenth century and by the new manner in which it was put forward. Notwithstanding the dislike felt by strict churchmen of religious writings in any other language than Latin, which was intelligible only to scholars, souls were now led to communion with God by means of the vernacular tongues. Abstracted from outward things, absorbed in self-contemplation, the soul was to find God and to rejoice in His presence. Such was the teaching of the profound master Ekkehard of Hochheim near Gotha, who died in 1327; "God's being is to our life." Summoned before the Inquisition, he was forced to declare his renunciation of those errors ascribed to him. Such, too, was the teaching of the influential preacher, John Tauler of Strasburg, who continued to preach although the Pope had interdicted him. His teaching was followed by the pupil of Ekkehard, Henry Suso of Ueberlingen.

These men did not attempt to contradict Church doctrine, but they involuntarily represented the Church as superfluous, and this view received greater emphasis from those who possessed any theological training and drew their spiritual nourishment from these mystical writings. As a substitute for that communion which they missed in the Church, they formed associations, calling themselves "the friends of God," and regarding themselves as the only true Christians, who might hope by their prayers to avert the judgment threatening the Church.

In the convents of nuns a similar visionary tendency became obvious. The famous Margaret Ebner, in the nunnery of Medingen, near Donauwörth, described the manifestations vouchsafed to her, and continued a zealous correspondence with her spiritual friend, Henry of Nördlingen. By their efforts the "spiritual manifestations of grace" of St. Mechthildis were published in the High German language. This mysticism found acceptance, as may be easily understood, among many of those men and women who had been given separate houses to secure their social position, in which they worked, or from which they went out to work, for their daily life—the so-called Beghins and Beghards. Possibly the first foundations of these unions—on the Lower Rhine

about 1180—may have been inspired by a religious idea of renunciation. In any case these half-monastic unions of pious souls, removed from the strict discipline of the monastery, ran the danger of becoming conventicles and of cherishing a mystical piety more or less repugnant to the Church. Hence the Church found it

Where the Mystic Sects Flourished advisable to take proceedings against them more than once. The desire for Christian liberty and freedom from authority rose to open hostility to the Church in the sect of the "free spirit." From the outset of the thirteenth century a strange fusion of freethinking and enthusiasm had existed in France, and now began to grow with great rapidity. The theory was that the free spirit of man knew no superior authority: man was God, even as Christ was. His actions were performed as a result of inward divine freedom, which hence raised him above all rules and prescriptions. Work was not fitting for him, and all belonged to him, so that he might take what he would. These mystics wandered in bands, making life insecure by their translation of these principles into practice. The sect was especially numerous in Switzerland, and on the Rhine as far as Cologne; it also appeared in Upper Italy and Bohemia. Its members were persecuted by the Church, which merely confirmed their opposition; nor could the Church alleviate this malady, being herself sick unto death.

The friends of the Church began with greater impetuosity to demand the return of the papacy to the chair of St. Peter; and at length Gregory XI. re-entered Rome in the year 1377. After his death, in the following year, a new election brought yet greater misery upon the Church than the exile of the papacy had produced. The newly appointed Pope proposed to attack the disorders prevailing in the Curia. The French cardinals then left the city and elected a Frenchman, who again took refuge in Avignon, under the ægis of the French king. Two representatives of Christ thus existed in opposition, and the allegiance of the national kingdoms was divided between them. The one cursed the other and all his adherents, so that the whole of Christianity lay under an interdict. Whenever a Pope died, Christianity hoped for the conclusion of the schism; but on every

Two Popes who Cursed Each Other



THE PALACE OF THE POPES AT AVIGNON, BUILT IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The seventy years' voluntary exile of the papacy from Rome began in the year 1309, when the Pope and cardinals, preferring to live under French protection, took up their residence at Avignon. According to prevailing ideas, the papacy and Rome were indivisible, and the withdrawal of the Popes from the headquarters of all their predecessors profoundly impressed the Christianity of the age. When at last, in 1377, Gregory XI. re-entered Rome, the trouble was by no means over. After his death there arose two rival Popes, one of whom, a Frenchman, took refuge in Avignon.

such occasion a new election continued this miserable state of affairs. Even those who cared little for the honour of the Church and the papacy groaned under the results of this disruption.

There were two papal Curias to maintain. It seemed that the papacy would leave no stone unturned to destroy the proud Gregorian theory of its divine supremacy and its inviolability.

The consequences were inevitable, for the spectacle of two Popes excommunicating one another led men to ask whether there was no higher authority in the Church than the papal power. The world resounded with complaints of papal oppression, and it seemed that the papal power must be limited, and Christianity secured against further malpractices. A General Council might possibly bring salvation. The scholars of the Paris University, especially Gerson, vigorously championed this hope of safety.

The immediate necessity, however, was the reformation of the Church in head and members alike. The ecclesiastical and religious conditions which had arisen beneath the guidance of the Church in the last forty or fifty years were absolutely indescribable. The local clergy had degenerated, owing to the filling of spiritual posts with utterly unsuitable candidates, and to the practice of plurality. Episcopal organisation was completely shattered, as a steadily increasing number of ecclesiastical institutions and fraternities obtained from the papacy the right of exemption from episcopal supervision and jurisdiction; an increasing number also demanded what they considered to be their rights from the Curia, and secured them. For thirty years this miserable schism was endured with all its consequences, until the world gained courage to break with the theories concerning the unlimited nature of papal supremacy.

DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER

In March, 1409, the much-desired council was opened at Pisa. Neither of the Popes was present, and both protested against the illegality of the council. Gerson, however, was able to convince the assembly of the principle that a council could represent the Universal Church even without the presence of a Pope. For centuries general councils had been nothing more than the Pope's obedient tools; opinion now ventured to ascribe supreme authority to the council. The two Popes were deposed and a new appointment was made—Alexander V. The deposed, however, had no idea of resignation, and each of them enjoyed the support of several princes and peoples. Christianity thus possessed three Popes, a "papal trinity," as the mocking phrase ran, and was broken into three camps. Alexander V. prologued the council for three years in order

to prepare thoroughly for the necessary reform, and meanwhile ecclesiastical affairs remained in a state of confusion.

All hopes of a reformation seemed to have gone for ever in the year 1410, when John XXIII. became Pope. He had begun his career as a sailor. He had amassed such wealth that he was able to enlist an army, to conquer Bologna, and to rule as a despot. The council for which the world was calling was not to be expected from this Pope; and in consequence the old theory was revived that the emperor was the protector of the Church. By a fortunate turn of affairs, John was forced to flee from Rome and take refuge with Sigismund. In his complete helplessness he agreed to a council upon German soil, and this was summoned by Sigismund, as "protector of the Church,"



POPE JOHN XXIII.

Beginning his career as a sailor, John XXIII. became Pope in 1410 and amassed considerable wealth.



THE STATE ENTRY OF POPE JOHN INTO CONSTANCE FOR THE FAMOUS COUNCIL

Forced to flee from Rome, Pope John took refuge with the Emperor Sigismund of Germany, and was compelled to agree to a council upon German soil, which Sigismund, as "Protector of the Church," summoned for November 1st, 1414, at Constance. The Council of Constance thus met as a synod under a Pope. Thwarted in his attempt to maintain the theory of his inviolability, the Pope fled from Constance, thinking that this step would deprive the council of its jurisdiction for further action. But the council, holding its power to be from God, deposed the Pope.

for November 1st, 1414, at Constance; John's invitation followed.

Thus the Council of Constance met as a synod under a Pope. Relying upon the large number of Italian bishops dependent upon himself who were present,

**Pope John
Deposed at
Constance**

John attempted to maintain the theory of his inviolability.

It was then resolved that the voting should be, not by heads, but by nations; that is, that each one of the four nations present should be regarded as a whole, and that scholars and royal ambassadors should also have seats and votes. In order to deprive the council of its jurisdiction for further action, the Pope fled from Constance. The council responded by resolving that it represented the Universal Church upon earth, and derived its power immediately from God; that everyone, including the Pope, was bound to obey it, and that everyone who refused obedience was to be duly punished, whatever might be his rank. John was deposed. One of the two remaining Popes voluntarily resigned, and the third was abandoned by his previous adherents. In this way the schism came to an end.

It was indeed a remarkable change of ecclesiastical theory. Since the third century, when Cyprian had regarded the episcopate as representing the unity of the Church, the councils which incarnated that unity were formed of bishops. In the Western Empire the Bishop of Rome had then advanced and made good the claim that the whole Church was incorporated in himself, and that he alone could conduct and confirm synods.

Now the council had again asserted its superiority to the Pope, and it was a council formed by no means exclusively of bishops; the princes, as the heads of the laity, had their official votes in it. Individualism thus invaded the theory of Church government; but the idea that the whole could command the individual was still as powerful as of yore. This synod demanded with the same decision that blind obedience which the Pope had previously required. Religious toleration was as yet an inconceivable

idea. This is only too clearly proved by the decisions of the Council of Constance upon the burning doctrinal questions of the day.

From the year 1376 John Wycliffe of Oxford had publicly opposed the papacy and its policies. He had begun the struggle, as he believed, in the interests of his nation, but in the course of it he was led beyond the limits he had proposed. It seemed to him impossible that a hierarchy, seeking for worldly honour, wealth, and power, with its Pope in Avignon, or its two or three Popes, could be the Church of God. The Church could consist only of those who were found worthy of eternal salvation—the predestined. The Popes of the schism showed by their behaviour that they belonged not to the Church of

Christ, but to that of Anti-christ. It was impossible that the will of such a hierarchy could pass as the law of the Church.

"The divine law," the holy Scripture, must decide all, and commands discordant with this law, even if originating with the Pope, were illegal. For this reason Wycliffe began his English translation of the Bible in order that the laity might be inspired to correct the evils existing as he believed. On the authority of the Bible he rejected transubstantiation, auricular confession, confirma-

tion, and extreme unction, the worship of saints, images and relics, the pilgrimages, brotherhoods, and indulgences, and, in particular, the worldly power and possessions of the clergy.

According to the Bible, tithes and alms were to be the priest's sole source of maintenance. The king, as the supreme ruler after God, was to take from the clergy all that was not theirs by God's law. To provide for the spiritual needs of the

people, Wycliffe sent out his "poor priests," who constantly travelled, preaching as opportunity served them;

he also sent out laymen, who were given full powers by God Himself, but by no bishop. In this way the religious movement rapidly spread. The University of Oxford was horrified by Wycliffe's attacks upon the orthodox doctrine of the sacrament, and



WYCLIFFE THE REFORMER

John Wycliffe publicly opposed the papacy, and made an English translation of the Bible that the laity might be inspired to correct the evils existing as he believed.



THE REFORMER, JOHN WYCLIFFE, SENDING OUT HIS BAND OF "POOR PRIESTS."

The religious movement initiated by Wycliffe quickly spread throughout England. By his published writings the reformer was able to influence all classes, and through his "poor priests," who are shown in the illustration, his doctrines found many adherents. To provide for the spiritual needs of the people, Wycliffe sent out these men, who travelled over the land and preached whenever and wherever the opportunity arose, thus winning many adherents.

forbade such criticism. He was able, however, from his parish of Lutterworth, to influence high and low by the number of his published writings. He ended his days in peace in 1384; it was not until 1399 that the reaction began, with the help of a new ruler placed upon the throne by the superior clergy, and Lollardry was ruthlessly suppressed.

This fire, however, had already lighted a mighty conflagration in Bohemia. A new religious spirit had been aroused in that country by zealous archbishops and by Waldensians and other heretics who had migrated thither. These were reinforced by powerful preachers who fulminated against religious indifference and dead ecclesiasticism, and against the secularisation of the clergy. Of these the chief were Militsch of Kremsier, who died in 1347, and Matthias of Janof. The papal schism had induced these latter to arrive at Wycliffe's theories independently. They asserted that only the Church of Antichrist had been divided, that the true Church

was the community of those predestined to salvation, and had not been influenced by the schism. Matthias also shared the veneration of the English reformer for the Bible; and German Bohemia in that age was zealously occupied with the task of Bible translation. Manuscripts are

still in existence which once belonged to the citizens of Prague or Eger. One of these German psalters is not derived from the Latin Vulgate, but is taken directly, or indirectly, from the original Hebrew. In Bohemia was also composed the German Bible, which appeared in fourteen editions after the invention of printing. Another German text exists in the shape of the Wenzel Bible, which is famous for its illustrations, and was composed

about 1391 for Wenzel, the Bohemian king and German emperor.

The marriage of the daughter of a Bohemian king with Richard II. of England in 1382 promoted a vigorous interchange of thought between the universities of Oxford and Prague. Many Bohemian



POPE ALEXANDER V.

An enemy of the reform movement, it was through his influence that over two hundred volumes of Wycliffe's writings were burned in the palace on the Hradschin in Prague.

students brought Wycliffe's ideas and writings home from England. Master John Huss founded his first lectures—after 1396—upon Wycliffe's writings. The leaders in this religious movement were almost exclusively Czechs; thus the whole movement gained a national character. This desire, however, for national independence was

Huss the Disciple of Wycliffe primarily anti-Roman, and aimed at liberation from Rome. When King Wenzel desired to induce the Bohemian Church to promise subjection to neither of the two disputing Popes he was supported only by Czechs and not by the Germans; he therefore determined that the Germans in the university should have only one vote, the Czechs three, and in consequence more than two thousand German teachers and students left the town in 1409. Huss now became rector of the university, which was entirely Czech, and his reputation steadily increased, in spite of the many attacks upon him.

The archbishop, inspired by the new Pope, Alexander V., now interfered, and burnt more than two hundred volumes of Wycliffe's writings in the court of his palace on the Hradschin in Prague. He excommunicated Huss and his adherents; and when this measure was answered with scorn, violent measures were taken to place the city under an interdict. The excitement increased, and the efforts of King Wenzel at pacification proved fruitless.

In order to save the honour of the Bohemian Church, Sigismund invited Huss to appear personally before the Council of Constance, and promised him a safe conduct in his own name and in that of the empire. With foreboding of evil, but ready for death, Huss set forth, and after a few weeks his opponents in Constance

Sigismund's Broken Pledge were able to take him prisoner, notwithstanding the promise of safe conduct. Sigismund's anger blazed up; he ordered that the prisoner should be immediately released, and threatened to break open the prison. He was told that any measures of his which might hinder the efficacy of the council would result in its immediate dissolution. This he was anxious to avoid at any price; he therefore sacrificed the witness of the truth and

his royal word in the cause of the reforms for which he hoped from the council. Thus it was possible to proceed with the accusation of heresy; and the fate of Huss was decided in May 1414, when the council issued their condemnation of Wycliffe.

The trial of Huss brought out the deep difference between himself and the fathers of the council to an extent of which he was himself hardly conscious. He asserted that he could not recant until he had been convinced of the erroneous nature of his doctrine. He was told that a recantation would lay no blame on him, but upon the superiors who demanded it from him. The main point of difference was the question whether a man had a conscience of his own, or whether he should allow his conscience to be ruled by other men and by the Church. Huss thought differently from the council; he had an independent personal conviction of religious faith, and this he rated higher than his life. Though he was no profound thinker, no pioneer of a new doctrine,

Reformers Perish at the Stake and in some respects inferior to Wycliffe, this fact has made him the hero of a new epoch and a martyr. The men who, led by Gerson, had been the most violent opponents of the unlimited power of the papacy, and most anxious for a so-called reformation, did not hesitate until they had silenced for ever this exponent of a new reformation. On July 6th, 1415, he perished at the stake, a fate shared by Jerome of Prague in 1416.

The judges of Huss made a great mistake when they thought that these tokens of strong Catholicism would enable them the more certainly to secure a permanent reformation. The appointment of a new Pope was delayed, as they feared that attempts at reformation might be thus frustrated. However, through the influence of political powers, the Italians and cardinals who were opposed to reform succeeded in carrying out a papal election. The friends of reform thought something had been achieved when the new Pope was pledged to carry out the reforms and to reassemble the council after a definite period, which was first fixed at five years.

The election of Martin V., in November, 1417, brought the Great Schism to an end.



APPROACH OF THE REFORMATION

MURMURINGS OF THE COMING STORM

POPE MARTIN V. was a prudent and kindly character. He saw that every nation had its own special views upon the subject of reform, which were generally conditioned by the nature of its immediate dependence upon Rome. This fact he was able to explain to the council. He induced them to abandon as impossible any promulgation of general principles, and to rest contented with separate concordats for each nation. These concordats consisted in fair promises on the side of the Pope, and in the abolition of certain flagrant abuses. In some cases they secured the papacy in the possession of new privileges. Moreover, by the decree of the council they were concluded not permanently, but only for five years.

The council was dissolved in April, 1418, and an actual reformation was as far distant as ever. The old unpopular practices soon resumed their prevalence at the papal Curia. After two years, a German from Rome wrote, "Every action of the court at Rome is cheating, greed, and pride"; and another wrote, "Livings are sold in Rome as publicly as pigs at market." The general hopes were set upon the council to be summoned after five years. The Pope convoked it in 1424 at Pavia, transferred it to Siena before proceedings began, and dissolved it speedily. Christendom was everywhere divided; the indignation of the lower clergy and the people increased. Pope Eugene IV. was obliged to promise to summon a council in Basle in 1431.

The first step of this council was to invite the adherents of Huss to Basle for negotiations. The martyrdom of Constance had aroused the Bohemian movement to wild fanaticism, the outward sign of which was the demand of the cup for the laity in the Communion service. Wenzel expelled the priests who dispensed the Communion in both kinds, *sub utraque*

specie, from which phrase came their title of Utraquists; they then fled to a mountain, which they called Tabor, and the people flocked to them in bands of excited enthusiasts to prepare for battle by receiving the Communion. A social movement

Victories of the Hussites was amalgamated with that for religious reform. An end was to be made of all tyranny, and a furious storm broke upon the churches and monasteries. At the desire of Sigismund, Martin V. summoned the whole of Christendom to battle with these heretics. But the crusading army sent against them was utterly defeated, and the Hussite forces devastated the neighbouring territories with fire and sword. Their invincibility made them the terror of the West; and a fresh crusading army, accompanied by the cardinal, who had been appointed president of the council at Basle, was annihilated. Christianity breathed a sigh of relief when the more moderate of the Hussites professed their readiness to negotiate with the council.

The Pope, however, was irritated that the council should attempt to conclude an independent peace with the heretics whose destruction he had demanded, and thus to claim the government of the Church. He therefore dissolved the council, which, however, referred with great decision to the principle that a general council was supreme even over the Pope. The council passed the most sweeping measures for the limitation of

The Pope Compelled to Yield the papal power. In 1433 they concluded peace with the Bohemians, conceding the four demands which the Hussites had advanced in 1420, though in a mitigated form; these were the cup for the laity, free preaching of the Word of God, the reformation of the clergy, and the restoration of the Christian discipline. The Pope was eventually compelled to declare

his order of dissolution null and void, in a Bull drawn up by the council itself. His legates were forced to swear that they would work for the honour of the council, would submit to its decrees, and would help to secure its triumph. Thus the council triumphed over the Pope.

However, in the consciousness of this triumph the council was unable to act with moderation.

It cut off from the papacy most of the existing sources of income, or appropriated them to itself, so that the Pope could reasonably ask how he was to keep up his court for the future in accordance with his dignity, or to pay his many officials.

Many, moreover, who had derived their incomes from the former financial position of the papacy were irritated with the council. The council, indeed, seemed determined to appropriate the Pope's position, as it issued dispensations of marriage, granted absolutions and gifts of tithes, interfered in purely secular affairs, and disposed of the electoral dignity against the decision of the emperor.

The Greek emperor was at that moment anxious to secure the help of the West in order to save his empire from complete destruction by the infidel, and for that reason proposed to enter upon negotia-

tions for union with the Western Church; the Pope thus secured the transference of the council to Ferrara on the ground that he desired to spare the Greek ambassadors the task of crossing the Alps. The majority of the synod declined to surrender their freedom of movement by removal to Italy, and finally proposed the deposition of the Pope. The fact,

however, that the Pope had secured from the Greeks a recognition of his apostolic supremacy over the whole of Christendom considerably strengthened his prestige, and by concessions of every kind he was able to bring one prince after another to his side.

The Council of Basle entirely forfeited the general sympathy by its action in electing an anti-Pope, Felix V. in 1439. It seemed that the result of this council was merely a new schism. Hence the nations attempted to secure the reforms determined at Basle, though they did not break away from the Roman Pope. Felix V.

voluntarily resigned, and the council was finally dissolved in 1449. All who knew the nature of the papacy were bound to admit that the last remnants of the success of the anti-papal movement would soon disappear. The "reformation" was not inspired by purely religious motives. Though entirely justified, it was chiefly selfish reasons that had inspired its action

and hindered its performance. Towards the close of this period, about 1450, a feeling of bitter disappointment was shared by all who had the welfare of the Church at heart. All attempts at improvement had failed, all hopes of a reformation had passed, and

the end of the world was thought to be at hand; thus all complained with one voice in bitter disappointment. Every pious soul felt assured that existing conditions could no longer continue.

The papacy had completely defeated the desire for a reformation, whether ecclesiastical or anti-ecclesiastical. It had also lost all sympathy with the religious



POPE EUGENE IV. AND THE ANTI-POPE FELIX V.

In 1439 the Council of Basle deposed Pope Eugene IV. and set up an anti-Pope in the person of Felix V. This produced a new schism, general sympathy being against the council in its action. Felix voluntarily resigned, and the council was finally dissolved in 1449.



THE POPES PIUS II. AND SIXTUS IV.

One of the most successful opponents of the papacy at the Council of Basle was Æneas Silvius, but as the power of the council dwindled he receded from his former attitude and turned a zealous supporter of the papal chair. He became Pope, as Pius II., in 1458. Sixtus was a patron of art and learning, and built the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican.



movement. The process was thus complete which had begun nearly a century before ; the papacy was no longer conducted upon one principle, but was guided also by motives of self-interest, which appealed with varying force to different Popes, for unity of effort disappeared when the principles were swept away. Upon one point only were the Popes agreed—that a reformation ought to be averted.

Enea Silvio de Piccolomini (Aeneas Silvius) had been one of the most successful opponents of the papacy at the Council of Basle. As the power of the council dwindled, he became an equally zealous adherent of the papacy in 1445. In his new career he steadily gained ecclesiastical honours, until he secured the papal tiara in 1458, as Pius II. He

wished to revive papal supremacy according to the old models ; not, however, with the intentions of such men as Innocent III., who really thought that the only salvation for souls consisted in general submission to Peter. Pius was inspired by purely secular ideas. He was in the position of a prince wishing to revive the departed glory of a crown which he had inherited. It was his destiny to learn that he was aiming at the impossible, and that the general lack of confidence in the papacy was now invincible. He condemned the "accursed abuse that

men should be driven by the spirit of rebellion presumptuously to appeal from the Bishop of Rome to a future council," and he found that men revolted from every one of his unpopular rules by means of such appeals. He took the utmost trouble to organise a crusade against the Turks, who

had conquered Constantinople in 1453 ; but Christendom declined to follow him. For the same purpose he founded new orders of knights, but these soon disappeared.

Paul II. had signed a document before his election pledging himself to continue the war against the Turks, to maintain strict morality, to convoke a council of reform, and to carry out other measures ;

when his elevation had made him supreme head of the Church, and had thus given him power to loose whom he would, he immediately released himself from his promises. The Church owed to him the profitable innovation that the jubilee, originally intended to celebrate the outset

of every new century, should be celebrated every twenty-five years. Sixtus IV. (1471-1484) did not employ the spiritual weapons of excommunication and interdict to advance his secular aims ; but apart from this he was undistinguishable from the ordinary run of immoral and faithless Italian princes. He improved his finances by renting houses in Rome, which brought him in a yearly income of 80,000 ducats. Innocent

VIII. excommunicated Ferdinand, the King of Naples, in 1489 as he had refused to pay the papal dues. While he was inspiring Christendom with lofty words to fight against the infidel, he kept in imprisonment an enemy of the sultan who had fled to the West, instead of placing him at the head of a crusading army, for the reason, it was alleged, that the sultan paid him 40,000 dollars a year for this service. His successor, in 1492, was the Borgia Alexander VI., who died in 1503. His enemies, and they were many,

said that Alexander had secured his election by force from the cardinals, but his greed extorted their money with such rapidity that they were forced to flee or succumb to his exactions ; in either case their treasures came into the Pope's possession. He hoped to subjugate the whole of Italy to his family, and he did not shrink from concluding an alliance with "the hereditary enemy of Christianity" against "the most Christian king" of France.

A further attempt at reformation was ventured. The Dominican friar, Savonarola, created a profound impression in Florence by his preaching of penitence, and succeeded in founding a republic in



THE GREAT SAVONAROLA

The humble Dominican friar Savonarola preached in Florence on penitence, and succeeded in founding a republic in which God was to be the sole king.

**Abortive
Enterprises
of Pius II.**

which God was to be the sole king. His brilliant success afforded some prospect of rehabilitating the whole Church, and he therefore attacked the well-spring of the evil, Rome, and its unpopular Pope, Alexander. The Pope consequently excommunicated him and placed Florence under an interdict. In 1498 Savonarola and his most faithful friends were hanged as "persecutors of the holy Church," and their bodies were afterwards burnt. This was a second disappointment. However, in his cell the martyr gained so firm a conviction of evangelical theory that Luther was able to republish the work which he had composed on the eve of execution. Immediately after his death, Savonarola's writings were so eagerly printed and read that, in 1501, the Pope considered it necessary to place them on the Index in order that "only such seed should be sown in the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth as would provide spiritual food for the souls of the faithful."

Once again the princes gathered courage and demanded a council; complaints of the undue demands of the Curia had become too loud and too universal. The result of these noble efforts was the issue, in December, 1516, of the Bull "Pastor æternus" at the Lateran Council opened in 1512; this document appealed to the infamous Bull of Boniface VIII. (*Unam sanctam*), and asserted, "he who does not hear the representative of Christ shall die the death. The Roman bishop has sole authority over all councils." The ambitions which Christendom had cherished for centuries were now to all appearance completely destroyed. Geiler of Kaisersperg, whose death occurred in 1510, preached "there is no hope of improvement in Christianity, therefore let every man hide his head in a corner and see

that he does and keeps God's commandments that he may obtain salvation."

The same council considered it necessary to pass a resolution forbidding any doubt to be cast upon the immortality of the soul. The spirit of free thought, which had existed among the educated classes of Christianity for nearly three centuries, had reappeared, and was manifested principally in the form of pure enthusiasm for classical antiquity.

In the fourteenth century, the general authority of the Church had collapsed; the spiritual power of its head had been shattered by the exile of the papacy and the schism, and the ecclesiastical science of scholasticism was fading, while the religious spirit became more individual. In Italy at that time men's minds were no longer satisfied by the mediæval ideals of submission to authority and renunciation of the world; they therefore turned to classical antiquity, to the enjoyment of that personal freedom and that appreciation of life which are prominent in those memorials of the past.

The new culture, the Renaissance and humanism, advanced steadily, and were carried to the north of the Alps by the Councils of Constance

and Basle, while the invention of printing facilitated their wider dissemination. A spirit long extinct was thereby revived, the spirit of historical inquiry, especially and naturally into the history of the Church. This was a tendency which was conscious neither of its true impulses nor of its final results, and was for these reasons pursued without preoccupation. Almost all the Popes who ruled in the last decades of the Middle Ages allowed themselves to follow the movement without reserve. No one suspected that they were driving the ship of St. Peter towards the whirlpool



THE CELL OF SAVONAROLA

The reformer advanced the cause of pure religion by his writings as well as by his impassioned preaching. He was also an earnest student, and his prior's cell at the monastery of St. Mark in Florence was the scene of tireless study as well as of prolonged and fervent prayer.



THE BURNING OF THE VANITIES: A SEQUEL TO THE PREACHING OF SAVONAROLA

It was not to be expected that the zeal and enthusiasm of Savonarola would go unchecked. Thrice he was summoned to appear before the Pope at Rome, but he would not obey the papal commands. The Pope was said to have offered him a cardinal's hat if he would change the tone of his sermons. The above picture illustrates an event of 1497—the burning in Florence, by the order of Savonarola, of all the “vain and unholy things” which could be collected in the city—fancy dresses, personal ornaments, pictures, sculptures, books, and such-like objects.

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of destruction. Yet in this land where humanism originated a tendency soon arose which made it an extraordinary danger to the mediæval Church and to all true religious spirit. When a Church demanded simple assent to its every

The Roman Church in Danger

assertion, and had founded its power upon so many falsifications, its very existence was menaced by men who, like Laurentius Valla, who died in 1457, studied the New Testament in the original, and showed the inaccuracy of the Latin Vulgate used by the Church. He and other investigators showed the falsity of the "Donation of Constantine," on which Popes had based their power for centuries, demonstrated by the words of the apostles themselves the later date of the supposed composition of the "Apostles' Creed," which was generally believed, and cast doubts upon the False Decretals, which were the props and foundations of ecclesiastical law as a whole. It was a danger, also, to the prestige of a Church which had long been honoured by countless numbers as a teacher provided with infallible power, when ecclesiastical Latin was compared with the language of the ancient authors, and its barbarisms held up to scorn.

The intellectualism of the time, in its enthusiasm for classical literature, entirely adopted this spirit and appropriated the heathen theories of life, with results that might have been expected, and are especially obvious among the Italian humanists. They secretly renounced their allegiance to the Church and to religion, and abandoned themselves to the most shameless sensuality. In order to avoid any inconvenience that might result from declared infidelity, they announced their readiness "to believe everything that the Church believed"; one of them said jestingly among his friends that he would even believe in a quadruple unity of the Godhead to avoid a death at the stake. Popes and their servants, in view of such disbelief, had every reason for forbidding doubt

upon the immortality of the soul, and for continuing the traditional piety of language in the composition of their decrees, seeing that they derived their living from Christian belief. Leo X., Cardinal Giovanni de Medici, was the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and showed himself during the seven years of his occupancy a munificent pontiff.

What, again, were the effects when Christendom read the writings of such a man as Poggio, who lived in close friendship with eight Popes as apostolic private secretary at the Roman court, and composed the "Facetiæ," which, with incredible frivolity, glorified selfish living, and poured cynical mockery, not only upon

individual monks and priests, but also upon the general aversion from common sins. This work was first printed in the Holy City, ran through some twenty-five editions, and was translated into many foreign languages. The author could boast of its circulation in Italy and France, Spain, Germany, and England, and even further. The great minority of the educated classes, who had long been in doubt as to the truth of Church doctrine, were now forced to break entirely with Christianity by their acceptance of the general view of life which inspired classical literature.

Others, who were not inclined to abandon the faith of their fathers, in spite of their classical enthusiasm, were forced sooner or later to admit the duplicity of their intellectual life; and eventually their beliefs in authority and in the renunciation of the world gave way before the joyfulness of paganism with its love of life.

In Germany the powers of personal piety were as yet too strong to admit the introduction of so great a change. The leaders

Leaders of German Humanism

of German humanism admired the classics chiefly for their educational influence. But here also is heard the mockery of the representatives of the Church of the scholastic form in which their doctrines were expounded, and of



POPE LEO X.

As a patron of learning Leo X. deserves high praise. He made Rome the centre of the world in art and scholarship as well as in religion. He showed himself a pontiff of enlightened views, while his foreign policy was characterised by foresight.

THE APPROACH OF THE REFORMATION

the monks who had realised the Christian ideal according to mediæval theory. Even in Germany a divergence from the dominant ideas of the Middle Ages appeared in many circles. A solution of their difficulties was to be found, not in submission to authority, but in individual freedom; not in renunciation, but in appreciation of the world. A new theory of life and a new epoch had arrived, and religion, which still wore its mediæval dress, had to be remodelled.

doctrines of the Church, and others to throw an exaggerated emphasis upon truths which these men had not entirely denied. Some pleaded earnestly for personal and mystical piety; this was to be shown in a practical manner and not expended in speculation, for which the age was too serious and the excitement too intense. They began to form corporations of a semi-monastic nature, such as the "Brothers and Sisters of the Common



THE MARTYRDOM OF SAVONAROLA AND HIS COMPANIONS

The doom of Savonarola, though delayed, was sealed at last. Taken prisoner, he was tried for heresy and sedition, and under the daily cruelty of his torturers he made every admission which they desired of him. On May 23rd, 1498, Savonarola and other Dominicans were hanged as "persecutors of the Holy Church," and their bodies were afterwards burned. The scene of the martyrdom was in the square outside the Palazzo Vecchio, or the palace of the Florentine guilds, where Savonarola had once supreme authority, and where he passed his last night a captive.

The danger was lest men should reject religion in their scorn for its tattered garments.

It is not, however, the educated classes alone that make history. Notwithstanding the evils of the Church, the faith of the German nation remained unimpaired, though new views were to be found even among the lower classes. Men came forward to attack particular

Life," an order originated in the Netherlands by Gerhard Groot. In their opinion poverty and beggary were no longer sacred. They wished to work for their living and to influence others; not to be satisfied with mere ecclesiasticism, but to improve or to produce personal religion. The most famous work of this school, the "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas à Kempis, disregards the whole fabric of the

ecclesiastical system, urging that a man should sacrifice all to gain all, and should deny the whole world to win God.

Even among those who still clung to the Church and her institutions we can observe a peculiar dissatisfaction, which was simply a repetition of the mediæval yearning for religious certainty. Numbers

**An Age
of**

"Miracles"

of brotherhoods were founded, which obliged the members to perform an enormous amount of devotional exercises, and enabled them to share an infinite wealth of prayers, almsgiving, masses, dispensations, and services, with the object of securing their personal salvation as far as possible. Crowds thronged to the miraculous images of the saints, to bleeding wafers and to relics, the veneration of which brought full indulgence. Thus on one day no fewer than 142,000 pilgrims entered Aix-la-Chapelle. The Church showed the

utmost readiness to satisfy the desires of the German people for some guarantee of salvation. Extraordinary miracles were related of sick men healed, of raining of crosses, of nuns marked with the stigmata. Indulgences were issued in increasing numbers. The foreign pilgrims in Rome received an indulgence for 14,000 years when the heads of the princes of the apostles and the handkerchief of Veronica were shown. Indulgences were to be procured by visiting certain churches, by repeating certain prayers, and by many other means. Anyone who died in the habit of a Franciscan or with the scapular of the Carmelites was removed from purgatory to paradise in a short time.

The very fact that the Church was obliged continually to increase the extent of these favours proves that the prevailing desire for religious satisfaction and peace could not be thereby satisfied; so does the mass of religious writings which were now spread abroad by the art of printing. Up to the year 1522 there appeared fourteen editions of the Bible in High German and four in Low German, many books of sermons, countless works of edification, sometimes of great length, sometimes of contracted form. Especially popular were the books dealing "with the art of making a good death."

The movement of revolt against the Church was also apparent among the pious. The Church made it her duty to oppose by force these premonitions of reform in doctrine. Thus the writings of John of Wesel were condemned to be burnt, and the author was immured in a monastery. A more dangerous portent was the popular contempt for the representatives of the Church and their ideals, and the manifestations of bitter anger against the clergy and monks. If proverbs reflect popular opinion, those of this age are certainly portentous, such as "To keep the house clean, beware of monks, priests, and pigeons"; or "When the devil can find no servants for his purpose, he makes use of a monk"; or, again, "Monks have two hands, one to take and the other to keep." In fact, the reverence of the clergy had sunk to so appalling a depth that many, and



THOMAS À KEMPIS

Born in 1379, he wrote various books of meditations, and is known principally by his "Imitation of Christ," the most famous work of the school to which he belonged.

in particular certain princes, attempted more than once without success to introduce a reformation.

In the year 1476 it seemed that violence was about to break out. In the village of Niklashausen, in the Tauberggrund, a shepherd, Nans Böhm, preached with wild enthusiasm against the influence of the clergy, not sparing the Pope himself.

The people came to him in masses from the Hartz Mountains to the Alps, and

70,000 are said to have listened to his message in one day. On July 13th thousands of his excited followers were to gather round him with arms; but before he could carry out his attempt at founding a republic free from priests, he was imprisoned, and ended his life at the stake. In the year 1514 a bloody revolt broke out in Würtemberg, raised in the name of Poor Kunz.

**Helpless
State of
the Church**

This was suppressed, but the fire continued to burn in secret, no less ominously. The Church seemed utterly incapable of recovering the fidelity of those she had alienated, or of satisfying the desires of her friends. The best that she could give was inadequate to satisfy this age, which disregarded mediæval ideals, and if Christianity should fail to adapt itself to new conditions, its complete rejection seemed inevitable.



THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE AGES

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE KINGDOM

UNDER THE CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY

THE first of the French rulers of the Carolingian family, Charles the Bald, preserved the external unity of his state, but during the thirty-four years of his reign was greatly occupied by the invasions of the Northmen and by quarrels with the East Frankish kingdom. So early as 841, the Danes had advanced to Rouen, conquered the town and carried off the inhabitants, from whom they exacted a tribute. Some fifteen years later—in 857—they reached the outskirts of Paris. In 858 they were granted a strip of land extending from the mouth of the Seine as far as the capital. They then seized Meaux, but were forced by King Charles to evacuate West Francia. Notwithstanding occasional defeats in the open field, they steadily renewed their raids, especially after the death of Charles, in 877, when France was divided by the quarrels of factions.

The grandson of Charles, Louis III., conquered the invaders in January, 881, at Saucourt in Picardy, a victory glorified in the old High German "Ludwigslied"; but in 882 they captured Laon. In 884 they again invaded France, made Amiens the base of their plundering raids, and were to some extent pacified by a payment of tribute, while a band was engaged in the conquest of Louvain. In the following year they were defeated by the united forces of the West and East Frankish armies under the command of King Charles the Fat at Louvain. They were, however, able to besiege Paris, which was defended

from November, 885, to the autumn of 886 by Count Odo of Anjou. Eventually they were bought off by a monetary payment. These disturbances did not cease until the modern Normandy was conferred as a duchy upon the Norman Rollo, together with the hand of the Princess Gisela, in 911. Shortly before the death of Charles the Bald, the West Frankish Empire entered upon a period of apparent prosperity. After the death of Louis II., the last of the three sons of Lothair I., on August 12th, 875, Pope John VIII. invested his uncle with the position of emperor, which had been thus left vacant, and the nobles recognised him as emperor on Christmas Day, 875. However, his two journeys to Rome brought little reputation to Charles, for the Lombards adopted an attitude of coolness towards an emperor who ruled by favour of the Pope. His attempt, in 876, to secure the coveted province of Lotharingia, upon the death of his brother Lewis the German, proved a failure; he was defeated at Andernach, on October 8th, by the nephews of Lewis the German, Carloman and Louis the Younger.

Upon his death, on September 5th, 877, the favourable moment had arrived for the crown vassals to assert their independence. Their homage was offered to his son Louis II., the Stammerer, only upon the condition that he would acknowledge himself as an elected king. In 878 Louis succeeded, at Fouron, to the north-east of Visé on the Mass, in securing a reconciliation

**Paris
Under
Siege**

**Death of
Charles
the Bald**

with the East Frankish Louis the Younger, as both rulers were threatened by the growing power of the papacy.

Upon the death of the Stammerer, on April 10th, 879, a number of the clergy desired to unite the two Frankish kingdoms in the hands of Louis the Younger, but the majority of the nobles firmly supported

Success of Charles the Fat his two sons, Louis III. and Carloman. It was not until their premature deaths, in 882 and 884, that the last son of Lewis the

German, Charles III., the Fat, came into possession of the empire of Charles the Great. Rarely has a ruler been so conspicuously successful with so small an expenditure of energy. In February, 881, the imperial throne was offered to him by Pope John VIII.; his supremacy was recognised in Italy, and King Boso was forced to renounce his claims to the imperial dignity and to Upper Italy.

Similarly Duke Wido II. of Spoleto, the opponent both of Charles and of the Pope, was deprived of his fief in 883, and restored to favour only in 885. The basis of these successes was a close connection with the Pope. The latter regarded the emperor as a protector against the Saracens, who were settling in Lower Italy, and even plundering the states of the Church; but the alliance implied subjection to the greater power of the Church.

Only a strong military ruler could compel the respect of the self-asserting nobles. They deposed Charles at Tribut, on the Rhine, in November, 887, but were by no means united among themselves, and the old opposition between the east and west empires broke out afresh. One party

desired the appointment of Arnulf of Carinthia, an illegitimate nephew of Charles, while the majority of the West Frankish nobility supported Odo, the brave defender of the capital against the Normans, who had adopted the title of Count of Paris and Duke of Francia

The Empire in a State of Disruption (Isle de France). Arnulf was obliged to recognise his appointment. For ten years Odo

ruled with energy and decision; however, his kingdom, like the East Frankish Empire, was in a state of disruption. In Lower Burgundy Boso was ruling, and was succeeded by his son Lewis III., and afterwards by his vassal Hugo. Upper Burgundy, the country beyond the Jura, had an independent ruler in King Rudolf I., who died in 912.

In Italy Berengar I. of Friuli, Wido of Spoleto, Hugo and Rudolf II. of Burgundy were struggling for the mastery with varying success. On February 22nd, 896, Arnulf secured the imperial throne and the supremacy over Rome and Italy; this, however, was lost to his house upon the accession of his son Lewis, known as the Child, in 899.

Throughout this general confusion both the great vassals and the Popes had secured the mastery of the royal power. There was a possibility of replacing the broken power of the French Empire by a papal theocracy which should include all nations in an iron net and overcome all other forces, ecclesiastical and temporal. This seductive prospect could not fail to arouse the ambitions of individual Popes, whose secular power had already involved them in political quarrels. During the party struggles between Louis the Pious and his sons, the project was set in circulation in a collection of councils and papal documents ascribed to Bishop Isidore of Seville. At the close of the ninth century these forgeries reappeared in the

Papal Power Supported by Forgeries episcopate of Rheims. They contained a forged donation of the Emperor Constantine, bequeathing Rome and Italy to Pope Sylvester I. (314-335); the origin of the papal patrimony in the presentations of the French kings was one that did not correspond with papal ambitions.

On the basis of some sixty forged letters and decretals ascribed to Popes during the first four centuries of the Christian Church, the papal power was represented as absolutely unlimited, and all bishops as unconditionally subject to it. The Pope alone had the right of inducting, transferring, and deposing bishops. Metropolitan bishops could consecrate their subordinate provincials only as papal plenipotentiaries; the Pope could convoke councils and confirm their conclusions. The ecclesiastical functions of the crown were not so much as mentioned.

This comprehensive but purely ecclesiastical position provided the Popes with full reason for interference in wholly political matters, to secure their spiritual interests. Such was the action of Gregory IV., who joined the side of the revolted sons against the Emperor Lewis. Nicholas I. (858-867), who was the first to make full use of the forged decretals, represented



THE TWELVE KINGS OF FRANCE FROM THE YEAR 840 TILL 996

himself as the supreme judge upon earth, against whose decision there was no appeal. The power thus conferred upon himself was used only to protect Christian morality and religion. A synod summoned by him to Rome condemned the immoral proceedings of Lothair II in 865, annulled the opposite conclusions of the

**Supreme
Authority of
the Popes**

Frankish episcopal synods, removed the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves, as they had permitted the king's adultery, and threatened all disobedient bishops with excommunication. His successors, especially Pope Innocent III., interfered at a later date in royal matrimonial affairs in similar fashion.

The inadequate criticism of that age was unable to discover the reality of these forgeries, and would indeed have forgiven them, as the principle of the decretals had often been put into practice in the early days of the Church by tampering with canonical and non-canonical letters and writings. These decretals encouraged Pope John VIII. (872-882) to give away the imperial throne as he pleased, and to act as arbitrator in disputes concerning the succession and other matters of the kind. The Popes of the tenth century, however, were too often quite unable to advance such high claims, apart from the fact that they were hard pressed and hampered by Italian claims to the crown, by Arab pirates, and by the Byzantine emperors. Otto the Great was therefore able to administer ecclesiastical affairs as independently as Charles the Great, and to make the papacy the footstool of his power. The offensive measures of Nicholas I. were not resumed until the time of Gregory VII.

As the Pope claimed to bestow the imperial crown according to his will and pleasure, so also the great vassals assumed the right of electing the king, without reference to the principle of hereditary succession, while in compacts, which preceded the election, they secured their privileges and their territory, making their own possessions independent and diminishing those of the king. The West Frankish Carolingians, who occupied the throne of France after the death of Odo, were Charles the Simple (898-929), Louis IV. (929-954), Lothair (954-986), and Louis V. (986-987); these were not the foremost among the nobles with equal

**How the
Kings were
Elected**

claims, but rather the inferior and powerless members of the class, and entirely dependent upon the good or bad will of their vassals.

As under the degenerate Merovingians the Carolingian family rose to power and eventually seized the throne, so now we may mark the rise of the family of Robert of Anjou, who had fallen in battle in 867 against the Normans; the Odo mentioned above was his son, and their descendants rose to supreme power in France first in fact and afterwards in name. Odo's brother, Robert, had already made an attempt and been crowned at Sens in 922; he had fallen fighting against the mercenary forces of Charles at Soissons on June 16th, 923. He had a large following among the nobility, and was father-in-law of Duke Raoul of Burgundy; hence his party chose his son-in-law to succeed him. However, his son Hugo, after the death of his brother-in-law, raised the Carolingian Louis IV., surnamed d'Outremer, to the crown, and enthroned him at Rheims.

Hugo's efforts were directed to extending the power of his dynasty and to weakening the royal prestige; in course of time he considered that the royal title would naturally fall to the most powerful of the vassals. Hence he secured from the king the grant to himself of the title of Duke of the Franks. His father had already been margrave of three marks and also possessed the county of Maine. These possessions were increased by Louis' successor, Lothair, so that a contemporary, the later Archbishop Gerbert of Rheims, could write that Hugo was the actual master of France, and this he was in practice between 948 and 950. Lothair's position was assured only in Aquitaine, where his son Charles had married the widow of the duke. Both Hugo and Louis married sisters of the German Otto the Great. Hugo died in 956, two years after Louis.

These phantom kings of the West Franks were guilty of the greatest impolicy through their interference in the affairs of the German Empire; they ought rather to have consolidated their weak forces against their all-powerful vassals, and to have secured the friendship of the house of Robert and of the powerful Norman dukes. Louis IV. had already quarrelled with his brother-in-law Otto, and his



THE CROWNING OF HUGH CAPET AS KING OF FRANCE AT RHEIMS IN 987

With the event represented in this illustration a new dynasty sat upon the throne of France. The last of the French Carolingians passed away in the person of Louis V., and when the next heir, his uncle, Charles of Lorraine, a vassal of the German emperor, failed to secure the throne it passed to Hugh Capet, the son of Hugo of Francia. The country was much unsettled when the crowning ceremony at Rheims was performed by Archbishop Adalbert on July 3rd, 987.

successor Lothair III. (954-986) attempted to secure possession of Lorraine, the apple of discord between the East and West Frankish rulers, on the basis of a claim that the provinces had been a personal possession of Otto, and not one which he could bequeath. For this purpose he advanced into the duchy with 20,000 men,

**The German
Army's
Hallelujah**

surprised Aix-la-Chapelle, and turned the eagle of Charles the Great, which was placed upon the palace, towards the west as a sign that this ancient capital of the empire now belonged to France. The Emperor Otto II. marched at the head of his troops upon Paris, which, however, offered a brave resistance under the son of Hugo of Francia, the later ruler of France. The German king therefore contented himself with striking up a hallelujah with his army on the heights of Montmartre, after which he retreated, pursued by Lothair's troops as far as the Aisne.

In the year 980 Lothair proposed an alliance of peace and friendship with the German king. He was greatly afraid that this ruler might make common cause with the disobedient French vassals. Lothair, therefore, renounced his claim to Lotharingia at the conference of Chiers. However, when Otto II. had died, upon the threshold of old age, in 983, Lothair renewed his claims and attempted to secure the guardianship of Otto III., who was still a minor. Neither attempt, however, proved successful. His son Louis V., who was given the undeserved nickname "Le Fainéant" (the do-nothing), continued a show of imperial power for one year.

After the death of Louis V., the last of the French Carolingians, the next heir, his uncle Charles of Lorraine, a vassal of the German emperor, failed to secure the throne of France, which passed to Hugh Capet, the son of Hugo of Francia; he possessed not only the wide territory of his family but also connections by marriage with Burgundy, Aquitaine,

**Hugh Capet
Crowned
at Rheims**

Normandy, and Vermandois. He was crowned in Rheims by Archbishop Adalbert on July 3rd, 987. The country was in a state of disturbance; agricultural and civil prosperity was at a low ebb; the people were subject to the oppression of the powerful lords and of the royal demesnes; practically nothing remained to the crown save Laon. Now began a period of constitutional order, of legal

protection, and of renewed prosperity for the people belonging to the middle classes.

The deposition of the lawful king was not so easy a task for the Capets as it had been for the Carolingian Pippin. The old royal house possessed many adherents among the nobles, while the new dynasty lacked the support of the higher ecclesiastical powers. With the help of the nobility who remained faithful, Charles of Lorraine seized Laon, which for the last century had been the capital of the kings and the centre of France. The coronation city of Rheims, the archbishops of which had been more or less independent since the beginning of the ninth century, also came under the ecclesiastical supremacy of Arnulf the Carolingian after the death of Adalbert.

The views then prevalent among the French clergy were hostile to the secular power and to its supremacy over Church affairs. The powerful Count William of Auvergne, who had been made Duke of Aquitaine by Odo of Anjou, had founded a monastery in 910 at Cluny in the northern part of the Cevennes. By the terms of

**Where the
Pope's Power
was Limited** the foundation charter the monastery was to be independent of all secular or episcopal power, and was to choose its

superior by independent election; even the Pope was prohibited from any interference or diminution of its foundation, and was allowed to exercise no influence upon the election of the abbot. The monastery attained great prosperity under its second abbot, Odo (927-941), and at that time during the fasts some 17,000 poor were fed. Naturally, this isolated foundation joined the papacy against the secular and episcopal powers, and defended that unconditional supremacy of the Pope over the secular rulers which Hildebrand afterwards secured.

The special opponent of Cluny was Bishop Arnulf of Orleans, the president of the synod of 991, which assembled in a church near Rheims to decide the succession to the archbishopric of that city. King Hugh naturally did not wish to leave this ecclesiastical metropolis in the possession of his political opponents, who had indeed sworn fidelity to him, but had placed the Carolingian Charles in possession of Rheims and Soissons. The synod was now to decide whether Arnulf could be removed from his office by the vote of the West Frankish clergy, or only by the



THE BISHOP OF LAON SWEARING ALLEGIANCE TO CHARLES, DUKE OF LORRAINE
 When Hugh Capet ascended the throne of France he found the country much disturbed. Among the most powerful of the new king's enemies was Charles, Duke of Lorraine, who seized Laon, which for a century had been the capital of the kings and the centre of France. In this illustration we see Charles making Adalbéron, Bishop of Laon, swear fidelity.

decision of the Pope. The latter view was championed by all the adherents of the Cluniac doctrine, and appeals were made to the false decretals. Bishop Arnulf then delivered a violent speech upon the decisions of the ruling Pope, John XV., whom he compared with Antichrist. He did not venture to maintain the falsity of the decretals, the main foundation of the papal claims; even Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, who had defended the episcopal power against the papal supremacy about 860, during the time of Nicholas I., did not venture upon this step.

**The King's
Way With
Opponents**

However, King Hugh and his ecclesiastical supporters induced the synod to agree that Arnulf should voluntarily resign his archbishopric, and that the learned Abbot Gerbert should be his successor. Hugh Capet having meanwhile treacherously imprisoned Duke Charles, who died in captivity, had thus disposed of two of his main opponents. In contrast, however, to the time of Pippin, not only the papacy, but the strict religious party among the clergy and the national enthusiasm inspired by Cluny, supported his opponents. Archbishop Gerbert found his position in Rheims extremely difficult. Mass was deserted when celebrated by himself, and no one would sit at his table, while he was actually menaced upon his journey to a council of the French bishops in 995. Otto III. contrived to relieve him of this untenable position by making him spiritual adviser at court in 997, and in 999 he became Pope Sylvester II.

King Hugh attempted to secure the favour of the clergy by confirming ecclesiastical possessions and privileges; on the other hand, he showed no hesitation in retaining his royal privileges, especially where the right of interference in ecclesiastical matters was concerned. The state over which he ruled was in a

**Divisions of
the Frankish
Kingdom**

period of even greater disruption than under the weak Merovingians, or during the last century of the nominal Carolingian rule. He was not even the sovereign power in his own crown domain, the Isle de France; one record of doubtful authenticity speaks of him as possessing only five towns—Paris, Orléans, Etampes, Senlis, and Melun. The whole of the Frankish kingdom was divided, not only into a number of larger and practically

independent fiefs, but also into a quantity of secondary fiefs and smaller estates, the holders of which had formed close federations with one another. Seigneuries, châtelainies, baronies, vicomtés, and other forms of feudal possession were recognised. The vassals had resumed their power of independent administration, and only insignificant lords managed their own properties. Every village had its intendant or administrator, while larger estates were supervised by an official known in the north as *prevost*, and in the south as *bailli* or *viguier*. The great duchies and counties had their own legal codes and law courts.

Language itself was broken into different dialects. The chief groups of these were the Frankish, Norman, Burgundian, Picard, and Lotharingian or Walloon, apart from the special Provençal language in the south. Every dialect had thrown out offshoots, and was in no case strictly confined to geographical boundaries. Hence, the only uniform ecclesiastical and official language was Latin.

The unfree classes suffered severely under the exactions of numerous petty tyrants, especially during the eleventh century, when a period of commerce began to supplant the old régime of self-sufficing estates. The oppressive demands of the overlords, which were added to the former obligations of forced service, often drove the subject peasantry into armed revolt. Trade and commerce and the prosperity of the middle classes were largely impeded by the quarrels and raids of the nobles. It was difficult for the feeble power of the king to enforce the obedience of these domineering lords, each of whom had his own castle or fortified capital, and his own retainers or military comrades. It was especially impossible for the crown to assert its rights within the greater fiefs, which, as in the time of the later Merovingians and Carolingians, had secured an independence that was complete in actual fact and partially recognised by law.

Such, in particular, was the case with the duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine, and the provinces of Lower and Upper Burgundy, which since 933 had been united to form the kingdom of the Arelate, and did not revert to the German Empire until 1032–1034. The duchy of Brittany stood entirely outside of the French constitutional union. In

938 it had replaced the original federation of Armorica, which was at first independent, and had been then subdued by Charles the Great and afterwards by the Normans. The counties of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse were in a similar position; Lorraine, with Metz, Toul and Verdun belonged to the German emperor, and Provence to the Spanish county of Barcelona.

The object of the Capets was to restore the shattered political unity, to replace feudal tyranny by law and order, to extend the crown demesnes, to advance the middle classes at the expense of the nobility, to secure their ecclesiastical powers and the independence of their bishops at the expense of the papacy, and to make their elective position hereditary; towards these purposes they were helped by a variety of circumstances. The great feudal lords were constantly at variance among themselves, and were accustomed upon such occasions to appeal to the arbitration of the king. It would have been dangerous for them to set an example of infidelity to their own vassals by show-

The Days of the Clergy's Oppression

ing too open a contempt for the fealty which they owed to the crown, the more so as the subject vassals would have found a ready protector in the king. The clergy needed the help of the crown against the oppression of the rapacious lords, and also appealed to the arbitration of the crown in the case of territorial disputes. They also supported the crown by a natural community of interests against the aggression of Rome, which threatened their traditional privileges. In particular, the communes which began to rise in and after the eleventh century looked for the protection of the king if they were to maintain the rights and privileges which they had bought from the greedy nobility.

In their efforts to make their succession hereditary the Capets could not venture to infringe the electoral rights of their vassals, for the result might have been a revolt with which they could not have coped; they therefore adopted the device of appointing and crowning the eldest son during their lifetime and acknowledging him as co-regent. In this way the crown descended from father to son for more than three centuries. The main care of the new rulers was naturally the restoration of domestic

peace, which was disturbed by the continual feuds and raids of the nobility. For this purpose they readily accepted the help of religion and the influence of the Church. Since the dissolution of constitutional and social order throughout the French kingdom, the clergy had endeavoured to supply the defects of

Powerful Weapons of the Church secular law by ecclesiastical decrees. At the synod of the diocese of Poitiers in 989, the

curse of God was uttered upon all who should plunder or even threaten churches, clergy, or poor. Excommunication or exclusion from Church fellowship, and interdict or refusal of the Church sacraments, were the weapons used against evildoers who broke the peace. National calamities helped these efforts at pacification. Between the years 1031 and 1034 France was devastated by a famine, and the desperate inhabitants sought consolation from those who dispensed the Church's favours. The Church seized this opportunity to add to their penances an oath to refrain from robbery or violence, and to found brotherhoods of peace, which soon became armed federations against all discordant elements, especially against the enemies of the churches and monasteries. Such federations were preceded by priests bearing holy banners who blessed their enterprises.

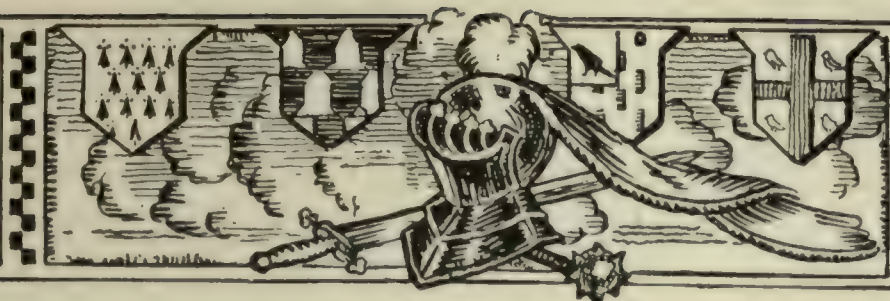
After these preparations, it was possible in 1040 for the clergy in Aquitaine to proclaim a general Peace of God (*Treuga Dei*; Trêve de Dieu), which was to last every week from Wednesday evening to Monday, and in 1041 was extended in Burgundy to include the season of Advent and the greater festivals. The monastery of Cluny and the bishoprics of Arles and Avignon were the centres of that beneficent work which protected the poor and the unfree from destruction, secured trade and commerce, agriculture and prosperity, and saved the French nobility

Beginning of the Crusades from degenerating into unchecked brigandage. With the beginning of the Crusades the priests assumed control of

these humanitarian movements. At the Council of Clermont in November, 1085, Pope Urban II. proclaimed a general peace for the purpose of leading a united force of Christians to battle against the infidels. At a later date, the Peace of God was recognised by the canon law, and was transferred to secular legislation



THE EARLY KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF CAPET, FROM 996 TILL 1322



FRANCE UNDER THE EARLY CAPETS

THE REIGN OF THE GREAT ST. LOUIS AND FRENCH KNIGHTHOOD IN THE CRUSADES

THE first three successors of Hugh Capet, Robert II. (996-1031), Henry I. (1031-1060), and Philip I. (1060-1108), are distinguished only for their lack of importance, while their governments are marked by no great events. All three were involved in constant struggles with the Norman dukes, until these latter found room in England to develop their ambitions and their pride. Philip I., who was distinguished only for his bodily size, came into conflict with the papacy through his divorce of his legal wife.

The first king of the house of Capet of importance in the general history of the world was Louis VI. (1108-1137); he was a capable ruler and a prudent politician, guided, moreover, with great skill by his chancellor, the Abbot Suger of St. Denis. The policy of Louis was directed to extending the power of his dynasty as far as possible at the expense of his vassals. He availed himself of

The First Great Capet King

their revolts to confiscate as many as possible of their estates. This fate overtook in particular certain marauding knights on his own demesnes of the Isle de France, who had been plundering Church property. Louis in consequence received the title of "eldest son of the Church." He came into close contact with Pope Calixtus II., whom he supported against the Emperor Henry V. and was afterwards immortalised in the legendary chronicles of the clergy as a miracle worker who relieved sufferers from leprosy, etc., by laying his hand upon them. Like every other king who desired to secure his own position and that of his country, he occasionally quarrelled with his own clergy and with those of Rome, but these differences invariably ended in reconciliation. In his dealings with foreign countries—for instance, in the quarrels concerning the succession in Flanders and England, where two of his vassals were fighting for

the crown—he supported the rights and position of France.

His most important achievement, however, was his attempt to secure the succession in Aquitaine, which was practically independent, by the marriage of his son Louis VII. with Princess Eleanor. Such success as this son attained, when the time came for him to rule, was due entirely to the teaching of Abbot Suger. This man, who had been named by historians the mediæval Richelieu, persuaded his master to grant rights and privileges to the rising towns, raised the prestige of the royal courts, improved and reorganised the treasury, and gave an impulse to art and science.

During the inglorious crusade of Louis VII. in 1147 his kingdom was torn by faction, and would have collapsed had it not been for the energy of Suger; Louis also committed the incredible political folly of divorcing his wife, who was certainly unfaithful, but none the less a valuable possession, and driving her with her property of Aquitaine into the arms of the heir to the English crown, Henry of Anjou, in 1152. The future ruler of England already held the French territories of Anjou, Touraine, Normandy, and Maine, and this marriage brought him Guienne, Poitou, Auvergne, the Limousin, Périgord, Angoumois, and Gascony, so that he was in possession of the whole of Western France. These lands he held indeed as the nominal vassal of the king of France, but the

How the King Found Revenge

relationship was unmeaning in view of his greater power. Louis VII. revenged himself for the cunning with which he had been overreached by joining the revolted sons of Henry II. and fostering their rebellion for twenty years. Victory, however, eventually remained with his enemy. The credit of liberating France from its English fetters belongs to his far more

important son and successor, Philip II. Augustus, a ruler who combined military with diplomatic capacity. His main object was to increase his financial power and to secure the unity of the kingdom. As these objects could not be obtained by peaceful negotiations, he was obliged to spend twenty-six of the forty-three years

**Philip the
Liberator
of France**

of his reign in war (1180-1223). He emancipated himself from the influence of his mother, Adelaide of Champagne, and of her brothers, and he speedily put aside his political adviser, Count Philip of Flanders. His enemies largely played into his hands by their dissensions. Like his father, he allied himself with the sons of Henry II. of England, and secured the homage of the second in age, Geoffrey, Count of Brittany.

The haughty Richard Lionheart also did homage to him as a vassal before his accession to the throne, as Philip Augustus had threatened to wrest from him his hereditary domains with the help of the nobility of Poitou. On the death of Henry II., in 1189, Philip found Richard a dangerous adversary by reason of his adventurous spirit and his military capacity; he therefore attempted, in 1190, after the fall of Jerusalem, to reduce him to impotence by joining with him in the Third Crusade; he went on this expedition rather to keep an eye upon his enemy than to support him.

However, after the capture of Acre, Philip deserted his English ally and reappeared in Paris at the end of December, 1191. Notwithstanding his oath to abstain from hostilities against Richard, he invaded his French possessions. The misfortune of his captivity in Germany prevented Richard from offering resistance. After his liberation and a further series of struggles Pope Innocent III. secured a five years' peace between the two kings on January 13th, 1199; Richard died on April

**England
and France
at Peace**

6th. Philip had formerly been in alliance with Richard's brother and successor, John Lackland, against the captured king. John was now, in 1202, summoned by his feudal lord, Philip, to justify himself upon a charge of complicity in the murder of Arthur of Brittany, his nephew—posthumous son of his elder brother Geoffrey. John declined to recognise this unusual judicial procedure and did not appear. He was then declared to have lost his

fief in France, and all the English possessions were reconquered as far as Guienne (1204-1206). To these extended domains of the French crown were added, either by conquest or by inheritance, Vermandois, Valois, Artois, and the district about Amiens. Preparations for the incorporation of Brittany were made and completed by the end of the fifteenth century through the marriage of a step-sister of the murdered Arthur with a cousin of Philip.

John was fully occupied between 1208 and 1212 with Pope Innocent III. and his own refractory vassals, and was obliged to abandon the last of his French possessions. When he had been freed from the Pope's interdict, by accepting England as a papal fief on May 15th, 1213, he brought together against Philip a large confederacy which had been already formed in 1212; it included Otto II. of Brunswick, who had been sole German emperor since the death of Philip of Swabia in 1208, Count Ferrand of Flanders, and various nobles of North France. However, on July 27th, 1214, Philip won the most brilliant victory of the century

**The Great
Battle at
Bouvines**

over Otto II. and the Count of Flanders at Bouvines, a village between Lille and Tournai, while his son, Louis VIII., drove the English ruler and his French allies out of Poitou and Brittany. Louis even crossed to England in May, 1216, at the invitation of the barons who were in revolt owing to John's repudiation of Magna Charta, and declined to be intimidated by the papal interdict. King John died on October 19th. Louis then returned in the following year without securing any definite success, as he was unable to keep command of the sea. As in the time of Charles the Great, the want of an adequate fleet was severely felt.

Meanwhile a further extension of the French dynastic power had been planned, though it already reached from the mouth of the Loire to the borders of Flanders. In Southern France a movement had been in progress from about 1173, which threatened to undermine the foundations of the Catholic Church. A merchant of Lyons, Pierre de Vaux, or Petrus Waldus, had founded a sect the members of which travelled after the manner of Christ and His apostles, preaching and living upon the charity of pious adherents, and proclaiming to



LOUIS VII. DISTRIBUTING GOLD AND SILVER TO THE CHURCH AND THE POOR

This king of France saw his kingdom torn by faction during the inglorious Crusade in which he engaged in the year 1147, and it was due mainly to the energy and resource of his chancellor, the Abbot Suger, who has been called the mediæval Richelieu, that he maintained his position. He had certainly some reason to think well of the Church.



ST. LOUIS MEDIATING BETWEEN HENRY III. OF ENGLAND AND HIS BARONS IN 1264

From the painting by Georges Rouget in the Museum of Versailles

the people the downfall of the degenerate visible Church, and the triumph of the invisible Church—that is, of their own community. They rejected the sacraments, with the exception of juvenile confession, while forgiveness of sins they considered

The Rapid Spread of a New Sect

as secured only by the grace of God and not by ecclesiastical absolution. The sect was distinguished by enthusiasm, by actual poverty, by popular origin and intellectual power, and succeeded in securing a large number of adherents by preaching, reading of the Scriptures, devotional exercises and confession, and even the celebration of the Communion; it was soon disseminated throughout Italy, Spain, and Germany. It based its teaching upon the New Testament and upon certain sections from the patristic writings in a translation composed by Waldus, the text of which contained interpolations directed against the Church; the Pharisees, for instance, being described with allusions which could refer only to the Catholic clergy. As the sect laid especial claim to priestly powers, the papacy was deceived by the hope that it might become an ecclesiastical order of

monks. It was excommunicated in 1184, and missions were sent out to oppose its seductive teaching.

The Manichæan sect of the Albigenses, which about the same time spread over the whole of Southern France, possessed a powerful protector in Count Raimond of Toulouse; he was a knight fond of outward show, ruling over fifty towns and one hundred vassals. Peter of Castelnau, one of the legates of Innocent III., was murdered in January, 1208, by a feudal vassal of the count; in consequence the passionate and energetic Pope threatened Raimond and his territory with an interdict. A crusade was preached against the Albigenses, in which Count Raimond was forced to take part to avert the threatened punishment of the Church. Ambition, greed,

Knights in League Against Southern France

and the hereditary hatred of the half-Teutonic North Frenchman, which had never died out, brought together a large number of knights for the expedition against the Romance inhabitants of Southern France, under the banner of Simon, Count of Montfort, whose family belonged to Hainault. Philip Augustus himself sent troops, but his suspicions of

Rome prevented him from taking any official part in the war of extermination. Montfort had more than 50,000 at his disposal, and the strongholds of the heretical nobles fell into his hands one after another. Toulouse itself was threatened with devastation, as the count hesitated to surrender the heretics of his capital.

A wave of fierce, determined indignation passed over the Church; Innocent would have been glad to save the count, but dared not exert his influence against the resolute Montfort and his vigorous followers. Raimond lost his territory in 1213. It was taken over by Montfort as a papal fief, and the next Count Raimond was left in possession only of a narrow stretch of country. After Montfort's death, in 1218, his son Amaury resigned his claims to Louis VIII. in 1226, as he found his position difficult to maintain. Raimond succeeded in saving only the

**The Crown
Territory of
the Capets**

smaller portion of his father's inheritance, notwithstanding his vigorous resistance. The county was united with the French crown in 1271, after the death of Alphonse of Poitiers, a brother of Louis IX., who had married Joanna, the daughter of Raimond. Thus the crown territory of the Capets extended from the River Seine to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

The careful calculations of Philip Augustus had proved correct; in the expectation that this valuable territory must eventually fall to himself or his dynasty, he left responsibility for the heretic war to the Church, and secured the spoils

**French Fiefs
for the
English King**

for himself. The remainder of the English possessions in France except Bordeaux and Gascony were conquered by Louis VIII. (1223-1226). Louis IX., who was anxious to secure a permanent peace, and was tired of the hazardous game of war, gave back the districts of Limoges, Saint-onge, Agen, and Quercy as fiefs to the English king, Henry III., though he retained the majority of the former English possessions, Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Poitou, Maine, and Touraine. Eventually Philip the Fair, in a war with England, in which he was supported by the Scotch, recovered almost the whole of the ceded territory in 1297. A federation of England with the Flemings and the Empire was formed by King Edward I. of England, on the model of the arrangements of 1214 and of the scheme which had been arranged in 1278 with Rudolf of Hapsburg; this, however, collapsed owing to the carelessness of the German king, Adolf of Nassau, in 1297. Philip the Fair, however, suffered a fearful defeat in his struggle



PHILIP AUGUSTUS ASKING THE BLESSING OF GOD UPON HIS TROOPS

against the democratic citizens of Bruges and Ypres in the "battle of Spurs," at Courtrai. He owed it rather to his diplomacy than to his victory of August 18th, 1304, at Mons-en-Pevèle that he was able to secure the Peace of Athis-sur-Orget in June, 1305, with Count Robert of Béthune, the successor of Guy of Dampierre; under this arrangement he retained Lille, Douai, and Béthune as guarantees. The royal demesnes in France proper had previously been extended, during the reign of Philip III., by the addition of the counties of Valois and Auvergne, in return for which the Venaissin was ceded to the papacy in 1271. The attempt of this warlike ruler to recover Sicily for his family by a war with Aragon in 1285 remained fruitless; his uncle, Charles of Anjou, had been expelled from the island by the "Sicilian Vespers" in 1282.

Unfortunately, the Capets weakened their great and consolidated crown demesnes by cutting off appanages for the younger princes, of whom there were eight during the second half of the thirteenth century. They allowed the occupants of these appanages to carry on an independent foreign policy, and consequently to involve the crown in wars with other states.

The Capets avoided the mistake which the last Carolingians had made in continually seeking quarrels to their own disadvantage with the more powerful German Empire; they were indeed sufficiently occupied at home with refractory vassals and other neighbouring powers, and aimed rather at alliance than at hostility with the wearers of the imperial crown. In diplomatic relations we find the French kings figuring as the subordinate or secondary party until the downfall of the Hohenstauffen, provided them with an opportunity for wresting fragments from the neighbouring empire. Robert I.

Peace Proposals that Failed and Henry I., the two immediate successors of Hugh Capet, maintained friendly relations with Germany.

Robert, in conjunction with the Emperor Henry II. and Pope Benedict VIII., proposed a union for universal peace, the prototype of the modern Triple Alliance. The two secular rulers met at Ivois on the Chiers, in August, 1023. The German supremacy over Lorraine was recognised afresh on the side of the French, but the

peace proposals came to nothing, as the Emperor and the Pope died in the following year. The acquisition of Burgundy, after the death of the childless King Rudolf III., in 1032, was facilitated for the German Emperor Conrad II. (1033-1034) by the French Henry I.; both rulers had a common enemy in Odo of Champagne, who attempted to extort from Henry the recognition of his own hereditary right, and to secure his claims upon Burgundy against Conrad by force of arms. These good relations remained unimpaired even with the emperor Henry III., whose consort, Agnes, belonged to the house of Aquitaine; for the Duke of Aquitaine, William, was also one of Odo's enemies. Dissension threatened to break out when Godfrey II., or the Bearded, sought the protection of the French king after his rights in Lower Lorraine had been infringed by Henry III.; but the difficulty was averted by the imprisonment of the Lorraine claimant in the Giebichenstein at Halle, on the Saale, in 1045.

The French kings were clever enough to avoid interference in the long quarrel of Henry IV. with the Popes. On the other hand, the support given by Louis VI. to Pope Calixtus II. against Henry V. nearly led to a rupture between the two kingdoms. However, the fidelity to their king of the French vassals, especially of Thibaut of Blois; the growing strength of nationality, and the increasing opposition to Germany, so intimidated the despotic emperor that he refrained from hostilities in 1124. In general the efforts of the French kings to avoid interference in the continual struggles for supremacy between the emperors and the Popes show great political tact, as they thus avoided strengthening either one or the other power.

Such was the policy followed by Philip Augustus when excommunicated by Pope Innocent III. in January, 1200, for the reason that he declined to sacrifice his mistress, Agnes of Meran, to his second wife, Ingeborg of Denmark, who had been legally divorced; he refrained from interference, though this ambitious Pope was then at war first with Philip of Swabia and then with Otto IV. The war was brought about solely by the family relationship of the Guelf Otto with the royal house of England; it ended with the victory of the French at Bouvines. St. Louis also supported the passionate



KING LOUIS IX. OF FRANCE A PRISONER IN THE HANDS OF THE SARACENS
Leading a great army to the Holy Land, Louis IX. fought valiantly against the infidels, but the Crusaders were overwhelmed by the enemy, and the French king fell into the hands of the Saracens, who obtained a large sum for his ransom.
From the painting by Cabanel in the Panthéon

opposition of Pope Innocent IV. to the Hohenstauffen Frederic II. only so far as to offer his mediation, and to secure some assistance for his policy from the Council of Lyons, which excommunicated Frederic in 1245.

Philip the Fair was the first ruler who attempted to secure the advantage of France at the expense of the Germans. Like King Albert I., who then refused recognition to Rome, Philip was an opponent of Pope Boniface VIII.; and though during the lifetime of Adolf of Nassau he had joined the Hapsburg side, he met the German king in December, 1299, in the Val de l'One, near Toul, to conclude a marriage between his sister Blanche and Albert's son Rudolf, who was to inherit Austria. The German king was anxious to secure the imperial succession to his firstborn son, and Philip the Fair was therefore brought into close and profitable relations with Germany.

Philip also maintained a show of good relations with the successor of Albert, Henry VII., after the hopes of his brother Charles of Valois had come to nothing. The Luxembourg ruler, who was half a Frenchman, was anxious to find some support against the Hapsburgs, that he might accomplish his coronation journey to Rome undisturbed; he therefore offered, in 1310, to receive from Prince Philip V. homage for the palatine county of Burgundy, which had been already taken by France, though he did not renounce his claim to the town of Lyons, which belonged equally to the empire and had been occupied by French troops. None the less Philip secretly attempted to disturb Henry's plans in Italy through his relation Robert of Naples and the Guelf adherents of Pope Clement V., who was entirely dependent upon him, and practically a prisoner in Avignon. In the case of the Crusades the Capets adopted a waiting attitude, as they had done in their relations

Leaders in the First Crusade with the German Empire, although three French rulers participated in these world-stirring events. The Crusades were instigated primarily by French or semi-French chivalry, but certainly not by French kings. Such names as Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin, the Norman Boemund II. of Tarentum, Hugo of Vermandois, Stephen of Blois the elder, Robert of Normandy, are

conspicuous among the leaders of the First Crusade. King Philip I. at that time refrained from participation (1094-1096), as his unlawful marriage of 1092 had brought him a new sentence of excommunication. The credit of the enthusiasm which inspired this and the two following Crusades belongs to the papacy. It was by the personal intervention of Pope Urban II., at the Council of Claremont in the late autumn of 1095, that the Crusade was organised.

The French monarchy took but a secondary part in the Second Crusade, of 1147, as in the first. Eugenius III., through the mouth of the ecclesiastic Bernard of Clairvaux, induced two of the most powerful princes of Europe, the Emperor Conrad III. and King Louis VII., to undertake a joint expedition to the Holy Land. Conrad was reluctant and hesitated; but Louis was anxious to relieve his burdened conscience. In a quarrel with one of his bishops, imposed upon him by the Pope and his protector Thibaut of Champagne, Louis had burned 1,000 men in the church at Vitry, that is to say, in sanctuary.

Crusades Without Enthusiasm Affairs in the Holy Land were highly critical. Edessa had fallen in 1144, and Jerusalem was threatened. Moreover, the enthusiasm for this high cause was beginning to fade. The descriptions given by returning Crusaders of their dangers and privations could not but discourage others and shatter their dreams of the enchantment of the East. When King Louis himself had taken the Cross he begged in vain the Abbot Bernard to inflame the masses with his powerful oratory.

In the meanwhile, however, various noble and ignoble motives brought many thousands together from France alone. As in the First Crusade, the difficulty of feeding and disciplining so large a number was the main cause of the enormous losses. In Nicæa, Louis, with his ill-disciplined army, met the haughty and much weakened German Emperor, Conrad III., who was regarded with suspicion by Byzantium. Conrad, however, fell ill, and soon returned as an uninvited guest to Constantinople, with the greater part of his remaining troops; the others were deserted by the French and put to the sword by the Seljuks. Instead of conquering Edessa, Louis hastened to Jerusalem to do penance. There he met Conrad in April, 1148, who

FRANCE UNDER THE EARLY CAPETS

had been ordered to return to Byzantium, and the two kings resolved to march upon Damascus. Strengthened by North German and English pilgrims, their army numbered some 50,000 men. However, when the siege of the great town proved fruitless, Conrad returned home in September, 1148, and Louis in the spring of 1149.

The Third Crusade, of 1189-1192, which brought the rulers of England, Germany, and France into the Holy Land, and ended the life of the Emperor Frederic I., was the work of Pope Clement III. He had reconciled the quarrel between Richard Lionheart and Philip II. Augustus, and induced the Hohenstauffen, who were again on good terms with the papacy, to

export and import trade to the rising commercial powers of his country. This dream, which reminds us of the projects of Bonaparte in 1798, soon vanished.

Notwithstanding the resistance of the Mamelukes and their "Greek fire," Louis captured Damietta in 1249, but was cut off from his army and taken prisoner in the Nile delta on the retreat from el-Mansura. He and some of his nobles were able to buy their freedom for the enormous sum of one million besants (\$2,000,000); the common people were forced to choose between apostasy and death. Louis spent four years in Syria, calculating upon divisions among the Mohammedans and reinforcements from Europe. At length



PHILIP AUGUSTUS BEARING THE BODY OF HIS FATHER LOUIS, VII., TO BURIAL

make the Crusade. The diplomacy of the French king on this occasion has been already examined.

Zeal for Christianity may have been the motive actuating St. Louis IX. when he undertook the Sixth Crusade, in 1248, at the head of numerous nobles and their retainers. He spent the winter of 1248-1249 in Cyprus in uncertainty concerning the object of his expedition, and was induced by an embassy of Christian Mongols to make his adventurous attempt upon Egypt. He immediately considered the possibility of founding a French empire upon the ruins of the local Ayubite government, of conquering Syria from this base, and so of securing for the dangerous feudal nobility of France a new sphere for ambition and enterprise, and opening a new area for

he returned home with a few faithful followers. The flower of the nobility had perished in this wearisome adventure. Previously the enthusiasm for the Crusade had fallen so low that Louis had caused crosses to be sewn upon the coats of his vassals to pledge their participation in the Crusade by this deceit; desire to see the wonders of the East now disappeared entirely.

Once more, in 1270, Louis undertook the Crusade known as the Seventh. Its object, the conversion of the Emir of Tunis, may have attracted him no less than the thought of extending the South Italian kingdom of his brother, Charles of Anjou, to African soil. After spending some weeks in Africa, with little or no fighting, Louis, like many of his near relatives, fell a victim to the climate on August 25th.



THE LAST OF THE OLD CAPETS AND THE CAPTURE OF THE PAPACY

CHARLES THE GREAT had organised the ecclesiastical affairs of his wide realm in an autocratic spirit, and had made laws as he pleased ; he had also been supreme over the papacy and the Church. After his death the weakness of the later

The Forged Decretals of the Papacy Carolingians had benefited the episcopal power in France, and had also enabled the papacy to strengthen its position. By means of the forged decretals the attempt was made to reduce the independent bishops to feudal subservience. The bishops, however, retained their independence, and, with the abbots, continued to be elected by the free choice of the clergy.

From the outset the Capets had attempted, with the help of the bishops, to sever their ecclesiastical connection with Rome, and for this purpose they had found powerful allies in Arnulf of Orleans and the synod of 991. The kings, however, had to defend the justice of their actions against both the ecclesiastical and the secular nobility, hence any permanent co-operation on the part of the episcopate and the temporal power was out of the question. At the same time the Cluniac reform, which speedily dominated the French clergy, paved the way for the papal claims to supremacy, both in ecclesiastical and secular affairs. Of the two swords which then symbolised the spiritual and temporal powers, the one might be given to the king by the head of the Church only as a fief, and under the condition of complete obedience. Until the second half of the eleventh century the episcopate remained no less

Princes who Robbed the Church independent than the crown in matters of domestic policy, even though these were of an ecclesiastical nature. As in the times of Charles Martel, the princes appropriated the property of the Church, while domestic disturbances and the struggles with the Northmen constantly forced the abbeys and monasteries to place themselves under the protection of the king.

It was Gregory VII. who first enabled the papal power to rise in France, as in Germany, at the expense of the secular power. This Pope governed the French Church through his legates, and secured the right of appointing bishops and abbots. He opposed the usurpation of Church property by the princes. The French monarchy was unable to make head against the refractory nobles, and the monarchs were in general too weak to oppose their energetic adversary with any success. After Gregory's death the papacy attained further power, notwithstanding the precarious character of its success, owing to the great Crusading movement, which derived its origin and its stimulus from Rome. King Philip I. of France was at that time obliged to yield to Rome on the question of his marriage in order to avert the papal interdict. His successor was thrown upon the side of the Pope through

The Pope's Triumphal Procession his marriage connections and owing to the general feeling in favour of Rome manifested by his clergy in the investiture quarrel, in which the Pope opposed the appointment of clergy by secular rulers. At the Council of Troyes, held in the presence of Pope Paschal II., a resolution was passed that every layman who conferred investiture upon a priest should be subject to deprivation no less than the recipient. The journey of the Pope to Troyes was almost a triumphal procession, and in the monastery of Cluny he was received like an ambassador from heaven.

Meanwhile the royal power increased, and as the disappointments of the Crusades diminished the prestige of the Pope and the Church, the rulers even of France were able to contemplate the possibility of recovering their old independence in ecclesiastical affairs. In this struggle Philip Augustus proved an energetic pioneer. He had submitted to Pope Innocent III. on the question of his marriage, as his realm was laid under an

interdict; he had enjoyed the alliance of the papacy for a time in the course of his policy against England. At the same time he was careful to see that bishops and abbots performed their feudal obligations, that the rights of patronage held by the laity over ecclesiastical foundations remained unimpaired, and that the courts-Christian never encroached upon secular jurisdiction. On his reconquest of the English possessions he secured a legal definition of the rights of the feudal lords as against the Church, and insisted upon their observance by the clergy. Upon property which passed to the Church by purchase or presentation he levied a mortmain tax, to compensate for the loss of reliefs and wardships which ensued when property passed into the hands of a deathless tenant; he also exacted a tax—in lieu of the *jus spoliatorum*—from benefices that fell vacant, and maintained all the other rights of the temporal power, or sold them at a high price.

The ecclesiastical policy of Louis IX. was penetrated entirely by his own ideas. Under his protection was formed an alliance of French nobles hostile to the Church, led by the Duke of Burgundy and the Counts of Brittany and Angoulême. **French Nobles versus the Church** These feudatories revolted against the aggressions of the ecclesiastical courts in secular affairs, and also against the demands to which France, under various pretexts, was subjected by the papacy in 1246. Their argument was that the French nobility had been impoverished by the acts of the clergy, and that the Church should therefore return to its original condition of poverty and purity. Excommunication and interdict were to be respected only with the consent of the chief of the alliance. Here we may trace the after-effects of the teaching of the Waldenses.

These menacing resolves against Rome were passed at a moment when Pope Innocent IV. was staying on the frontier in Lyons, which was then part of the empire, and at a time, moreover, when this Pope had secured the zealous support of the French clergy against the Emperor Frederic II. in the council of 1245. Louis himself did his best to prevent the extortions to which Innocent subjected the French clergy in his efforts to provide resources for the struggle against the Hohenstauffen. From the very outset of his reign he was a zealous champion of

the independence of the French Church. In an ordinance of 1229 he had established the *liberties et immunities* of the Church, and had thus raised a barrier against the ecclesiastical and financial encroachments of Rome; ten years later he subjected the clergy to the jurisdiction of the state courts in civil cases, and limited the power of excommunication, which was one of the Pope's chief weapons; at the same time he regulated the process of election to prelacies and their transference within the French Church, and prohibited arbitrary exactions on the part of Rome. The so-called "Sanction Pragmatique" of 1268, which was long regarded as the foundation stone of the later national Gallic Church, is a forgery of the fifteenth century, and does not concern us.

Though long deferred by both parties, the struggle between the Curia and the French monarchy became inevitable upon the accession of Philip the Fair, an autocratic and at the same time diplomatic ruler; at that moment Pope Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) revived the claims which Gregory VII. and Innocent III. had asserted. Boniface had entered Rome with great splendour on January 25th, 1295, and had then been crowned, after obliging his predecessor, Celestine V., to abdicate. This interloper had retained his position from July 5th to December 13th, 1294, and was kept in prison by Boniface till his death, on May 19th, 1296. Boniface added a second circle to his tiara, as a sign that the Pope was the representative both of the ecclesiastical and of the secular powers. He ordered the Greek Church to appoint no patriarch without his consent. In the year 1300 he arranged the great jubilee celebration, which brought many thousands of pilgrims to Rome to lay their gifts at the feet of the apostle. Meanwhile, however, the political horizon had become clouded; the crisis began with

Kings Defy the Pope political difficulties, in which Boniface attempted to act as the overlord of the princes, and was accentuated by ecclesiastical complications. The Pope attempted to conclude the war between Philip and England, which had lasted since 1293, by arranging an armistice and obliging both kings to do penance by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; a similar penance had been appointed by Innocent III. The two enemies declined to agree to either project,

and Philip, though a firm supporter of the faith of his time, proudly declared to the papal legates the independence of his kingdom.

Boniface forthwith issued the papal Bull "Clericis laicos" on February 25th, 1296, in which he threatened with excommunication all princes who exacted taxes from the

Louis IX. clergy, and any of the clergy
Canonised by who paid. In this way he pro-
Boniface posed to deprive the English,

and especially the French, kings of the means for carrying on war. The prohibition was naturally disregarded by both monarchs, and hostilities were continued notwithstanding the armistice imposed by the Pope, and extended until the year 1298.

Diplomacy, however, was able to secure a reconciliation. In a quarrel between Naples and Aragon for the possession of Sicily, Boniface supported Philip's brother, Charles of Valois, and also canonised Philip's grandfather, Louis IX. A French embassy, which was sent to Orvieto, apparently composed all differences and abandoned the Colonna. The war between France and England was decided by Boniface in favour of Philip, who retained his possessions by a decision of June 27th, 1298, "issued not as a judge but as a friendly mediator"; the two kings had previously determined upon an armistice until January 5th, 1300—at Vive St. Bavon on October 9th, 1297—and only gave the Pope an opportunity of finally holding out the olive branch.

However, after the expiration of the armistice Philip inspired Charles of Valois to attack Flanders again at the beginning of 1300, while he extended his truce with England to November 30th, 1302. In general he let no opportunity slip of rousing the anger of the Pope. He appropriated episcopal fiefs to the crown—the comté of Melgueil and the vicomté of Narbonne—he supported the citizens of

**Why the
Pope was
so Patient**

Lyons against their archbishop, disregarding the rights of the empire, and in several cases oppressed the French superior clergy and their possessions. The Colonna, who had been deprived of their possessions and offices by Boniface, met with a most friendly reception from Philip; he also made a close alliance with King Albert I., whom the Pope had refused to recognise, as he was the murderer of his predecessor. We should be inclined to wonder at the gentle

patience of the Pope under all this irritation did we not know the extent to which his position was endangered in Rome itself. Boniface had incurred the most bitter hostility of the adherents of the fugitive Colonna, and was by no means certain of the fidelity of the ruling Orsini, upon whom he was dependent to an undesirable extent; in the college of cardinals there was a party which disputed the legality of his election. His opposition to the Aragonese supremacy in Sicily led him steadily back to France.

Philip also avoided an open breach, although his two most famous jurists, the chancellor Peter Flotte and the privy councillor William of Nogaret, eagerly advised this step. A South Frenchman, whose father had fallen a victim to the Inquisition, William had, though originally a cleric, the strongest personal reasons for opposing the supreme representative of the Church. He was a capable professor of jurisprudence at the University of Montpellier, and could perform excellent service to his king in the war of pamphlets which now began between Rome and Paris; at this moment—in 1300—he was sent

**The Cherished
Hopes of
Pope Boniface**

to the Pope by Philip with secret instructions, of which we learn only from the latter and apparently exaggerated reports of Nogaret. It was his business to pacify the Pope upon the question of the agreement with Albert I., and this agreement was to promote the peace of the Church and the welfare of the Holy Land; Boniface was thus to be confirmed in his cherished hopes of a Crusade.

In the following year the Pope sent to Paris the Bishop of Pamiers, Bernard of Saisset, to discuss the question of this Crusade, the affairs of Flanders, and the interference of Philip with the French Church. Saisset adopted a haughty attitude, and after his return to his bishopric he was prosecuted by the state council at Senlis, which sat under the presidency of Peter Flotte, and thrown into prison. Boniface proceeded to issue the Bulls "Salvator mundi" (Redeemer of the world) and "Ausculata fili" (Hear, O son). In the first he declared that all the privileges conceded to the king were null and void, and in the second he claimed the supremacy over all states and princes, even in secular affairs. At the same time he demanded the release of his legate, whereas Philip had insisted that this

bishop should be deprived of all his spiritual privileges. Boniface also summoned all the French bishops to a council at Rome on November 1st, 1302, to discuss "the reform of France and the improvement of its king."

The Bull "Ausculta fili" was turned to clever account by Philip's jurists; they issued it in shortened and sterner form with the initial words "deum time" (fear God), but concealed the true composition, and proceeded to burn their own falsification in solemn conclave. At the same time Philip summoned the three estates of the kingdom on April 8th, 1302, forbade his clergy to take part in the council, deprived the disobedient of their possessions, and sent a threatening embassy to the Pope in November. On November 18th, 1302, Boniface issued another appeal, "Unam sanctam" (one holy Church), in which he strongly emphasised his claims to supremacy over all secular rulers; and in 1303 he sent his ultimatum to Philip in twelve articles. The French king returned an indefinite answer and prepared to employ force after Nogaret, at a council of March 12th, had accused the Pope of the worst crimes and heresies, and had advised the king to summon a general council which should judge the Pope guilty.

Meanwhile Nogaret and three of Philip's emissaries had proceeded to Italy with powers which were purposely unlimited, had provided supplies of money in Florence, and had induced Sciarra Colonna, the Pope's deadly enemy and his armed retainers to make an attack upon Boniface, who was then staying in Anagni. This attempt took place on September 7th, 1303; the accounts of it are very various, and it has been exaggerated for party purposes, but Boniface defended the dignity of his high office. The Pope was a prisoner for two days, and was saved by Nogaret from death, only that he might be brought to France. However, the inhabitants of Anagni liberated him on September 9th. Boniface returned to Rome on September 18th, but died on October 12th, 1303, in consequence of an old complaint and the excitement of the previous five weeks.

His successor, Benedict XI., was Pope for barely nine months (1303-1304), and with difficulty maintained his ground against Philip. The king proposed that

the dead Boniface should be declared a heretic by the sentence of a council, and suggested as a meeting-place Lyons, which was close to his own kingdom. He had previously interfered with the prerogatives of the Church by sending a committee to examine the prisons of the Inquisition in Southern France and liberating all prisoners without distinction; as Nogaret was a member of the committee, their duties were no doubt discharged with great thoroughness. The new Pope opposed the process against his predecessors and did not summon the council; at the same time he removed the excommunication which had been laid on Philip and the royal family, and revoked the measures of Boniface against the king and the French clergy subject to him. However, the participants in the attack of Anagni, including Nogaret, were excommunicated.

The papacy became entirely dependent upon France when the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand del Got, was, on June 5th, 1305, appointed Pope by Philip's influence in return for binding promises; he established himself first in Lyons and afterwards, from 1309, in Avignon, which belonged to the Angevin dynasty of Naples.

This second successor of Boniface VIII., who was known as Clement V., was a clever diplomatist and intriguer, but greatly wanting in personal energy. In 1308 he secretly opposed the nomination of Philip's brother as king of Germany, while in Italy he attempted to embroil Henry VII., the newly appointed ruler of Germany, with the Neapolitan Angevins; at Philip's orders, however, he was obliged to prohibit their advance upon Rome. He also played a double part in the process against the order of Knights Templar, in the guilt of which Philip hoped to involve his confederate. This order had risen from a very modest origin; in 1119 it had been founded by eight French knights at Jerusalem, and had now gained great power and enormous wealth; it also had abandoned the rule of the order, which had been drawn up in 1128 by Bernard of Clairvaux in conjunction with the first Grand Master, Hugh of Payens.

The strict morality of the order was broken down by the growth of pride and voluptuousness and a general disobedience towards the Grand Master, who could decide important matters only with the

consent of the majority of the "general chapter" or assembly of the brothers of the order. It was necessary for the knights to give proof of noble birth, and only priests acting as lay brothers could belong to the citizen class; hence a system of caste was introduced within the order which destroyed its real significance. In the struggles with the Saracens it had often displayed a suspicious lukewarmness and had agreed to truces of a doubtful advantage for the Christian cause. By the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and again in 1244 the order had been driven from its first centre, on the site of Solomon's former temple—whence the name Templar—and after the loss of the Holy Land the island of Cyprus had become the centre of the order, though it was widely spread in France and other countries. In France it possessed wide lands and influential connections, which had long aroused the envy and suspicion of King Philip. To these causes were added political and personal disagreements.

Rightly or wrongly, the order had gained a reputation for heresy and idolatry. The knights were supposed to be coquetting with Mohammedan and sectarian religious opinions; hence was secured the desired pretext for attacking them under the cloak of solicitude for the Church. In these proceedings the king was both prosecutor and judge. Naturally the admissions made by deserters from the order, or the confessions extorted on the rack and afterwards retracted, must not be taken as actual truth. Such wild tales as the supposed worship of the idol Baphomet—generally supposed to be a human head made of precious metal, and to govern the material world as the servant of the heavenly God—the defilement of the crucifix, the immoral kiss of peace, etc., would hardly find credence, even if they were better attested. It is, however, highly

probable that the noble caste within the order was morally and spiritually degenerate for the most part.

The proposed process was begun as follows. During a conference with Clement V. at Lyons, in November, 1305, Philip first proposed to proceed against the order, promised the Pope to undertake a Crusade, and also threatened to resume the process against the dead Boniface; the threat was intended to force, and the Crusade to induce, the Pope to take action against the order, which

he hated. Clement actually invited the Grand Masters of the orders of St. John and the Temple to come to France for a discussion upon the Crusade. It was not, however, until August 24th, 1307, that he issued permission for an ecclesiastical inquiry into the supposed misdeeds of the order. Philip's adviser, Nogaret, who now also plays the part of *advocatus diaboli*, had meanwhile secured the evidence of former Templars, who had either been expelled from the order or had left it, and handed them over to the Inquisitor of France, William Imbert, who was also Philip's confessor, on the ground that they were prisoners for examination. Behind this Inquisitor, who was an enemy of the Templars, stood the king; apparently at his instigation all the members in France were imprisoned on October 13th, 1307, and their property was confiscated. To rouse public opinion on behalf of the process, Nogaret influenced the



A KNIGHT TEMPLAR

Founded by eight French knights at Jerusalem in 1119, the Order of Knights Templar by the early part of the fourteenth century had acquired much wealth and power.

clergy, the populace, the canons of Notre Dame, and the masters of the University of Paris in a series of meetings. On Nogaret's advice, the king invited the Estates General to Tours on May 5th, 1308. This body then ratified the imprisonment of the Templars, and declared them guilty and worthy of death.

Under pressure from Philip, Clement, on May 29th, undertook to begin the ecclesiastical examination of the imprisoned Templars in an assembly at Poitiers composed of ecclesiastical and

FRANCE: THE LAST OF THE OLD CAPETS

secular dignitaries; apart from the process against the dead Pope, Philip was able to put pressure upon Clement by his action against Bishop Guichard of Troyes, who was supposed to have killed Philip's wife, Joanna of Navarre, by witchcraft in 1305. The prisoners under examination, though formally in the custody of the Church, were actually in the hands of Philip, as also was the administration of their property. The examinations proceeded in Poitiers from June 28th to July 2nd, and in Chinon from August 17th to 20th, before a commission consisting of three cardinals, but also in the presence of the two royal

and wholly dependent body of supporters, and would accentuate his subservience to the French king. Philip, however, repeated his menace of attacking the memory of Boniface; and on March 16th, 1310, the Pope actually permitted the opening of the process against his predecessor. This led to no result. Clement naturally strove to avoid any act of dishonour to the deceased Pope, while Philip considered the action only as a means to secure the destruction of the order of Templars. When this object was conceded by the Pope in the Bull "Rex gloriæ" of April 27th, 1311, Philip



THE CHURCH OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR AT LUZ, IN THE PYRENEES

This was an important fortified church of the Knights Templar, commanding a wide district of the Pyrenees. It is here shown in something like its original condition, but it is now greatly reduced in size, though parts of the old battlements still remain. Luz is no great distance from Lourdes, of modern miracle fame, and is now a popular resort.

counsellors, Nogaret and Plasian. Clement had been obliged to abandon the right of inquiry to the Inquisition, which was under Philip's influence. The admissions of the Templars are said to have been very damaging, especially in a hearing at Chinon, though the Grand Master, James of Molay, afterwards indignantly repudiated those ascribed to him.

A special hearing was begun by a new commission in November, 1309, at Paris, again in the presence of a royal official. Clement could not bring himself to decide upon the abolition of the order, which was Philip's earnest desire, for the reason that he would then deprive himself of a powerful

abandoned his most unworthy manœuvre.

On October 16th, 1311, a council was held at Vienna, which was to settle this long-standing problem. Philip attempted to influence the council by summoning the Estates. As a matter of fact, Clement, out of solicitude for the welfare of Christendom, dissolved the order by a Bull of March 22nd, 1312, which was solemnly announced to the council on April 3rd. During this announcement Philip sat at his right hand. On May 2nd the valuable property of the dissolved order was transferred to the Hospitallers, though Philip retained a considerable portion for himself. In the sequel the Grand Master, James of

Molay, and the provincial head, Guy of Normandy, were burnt at Paris on March 11th, 1314, after fifty-four members of the order had suffered a similar death on May 12th, 1310, because they had recanted the admissions extorted under torture. At the time of its prosperity, about 1260, this great order is said to have numbered some

The Fall of the Templars

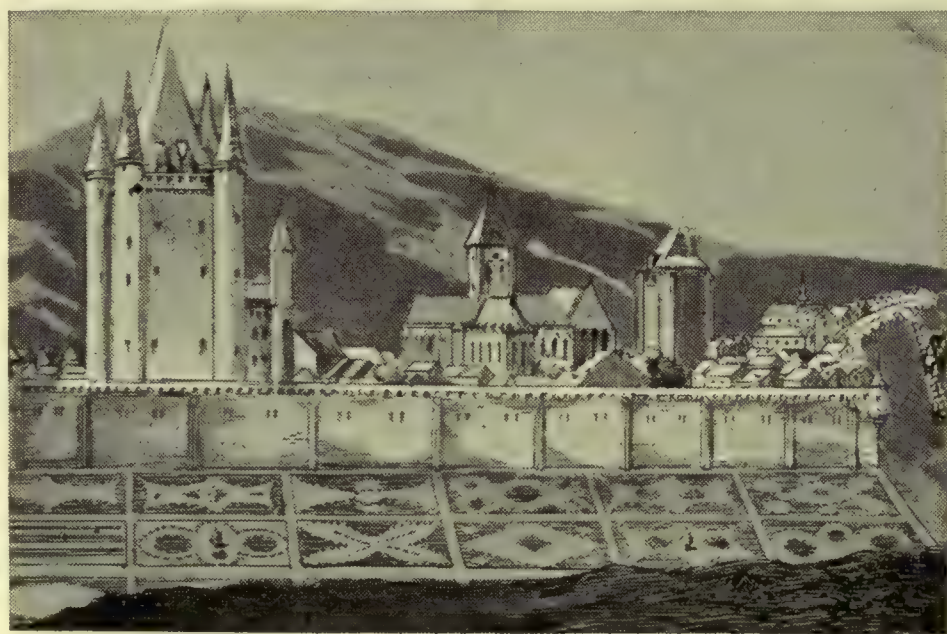
sixteen to twenty thousand members; these were now imprisoned, or perished in misery, took refuge in monasteries, or joined the Hospitallers. Their stately palace near Paris, the Temple, in which they had long been imprisoned, and from which, 480 years later, a French king was to make his last earthly progress, remained in the royal possession.

A lifelong friendship bound Clement the more closely to Philip, until their almost simultaneous deaths came upon them in the prime of life; Clement died on April 20th, 1314, and Philip on November 29th, at the age of forty-six. Fourteen years later the male line of the true Capets was extinct.

The Capets found the French state diminished in extent and far weaker in power than under the Carolingian domination. They began their work where the ancestors of Charles the Great had begun, and the objects of Charles were attained by Philip IV., though to a more restricted extent and in the face of a more vigorous opposition. The feudal nobility had been crushed, and the great fiefs were either in his immediate possession or were united to his power and subjected to his will by marriage connections and diplomatic arrangements. The Church was even more subordinate to him than to Charles the Great, and the spiritual influence which the Church had been able to exert, under Charles, upon all political matters of ecclesiastical importance had now been overthrown by the clever and worldly wise jurist. In Italy Philip ruled by means of the papal party and his Neapolitan connections, so far as the

general disruption of the Italian states and city republics permitted the exercise of any general influence. He was able to interfere to the advantage of France in the factions of the German Empire.

His monarchy, however, lacked that fundamental basis of every monarchical state—a standing army. In times of war he was invariably forced to rely upon the goodwill of the feudal lords, who had not yet been definitely crushed. He had provided for his state a uniform system of law and of finance; he had made the right of coinage a royal monopoly, and misused it in times of need by debasing the currency; he had modelled the Estates General until they formed a power subordinate to his will. The bureaucracy was entirely at his disposal, the nobility, clergy, and citizens offered a ready obedience, and even the refractory towns of



A MÆDIÆVAL PALACE OF THE TEMPLARS

The Temple at Paris was one of the finest buildings belonging to the order. In revolutionary Paris its prison had an evil fame; and the site of it is commemorated in the present Place du Temple.

Flanders eventually agreed to an arrangement in Philip's favour. He had crushed all divergence from the faith with merciless severity, and had even begun a general persecution of the Jews to replenish his impoverished treasury. Yet, in spite of this display of power, his want of an

army under his own control deprived him of the strongest guarantee for an absolute monarchy. This deficiency was the more dangerous, as the power of England, with one foot firmly planted in France, threatened the frontiers of his empire.

At the same time, the means by which he secured his political ends were not merely those of force, as in the case of Charles the Great, but were also immoral and treacherous. He shrank from nothing, especially if financial embarrassments were in question. The responsibility of his crimes most often fell upon his advisers, though it must not be forgotten that shortly before his death he pointed to himself "as the cause of his evil counsel" (*ipse met causa mali consilii sui*). During his persecution of the Jews he not only

Crimes of Philip IV.

confiscated the possessions of the imprisoned capitalists, but also forced their debtors to pay what was owing. His disgraceful prosecution of the Templar order was primarily inspired by his pecuniary embarrassments. He was continually attempting surprises and deceptions; witness his constant depreciation of the

Philip as a Pilate to the Papacy coinage and consequent repudiation of the state debt, or the liquidation of the war indemnity of Flanders, which he raised to

the highest possible figure with the help of his accomplice, Nogaret. Combining treachery and despotism, though a strict adherent of the faith of his age, he had shown himself not only a second Pilate to the papacy and the Church, as the Ghibelline Dante named him, but also a second Herod. The papacy never recovered from the period of its "Babylonish captivity"

until long after its return to the shores of the Tiber, far from the kingdom of France. In consequence, the French kings and the rights of the Gallican Church always enjoyed special consideration, however strict the authority at Rome, and the despotism of Louis XIV. was no less a burden upon the Church, four centuries later, than the absolutism of Philip IV.

The inheritance of Philip IV. was subject to the influence of a no less malignant fate than the empire of Charles the Great. His successors were weak men who ruled but a short time, and were incapable of offering effective opposition to the process of dissolution. The three sons of Philip the Fair reigned less than fourteen years together; they were all consecrated by one and the same Archbishop of Rheims. Immediately upon his father's death the eldest son, Louis X. (1314-1316), was forced to begin the struggle with the refractory nobles. The federation of nobles demanded that the encroachments of the royal jurisdiction should be abolished, that military service should not be demanded for foreign expeditions, and in general that their old privileges should be restored. Their chief demand was for the prosecution of several unpopular counsellors of the late king. Enguerrand de Marigny in particular paid heavily for his

fidelity to Philip. He was hanged as a sorcerer, since he appealed to the orders of his former master when called upon to account for his conduct of office.

A fact of especial importance for the continuance of the dynasty and the unity of the constitution was a law passed under Philip V. (1316-1322), which was published on January 19th, 1317, proclaiming the incapability of the female line to inherit the crown; this was done to exclude the claims of Jeanne, the daughter of the prematurely deceased Louis X. Thus individuals were sacrificed to constitutional rights in the interests of political unity. This law, which was confirmed by the Pope, provided an excuse and an occasion for the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War with England; but in the factions and succession disputes of the following ages it remained the one firm point amid the

political confusion. Its natural consequence was to secure the reversion of territories to the state and the ruling family. Philip V. pursued upon the whole the domestic policy of his far-sighted father. Against the nobility, who were striving to secure their old position, he raised the bulwark of a strong citizen class, of the parliament, and the legal profession; he excluded the clergy from the highest court of justice. He also turned for support to the growing class of poor freemen, formed of those who had bought their freedom from serfdom and slavery.

However, he never attained the unlimited absolutism of his father. Still less was this the case with his younger brother Charles IV., who was constantly involved in difficulties of foreign policy during a reign of barely six years (1322-1328). He interfered in the affairs and factions of Flanders and England; in 1314 he even aimed at the crown of the empire, uniting with the Hapsburg party against the Wittelsbach Lewis of Bavaria, and he secured adherents among the German electors by bribery.

With Charles, the line of the old Capets closed. The principle of inheritance by and through males only transferred the crown to Philip of Valois, nephew of Philip IV. and first cousin to the three last kings.



THE LAST OF THE CAPETS
The line of the old Capets came to an end with Charles IV., who, during his brief reign of six years, from 1322 till 1328, was involved in many difficulties of foreign policy.

End of the Capet Dynasty



IN THE RUE SAINT MARTIN. BAYEUX



"HOUSE OF THE SALMON" AT CHARTRES



FOURTEENTH CENTURY HOUSE AT CAEN



HOUSE AT ANGERS, TIME OF LOUIS XI.

MEDIAEVAL ARCHITECTURE: FRENCH HOUSES OF THE 13th-15th CENTURIES



"THE VIGIL": A KNIGHT OF THE MIDDLE AGES DEDICATING HIS ARMS TO THE SERVICE OF CHRISTIANITY

From the painting by John Pettie, R.A. in the National Gallery of British Art



EVOLUTION OF MEDIAEVAL FRANCE

THE ORGANISATION OF THE CAPET KINGDOM

IN France the task of unifying a judicial system under secular law was hampered not only by the special jurisdiction belonging to the feudal lords, but also by the existence of provincial codes, which were by no means identical; of these the codes of the Isle de France, Beauvais, and Anjou were published in the time of St. Louis, or Louis IX., the others not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The task of unification was greatly advanced by St. Louis (1226-1270). His grandfather, Philip Augustus (1180-1223), had already attempted to make the king's court a kind of tribunal of appeal, and to throw the jurisdiction of the territorial lords into a secondary position. His government, however, was so full of disturbance and internal dissension that he found it impossible to complete the task he had begun.

Under Louis IX. a system of constitutional law grew up, patched up from Old Testament theories and reminiscences of the legislation of Roman Cæsars; this was enforced in the parliament of Paris. This supreme court of justice consisted of fractions of the old Privy Council ("Grand Conseil") and of the royal exchequer; hence ecclesiastics and secular nobles were accustomed to sit side by side with the court officials. They, however, were ignorant of the law, and had no inclination to undertake a study absorbing a large amount of time; Louis was therefore obliged to add professional lawyers ("maîtres") to the hereditary members. The duty of these experts was that of investigation and report—hence they are called "membres rapporteurs," while the responsibility of decision remained with the "membres juges." Thus the question of fact and responsibility was separated from the legal process, as it is in modern jury systems.

An appeal could be made to the parliament from the courts of the feudatories, the communes, and crown officials; all

feudal disputes were brought before the parliament for settlement. These decisions extinguished the custom of trial by ordeal or by battle, which still survived in other countries. The procedure of a sitting was similar to that of the present day: there was the hearing of evidence, the administration of oaths, documentary evidence, written as well as oral procedure. Apart from the precedents which the court itself had created, the influence of Roman law was paramount. The written judgment of this court formed a precedent for future cases and thus gained the power of law.

At the same time there grew up a legal class, dependent only on the king—the later "noblesse de robe"—which gradually made its way into the highest offices of state, and limited the privileges of the clergy. The ecclesiastical courts were thereby restricted, as were the feudal courts, since appeals could be made from ecclesiastical courts to the parliament, and in the last resort to the king himself. Louis presided in person over judicial hearings, received complaints, and secured the conscientiousness and incorruptibility of his judges. Important criminal cases were reserved for his special decision, as also were all questions of honour, after appeal had been made to one of the four chief justices of the government.

Roman law, which had formed a basis both for substantive law and for the law of procedure, was taught in the schools of Paris, Montpellier, and Orléans. The

University of Paris received a constitution of its own, giving it control over the students and the craftsmen connected with the schools; stipends ("bourses") were given, a fixed curriculum was formed, and a number of colleges sprang up. The name "université" did not then imply, as it does to-day, an educational institution, distinguished from other schools, but rather

How Justice was Administered

A Period of Educational Expansion

a corporation of students and teachers. Every school elected its own rectors. In accordance with the educational and religious views of the time, philosophy took the first place among all studies; it was especially cultivated in the Sorbonne, founded by Robert de Sorbon, the chaplain of Louis IX., and also in the schools of Tou-

The Life at the French Universities louse; it was also naturally represented in other provincial universities, each of these having its own organisation, with no special tie or connection. Next to the theological faculty came the faculty of arts, corresponding with the modern "faculté de lettres"; the legal and medical faculties rose to independence only by degrees. Students were organised by "nations"—that is to say, according to their geographical origin—and for the most part lived in hostels which were under the jurisdiction of the university.

The discipline of the students, who were partly of mature years, was very loose. They changed their schools nearly as often as their curriculum. The highest title that the university could confer was that of doctor; of less importance were the degrees of licentiate and master, the least important of all being that of bachelor. In schools which were not of university rank the teaching was chiefly in the hands of the ecclesiastical orders; the Dominicans were distinguished as theological and philosophical teachers, while learned Benedictines undertook the guidance of the younger students. The education of the lower orders and of woman was generally neglected, except in so far as it was undertaken by the regular clergy.

Administration and public order, like law, justice, and higher education, were improved by Louis IX., as they had been by his grandfather. Over the "baillis" and "sénéchaux" appointed by Philip II.—the provosts formed the lowest official rank—Louis placed the inspector class of "en-

Restrictions Upon Duelling quêteurs"; and he issued the strongest regulations to prevent misuse of official power in the Ordonnance of 1254. As

the position of the royal officials had been thus raised, the smaller nobility aspired to that profession. In consequence, the lower stages of the feudal system were subjected to a disintegrating influence, which was increased by the prohibition, or by the limitation when prohibition was impossible, of the private feuds, duels,

and tournaments which were a vital point of the system. A feud could not be brought to the arbitrament of the sword before forty days from its announcement in order that the threatened person might have time to appeal to the king's court. Louis IX. thus actually effected those aims which the clergy had proposed in their "truce of God."

Owing to the undeveloped economic condition of the country, the royal income consisted chiefly of the produce of crown properties, which were administered by officials styled the "bouteiller" and the "chambellan." The first direct tax, apart from the "taille" and the capitation or poll-tax on the non-free, was proposed by Philip II. upon those who declined to take part in the Crusade of 1189. This tax amounted to 10 per cent. of each man's income or personal property, and was payable every year; as the Crusade was directed against the Sultan Saladin, the tax gained the name of "dîme saladin," or Saladin tithe. Apart from this exception, the taxes of that age were chiefly indirect and payable in kind; it was not until the

An Era of Civic Prosperity time of Philip the Fair that a tax was imposed upon crown property, at first 1 per cent. and then 2 per cent. As the king's needs increased, the system of direct taxation became extended, and, with the growth of commercialism, payment in kind was naturally replaced by a payment in money.

As constitutionalism overpowered its most dangerous opponent, feudalism, so the prosperity of the towns inevitably increased and civic life developed. Of the French towns of the Middle Ages only a few can be connected with the one hundred and twelve civitates of Roman Gaul. Most of these latter had not survived the confusion of the barbarian migrations, but had been deserted or had dwindled away till they became mere "castra," fortified camps, of which the Romans had a great number in Gaul, as in all other provinces. It was only in the south that the Roman town system continued. Upon the remnants of the civitates, which were under the rule of the bishop, "villæ," or townships, were often grafted, especially in the agricultural north of Gaul. The origin of the new towns is a matter of conjecture and cannot be determined with certainty. Their centre in every case was the castle of the feudal

THE EVOLUTION OF MEDIÆVAL FRANCE

lord, or the seat of an abbot, round which gathered the settlements of the freemen, which were then enclosed with a wall. The Latin names for these new towns vary in the documents, in which they are mentioned as "burgus," or fortified town; "oppidum," a smaller town; "castellum," or "municipium," a community. Smaller groups of houses were known as "villæ" or "vici," villages.

The development of a town life such as had existed under the Roman Empire was greatly retarded by the agricultural economy which predominated throughout the Frankish age. The inhabitants of

were close to the dwelling-houses; they were, in short, insanitary villages.

Sanitation was then practically an unknown science. There was no inspection of public health, and the simplest precautions to prevent uncleanness, plague, and other public disasters, were non-existent. Houses and dwellings shrank from the outer world, as though afraid of light and air, while the little diamond windows of the rooms in front and behind admitted only the pestilential air of the narrow streets. The rooms in the middle of the houses, which served among other purposes as bed-rooms, were entirely dark,



GRAND HALL OF THE PALACE OF JUSTICE. AT PARIS AS IT WAS IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES

the towns were forced to confine their energies to agriculture, cattle-breeding, or handicrafts; of trade and industry, or communication with the outer world, there was little or none. It was at most the market towns which became centres of intercourse with the outer world, and it was these in general which gave the first impulse to the foundation of town communities. Towns were narrow, with unpaved and badly lighted streets, and gloomy gabled houses, often entirely dark; with no open square except the market place, with no gardens, promenades, or pleasure grounds; the gates were closed at nightfall, and the stables and barns

or were lighted by the obscure passages which led to them. Only a few houses belonging to the nobles were in a tolerably sanitary condition.

Apart from this, the "free" towns were singularly destitute of freedom. Not only were they dependent upon bishops, abbots, feudal lords, and royal officials, but their guilds received a new-comer with strict and hostile exclusiveness, refused him access to any trade or profession, and exercised a ruthless control over his dependents, servants, apprentices, etc. Family life suffered no less from want of freedom and of intellectual progress. An improvement did not begin until the

eleventh century, when a commercial began to replace the agricultural economy. Trade and manufacture, intercourse and public life, began to develop, and new towns arose. The wandering traders, who had hitherto passed from place to place on rivers and high-roads, regarded with suspicion by the settled inhabitants, and conducting their business under the greatest difficulties, were now induced to settle permanently upon some favourable spot, whether under ecclesiastical or secular govern-

ment. Thus, in Verdun during the tenth century a self-contained trading colony was founded under one wall of the city and divided from the rest of the community by the river, over which two bridges provided communication for trade. These new citizens, the "bourgeois," as opposed to the old citizens, the "citoyens," were at first excluded from all partici-

pation in town administration, from the rights of the guilds or other privileges, were under the authority of a count or or viscount, and proceeded to form guilds, with their own officers and treasury.

This process was the beginning of their independence and of their later equality with the old citizens. The bourgeois secured the recognition of their own customary law, by means of "chartes de coutumes," and were able to buy their immunity from many of the feudal taxes imposed upon agricultural pursuits. The settlements in the town precincts grew steadily in number, their sign of freedom being a high watchtower, or "beffroi." All newcomers enjoyed the peace of the town and market.

All the citizens took a mutual oath of peace and enclosed themselves by walls built at the common expense. Now began their struggle for liberation from the supremacy of territorial owners,

ecclesiastical or civil, and their efforts to secure their due share of the administrative and legal privileges belonging to the privileged old citizens. At the head of the town corporation was a council of "échevins," a remnant of the Carolingian class of scabini—that is, doomsmen in the local court. The dignity of échevin was hereditary in certain old families. This council, with its elders and its presidents, decided questions of law, justice, and order, and defended the privileges of the town against bishops, abbots, and the counts of the feudal nobility.

The new citizens, from the twelfth century onwards, proceeded to make their way into the town council, often by main force, and thus the old town corporations became communes of a more democratic, a freer, and a less stereotyped character. They had their special privileges, which were, however,

subject to alteration. They were known in Northern France as "communes jurées," or sworn communities. After shaking off the yoke of the privileged citizens they had a severe struggle with the secular and ecclesiastical powers. They succeeded, however, in buying their freedom from the territorial owners, who were overwhelmed with debt by their own extravagance or by the expense of war; they were also able to secure the protection of the king, and thus to gain a confirmation of their communal rights through charters. If they could not

The Clergy's Opposition Explained purchase freedom from the supremacy of the territorial lords, they fought for it with the help of the lower classes in the town or by themselves. These infant communes found their most bitter opponents in the ranks of the clergy, since they offered an asylum to many whose creed or morality had incurred the suspicion of



THE GALLOWES OF MONTFAUCON

This gruesome-looking erection, the gallows of Montfaucon, was built by Enguerrand of Marigny about 1300 during the reign of Philip IV., when the growth of the bureaucracy was attended by many evils. Criminals were put to death on this gallows, and not infrequently their bodies were left hanging as a warning to others. Enguerrand was himself put to death thereon in the year 1315.

THE EVOLUTION OF MEDIAEVAL FRANCE

the Church. A Paris synod of 1213 and several Popes declared strongly against their existence within ecclesiastical districts; bishops forbade at times the administration of the citizen oath to the clergy, or preached from their pulpits against these "pestilential communities."

None the less the astute statesmanship of the French kings recognised that the communes were useful and valuable allies against the nobility and the Church. Louis VII. (1137-1180) readily granted charters to those towns which were not immediately subordinate to him, though his officials and financial administrators put the more pressure upon the communes which stood upon the royal demesne. Philip Augustus kept a careful watch over the royal towns through his "baillis" and supervisors, but readily sold charters at a high price to the towns of his vassals. Louis IX. continually found legal pretexts for interfering in the jurisdiction and administration of the towns.

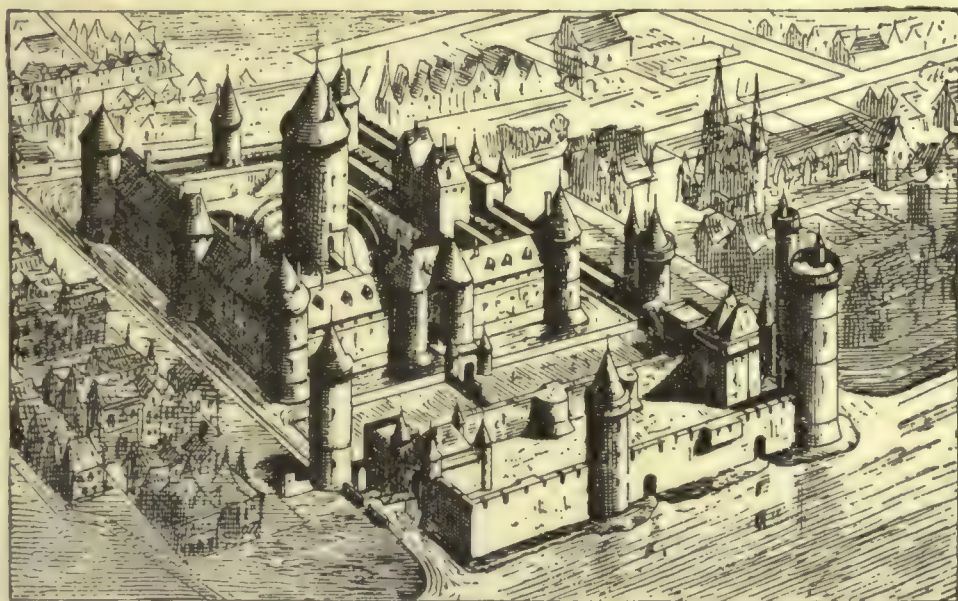
The number of cases requiring to be brought before the parliament for decision ("cas royaux") was arbitrarily increased; the royal accountants carefully examined the financial administration of the towns, and severe penalties were imposed in cases of refusal or resistance. Philip the Fair made no attempt to limit the charters, but exhausted the prosperity of the towns by arbitrary extortion, since he required much money for his wars. Cruel punishment was inflicted upon such revolts as that of Carcassonne in August, 1305; the interference of his officials in the administrative powers of royal and of non-royal towns proved a serious obstacle to their development.

Thus during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the prospects of the communes were not particularly brilliant. The towns had no entire power of jurisdiction, for individual quarters, which had been founded upon ecclesiastical or feudal property, came under the jurisdiction of a bishop, a chapter, or a feudal lord.

The natural result was a constant succession of quarrels and attempts to shake off these impediments. The new citizens also misused their power as the old had done, and refused to grant a share of the town administration to new settlers. To these obstacles must be added the extortion of the crown officials. Later, the confusion of the Hundred

Progress After the Long War Years' War against England also injured the prosperity of the towns and forced them to procure the protection of the crown by surrendering their rights. These wounds, however, were largely healed by peace, the new impetus given to trade, the commercial connections secured by foreign treaties, and the reorganisation of the taxes when the horrors of war had been brought to a conclusion. Splendid town halls, churches, and private dwellings bear witness to the wealth of the towns after 1450. None the less, obstacles to communications and the difficulty of market trade remained as before. Business was hampered by the tolls levied along the rivers and roads; on the Loire, between Roanne and Nantes, seventy-two separate tolls had to be paid. No less complicated

were the market dues, which had been framed with the special object of excluding foreign competition. The roads, moreover, were in the worst possible condition and were infested with highwaymen and all kinds of robbers. Next to the statesmanlike



THE LOUVRE IN THE TIME OF THE CAPETS

policy of the kings, the strongest impulse to the prosperity of the towns was given by the Crusades. Nobles who were starting for the Holy Land sold properties and privileges to the towns that they might have ready money for their journey; moreover, the relations which thus connected France with the East, especially after the Crusade of Louis IX., between 1248 and 1250, made the coast towns centres of Eastern trade. The passage of Crusaders and pilgrims brought great wealth to Marseilles; and far-seeing merchants seized the opportunity of settling

Maritime trade centred chiefly in the Mediterranean ports. Upon the Atlantic, Bordeaux, Honfleur, and La Rochelle exported wine to England and Flanders, receiving wool in return. Of the market towns in the interior the most famous were Troyes and Beaucuire. At the two yearly markets of Troyes, Italians and Germans bought woven fabrics, leather, weapons, armour, metal work, horses, and other commodities.

The most successful traders at that time were the Jews and the Lombards. The pious Louis IX. issued an ordinance against their usurious practices in 1269, for he regarded the exaction of interest as entirely sinful. These and other



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AMIENS' BEAUTIFUL CATHEDRAL

Built in the thirteenth century, the magnificent cathedral of Amiens is one of the finest examples of Gothic architecture in existence.

in Syrian harbours and securing a kind of monopoly for the importation of spices, scents, fabrics, etc., from the East to the south and centre of France.

The southern towns carried on a profitable trade in the products and manufactures of the East, and exported, with less advantage, their own fruits and manufactures to Syria, Egypt, and Constantinople. The fabrics of Narbonne, Perpignan, Toulouse, and other places competed successfully with Italian rivalry. The raw material was brought from Catalonia and the north coast of Africa. Cloth weaving also became a flourishing industry in North France, in Troyes, Rheims, Paris, Rouen, while linen weaving was practised in Burgundy, in the Franche-Comté, and in the neighbourhood of Avignon, and formed an important export to the East.



THE FAMOUS ABBEY OF ST. DENIS IN PARIS

This fine religious edifice was made a royal burial-place by Louis IX., and here were laid all the predecessors of that king from Dagobert I.

THE EVOLUTION OF MEDIAEVAL FRANCE

measures, however, produced no more effect than did the expulsions and persecutions of the Jews, which were not instigated by the princes and the Church, who profited by the sums which the Jews paid to secure their protection, and required them in any case as money changers; these outbreaks were rather the expression of popular passion, inspired by envy and greed no less than by religious animosity.

Notwithstanding his strong ecclesiasticism, Louis IX. did a great deal to further trade and communication. He arranged

measures to promote trade. The latter had conferred important privileges upon the presidents and échevins of the guilds in Paris, giving them rights of jurisdiction in trade disputes; he had relieved Orléans and other crown towns from oppressive taxation, and had conferred privileges upon smaller communes.

The position of the towns within the body politic varied greatly. Royal "communes" were self-governing, imposed their own taxes, and possessed "la basse justice." In token of these privileges they were allowed a corporate seal; they were



THE ROYAL PALACES OF PARIS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

that in his demesnes the assessment of taxes, tolls, and coinage should be concluded only under the advice of deputies from the towns, that the administration of town property and the apportionment of communal taxes, especially of the "taille," should be entrusted to a committee chosen from the citizens. In Paris he caused the Prévôt of the merchants, Etienne Boileau, to reduce the principles and customs of the several trades to writing, in a work entitled the "Livre des Métiers." He also threw open the towns to those manumitted serfs who might wish to enter, and followed the example of his grandfather in his

obliged, however, to provide military contingents and to pay taxes to the crown. The "villes de bourgeois" were in a less favourable position, possessing neither jurisdiction nor self-government. They too were for the most part subject to the king as their territorial and feudal lord. The "villes neuves" were dependent upon prelates or the greater nobles, and were merely market towns, with a right of refuge which attracted malcontents and those who feared the vengeance of the Church. The administration of the towns was in the hands of the communal council. In the south administration was exercised

by a board of "consuls." The communal council was composed of "échevins," or "pairs," "jurats," "syndics," or "capitouls." In some cases these were assisted by a committee of citizens, nearly corresponding to a modern town council. The numbers of this committee varied. In Marseilles it amounted to 89, in Bordeaux to 300, and they were known as "défenseurs." Individual towns were administered by a chosen citizen, the "maître." Most of the towns held the right, conferred upon them by the king, of levying the "octroi" duty—from "octroyer," to guarantee—upon certain goods carried into or through the town; thus ten per cent. was levied upon wine.

For a time the representatives of the towns had no share in the administration of the state. It was not until 1302 that they were summoned by Philip the Fair to the States General, as he then required their presence for the imposition of fresh customs and taxes; in 1308 270 towns were thus represented. As the kingdom became a unified state, so did Paris become the recognised capital. Hitherto the dingy town of Lutetia had been surpassed by other larger towns in trade, in public institutions, in the beauty of its buildings, and the wealth and number of its inhabitants. The Capets were the first to give the capital an appearance worthy of it. Philip Augustus lighted the streets and paved the centre of them, surrounded the town with a wide circle of walls and towers, and built market halls surrounded by walls. He removed his court from the oldest and unhealthiest part, the Ile de la Cité, to the right bank of the river, and from the island castle to the Louvre.

Louis IX. decorated Paris with splendid buildings devoted to the service of God and Christian charity. He built the Sainte Chapelle in the early Gothic style, as a shrine to receive the crown of thorns, which was sent to him from Constantinople by the Emperor Baldwin II. in exchange for 11,000 pounds of silver (\$250,000). Here, during Holy Week, he showed the relic to the people, acting as a priest. Henceforward Paris became the centre of noble society, of festivals, shows, and tournaments; travelling merchants, mountebanks and tumblers were naturally attracted. The inhabitants numbered

200,000 at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and steadily increased, while the prosperity of the citizens was improved by the number of foreigners, and especially by the university students, who entered the town.

The king and people vied in their effort to make the town an attractive resort for these thousands of scholars. Among other privileges they were granted the right of giving place upon the pavement to no one except the Prévôt des Marchands. Upon one occasion they caused an uproar, asserting that the wine in the suburban inns was undrinkable, and that the town authorities had imprisoned several of the ringleaders, whereupon the king ordered the liberation of the captives and the provision of better wine. The Abbey of St. Denis, in which was preserved the Oriflamme, the war banner of red cloth with green silk tassels, fastened on a golden lance, was made a royal burial-place by Louis IX., and here were laid all his predecessors from Dagobert I. The Abbot Suger (1081-1155), who advised Louis VI. with equal talent upon matters of art, science, and government, had already decorated this early specimen of Gothic architecture with paintings on glass, depicting the exploits of the Crusaders, and to these were afterwards added paintings of the life and deeds of Louis IX.

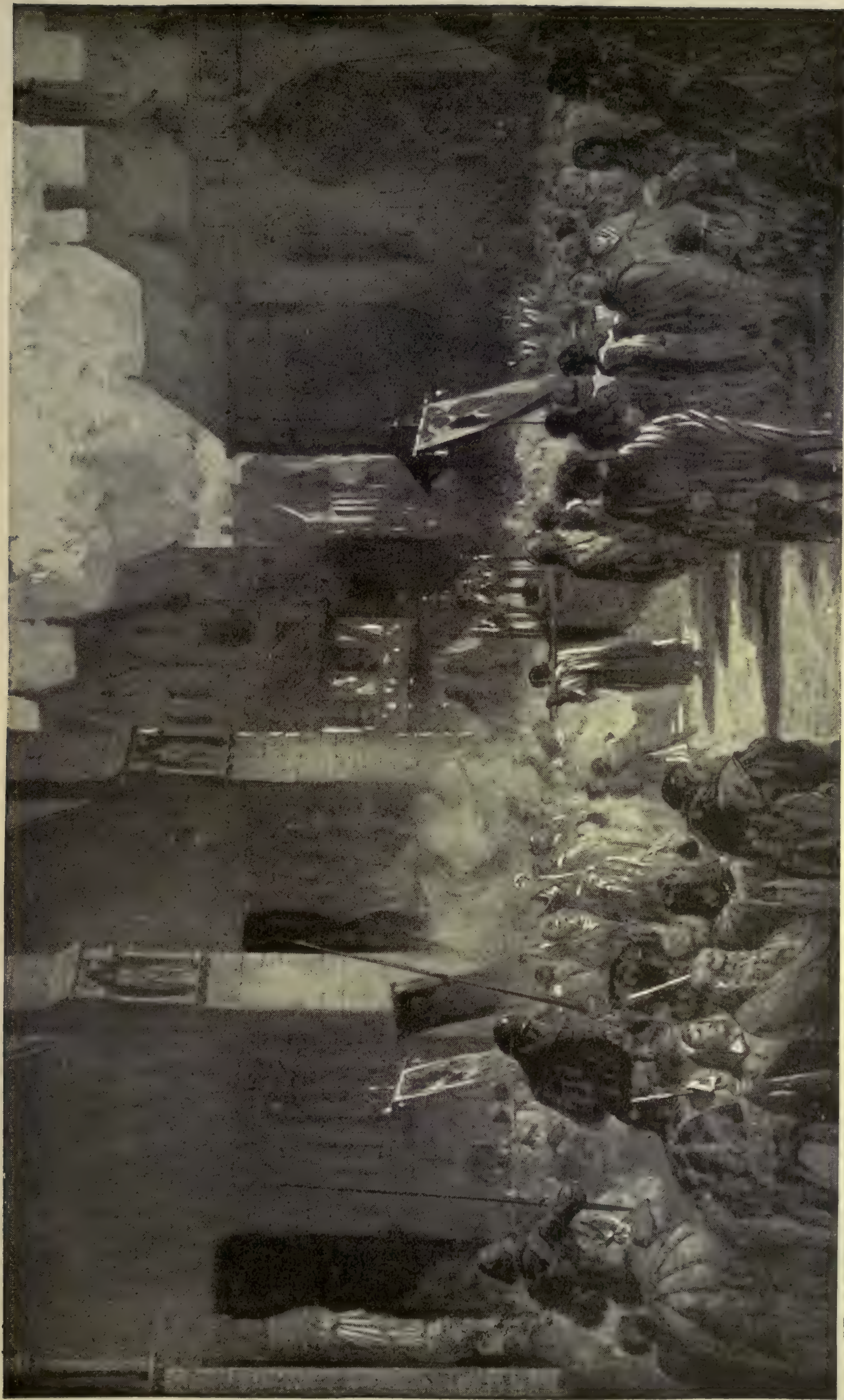
The kings no longer changed their capitals as they had done during the age of agricultural economy; Paris became their permanent residence. Here they were surrounded by a band of high court officials. There were five chief officials, the Sénéchal, the Chancelier, the Bouteiller, the Connétable, and the Chambrier. These offices were held as fiefs by the high nobility, and were practically hereditary; the object of the kings was to place them as far as possible in commission by entrusting their responsibilities to ecclesiastical or secular nominees, who were thus dependent only upon themselves.

In this way, as under Charles the Great, was formed a professional class of court officials, in which the first place belonged to the lawyers and the jurists, known as chevaliers ès lois, knights of the law, to distinguish them from knights of noble blood. Of the high feudal offices there remained only those of Connétable, or commander of the army, the Chambrier,

**Paris as
the Capital
of France**

**Paris the
Residence of
the Kings**

**What Paris
Owes to
St. Louis**



ST. LOUIS IN SOLEMN PROCESSION BEARING THE CROWN OF THORNS TO THE CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME IN PARIS

When the kingdom of France became a unified state in the beginning of the fourteenth century, Paris was recognised as the capital. Splendid buildings rapidly sprang up, many of these being erected by Louis IX., who devoted them to the service of God. Among these was the Sainte Chapelle, built in the early Gothic style, which the King founded as a shrine to receive the alleged crown of thorns worn by Christ at His crucifixion. During Holy Week, Louis exhibited the relic to the people, and carried it in procession to Notre Dame.

and Bouteiller. The number of the chancery officials, the notaries and seal keepers, increased, as did that of the lawyers and parliamentary officials. A special room was assigned in the law courts to these attorneys as their meeting room. The clerks and the huissiers gradually became a close corporation,

Financial Straits of the King "La Basoche." Certain committees of the parliament were regularly sent into the provinces to hold assizes at Troyes, Rouen, and other places. The growth of this bureaucracy, which was due chiefly to Philip IV., the Fair (1285-1314), naturally had its bad side, which was marked by an increased taxation and a conjoined attempt to secure money in any manner. The king was ready to sell letters of freedom to serfs; for a piece of land conferred upon them which could be sown with 1 septier of corn (= 33 gallons, also known as "setier de terre") a payment was made of 12 deniers or 1 sou. The king also took refuge in such devices as the debasing of the coinage (1306-1311), the sale of offices, and the plundering of Jewish and Lombard money-lenders.

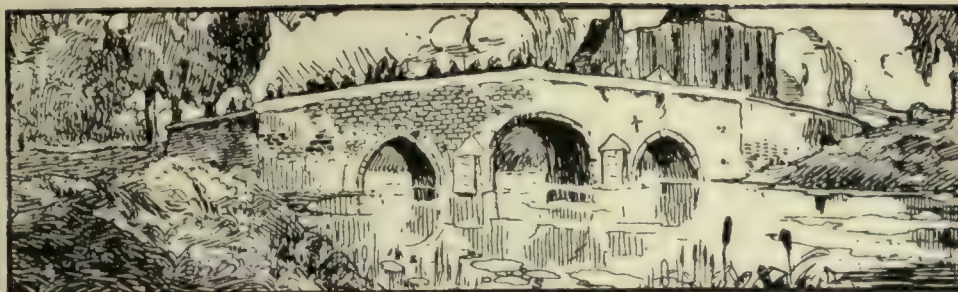
The debasing of the coinage reduced the value of a "livre tournois" from 20 francs to about six, while the "livre Parisien" was still further reduced. When these financial operations proved inadequate, Philip the Fair, with the consent of the States General—that is, of the noble, ecclesiastical, and citizen deputies—imposed fresh taxation in addition to the "impôt foncier"; these were taxes upon goods of three per cent., the "matote," the army tax or "aide de l'ost," and numerous feudal aids. He also exacted forced loans from towns and church properties.

The great vassals made constant attempts to reduce the royal power to its former position of nonentity. The opportunities they required recurred upon every accession to the crown, especially upon that of a minor. The barons revolted against Louis VI. when their plan of a new royal election was anticipated by a hasty coronation at Rheims; they had desired to set upon the throne a prince born of the marriage of Philip I. with Bertha of Holland, which the Church did

not recognise, as she had been divorced by the king. The rebels found an ally in Henry I. of England, who invaded Normandy. Supported by the capacity and insight of Abbot Suger, Louis gained the upper hand of his opponents and secured the subjection even of the marauding knights, who refused to obey the decision of the royal court. Louis' relative, Pope Calixtus II., excommunicated the emperor, Henry V., from Rheims, and then secured a reconciliation with England. More serious was the revolt of the vassals against Louis IX., in his minority, and his mother the queen-regent, Blanche of Castile. The rebels attempted to capture the thirteen-year-old prince at Montlhéry; he, however, was saved by the faithful citizens of Paris, who ran together at the sound of the alarm bells. The unity of the nobles was then broken by the fact that Count Thibaut of Champagne espoused the cause of his beloved queen and bravely defended her against the rebels.

In 1241 a fresh revolt broke out under the leadership of Hugh of Lusignan, the Count of La Marche, who found allies in Raimond of Toulouse and King Henry III. of England. Louis, however, drove the Plantagenet, who then held a good deal of Western France as a fief, to take flight to Bordeaux, captured part of the count's territory, and concluded the war, in 1243, by a truce for five and a half years; at the same time he forced those barons who were in feudal relations with both the English and the French crowns to renounce one or other of these incompatible allegiances. The majority left their foreign feudal lord, who was also a vassal of the French king, though England was an independent kingdom.

The ambitious designs of the feudatories revived upon the death of Philip the Fair in 1314, when his feeble and pleasure-loving son, Louis X., ascended the throne. He was obliged to limit the privileges of the king's high court of justice, to guarantee the old privileges of the nobles, and to exclude the intendant of finance, Enguerrand of Marigny, his father's faithful adviser. The decline of the royal power during the Hundred Years' War with England and its restoration by Charles VII. and Louis XI. belong to future chapters.



FRANCE AS THE LAND OF LIBERTY

THE SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE CAPETS

TOGETHER with the spirit of feudalism and the growth of corporations, the French body politic, as already described, displayed the characteristics of a modern bureaucracy and was marked by a certain uniformity. A wholly different factor meets us when we consider social life and its expression in art and poetry. Here we are immediately confronted by a line of demarcation dividing the country into two parts, distinct in language, society, and politics; these are the north, which was essentially Teutonic, and the south, which was essentially Romance, the linguistic areas of the "langue d'oïl" and the "langue d'oc," separated by the Loire. We also meet with a number of strictly exclusive classes, the ecclesiastical, the high nobility, the knights developed from the smaller nobility, the citizens, and the "menu peuple." The princes of the house of Hugh Capet had been constantly obliged to defend their rights against the Church and the papacy, and in their struggles enjoyed the general support of the national clergy; but science and literature, exactly at the point where the influence of the crown was most immediate, display the inward unity of ecclesiastical belief and of intellectual power and the close adherence of the clergy to the doctrines and uses of the Church.

The Church Against the Princes

It is true that the theology and philosophy of the hierarchy of Northern France display freer thought and the power of independent judgment. Berengar of Tours, for example, who died in 1088, opposed the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. His contemporary Lanfranc, a Lombard by birth, had been the leader of a dogmatic school in Normandy since 1042, and was made Archbishop of Canterbury by William the Conqueror; Berengar attempted to replace the supernaturalist theology by a more philosophical system. Within the limits of scholasticism Peter Abelard was a distinguished figure, and is better

known for his tragical connection with his pupil Héloïse than for his "Introduction to Theology," which was condemned by the synod of Soissons in 1121; his views brought him into violent conflict in 1140 with Pope Innocent II., and with that zealous defender of the faith, Bernard of Clairvaux. The power of the Church over human thought was shown by a number of new monastic foundations. Benedictine foundations had been scattered broadcast over France during the sixth century; to these were added in 1098 Cistercians in the forest monastery of Cîteaux in the Côte d'Or. At the outset they renounced the pleasures of the world and lived only in mystical communion with God, though they also deserve credit for the impulse they gave to gardening and vine cultivation. Under St. Bernard the order rose with such rapidity that its centre was transferred in 1115 from Cîteaux to the new foundation of Clairvaux on the Aube; on Bernard's death the order embraced 160 monasteries.

Rise of Monastic Orders

The struggle against earthly and sinful desires, the ideals of self-renunciation and purification, were also pursued by the Carthusians—of La Chartreuse—founded in 1084, by Bruno, at Grenoble in Southern France; their rule imposed silence, the wearing of a hair shirt and total abstinence from wine, and advised the pursuit of science. The same principles actuated the more distinguished Premonstratensian foundation, whose first monastery was situated in the wooded meadows of Prémontré near Laon in 1119.

Importance of the Dominicans

These three orders, which were native to France, were eventually outstripped in importance and dimensions by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who came in from Spain and Italy, and whose organisation belongs to the second decade of the thirteenth century. The Dominicans occupied themselves with the task of higher education,

with the management of the Inquisition, which was especially active in Southern France, and with the extirpation of the Albigenses and Waldenses; the Franciscans gained a great hold on the lower

to society; these were introduced from the East Roman Empire by sectaries, the Bogumiles and Cathari, whose degeneracy and indiscretion led to extravagances which permeated the whole of Southern France.

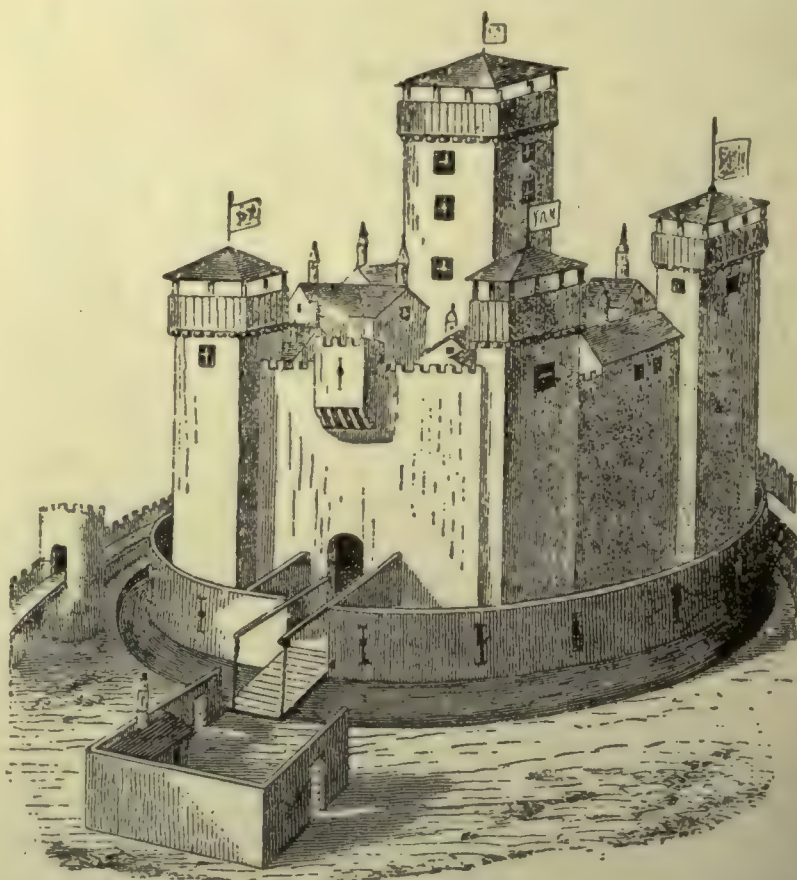


THE CASTLE OF PLESSIS, NEAR TOURS, AS IT WAS

classes as preachers and confessors. The Inquisition was a means which served both the ecclesiastical and the political unity of France; in order to protect the purity of the faith, powerful opponents or rivals of the royal power were occasionally exterminated, such as the Counts of Toulouse (1207-1229) and the Knights Templars (1307-1313).

Northern France presented a more exclusive front to the outer world than Southern, where great harbours were connected by trade with the west, and where great and populous sea towns were centres of the world's commerce; hence the effects of the Crusades were far stronger in the south than in the north. The knightly class then became the exponent of poetry and deprived the clergy of some portion of their influence upon the intellectual development of the nobles; the crusading movement also gave them a tendency to idealism, a burning enthusiasm for bold deeds, a devouring ambition, and a stainless sense of honour. On the other hand, this movement gave an impulse to the taste for outward show, for adventurous enterprise, for purposeless attempts to gain reputation, and for the trifling game of love. At the same time were disseminated the seeds of those heresies which were equally dangerous to the Church and

In France, as elsewhere, knights were originally drawn from the ranks of the lower nobility, who possessed no property, and were in the service of some ecclesiastical or secular noble; for pecuniary reward they passed from the service of one lord to another, and were occasionally occupied with highway robbery and plunder. But among the more highly educated and talented of this class there were men who combined the professions of singer and poet, who passed from castle to castle and sang the praises of their host and the honour of his ladies in their remote and desolate fortress, receiving in return presents of money and festival entertainment. These harmless parasites of society were known as "jongleurs," and were at the



A TYPICAL FEUDAL CASTLE OF FRANCE same time performers on musical instruments, wandering singers, and begging poets. A change took place after the Crusades, when great lords and even kings devoted themselves to the service of love



A BALLAD-SINGING COMPETITION IN THE DAYS OF THE TROUBADOURS

Drawn from the ranks of the lower nobility, the knights of France served the ecclesiastical or secular lords for pecuniary reward, and were occasionally engaged in highway robbery and plunder. But those who were more highly educated and gifted found other spheres for their talents. Combining the professions of singer and poet, they passed from one castle to another singing the praises of their hosts. After the Crusades, great lords and even kings devoted themselves to the service of love and song, and entered into keen rivalry for the laurels of the singer and the poet.

and song, entered into rivalry for the laurels of the knight and poet, fought in tournaments, and settled personal quarrels according to the customs of knighthood. Hence developed in Southern France the numerous and highly gifted class of the troubadours (inventors or poets), and in the north the less numerous "trouvères." The jongleurs became mere singers and accompanists, who followed their distinguished poetical patrons upon their journeys of love and song, to perform their compositions or to accompany them upon the harp, zither, or viola.

The first important troubadour was the adventurous Count William IX. of Poitiers, who died in 1127; his disgust with the

stiffness and affectation of court life finds scornful, bitter, and at times wearied expression in his poems. The most famous of his followers was Bertran de Born, who died about 1215 in a monastery, one of the most

political of the troubadours, and the author of many "sirventes," satirical songs or lampoons intended to serve a cause which the author considered just. This singer, who belonged to a noble family — Autafort, near Périgueux —

turned his high gifts and personal charm to ill account by stimulating the princes Henry and Richard Lionheart to revolt against their father, Henry II. of England, thus evoking a series of cruel wars all over French



A GROUP OF THE FAMOUS TROUBADOURS

These old miniatures show some of the great poets and singers of mediæval France, known as Troubadours. The first is Perdigon, a knight in the service of the Dauphin of Auvergne; next comes the Monk of Montaudon, the son of a noble family; in the third figure we see Albertet, the son of a jongleur, while the last is that of Marcabru, a pupil of Cercamons.

soil from the Garonne to the mouth of the Seine, which district included those fiefs then possessed by the English king in France.

Dante in his "Divina Commedia" places Bertran as the author of civil strife

**Dante's
Conception of
Bertran**

in the pit of hell, where he finds himself in distinguished company with other poets. Bertran was not merely the trumpet-toned singer of military themes; he was also a sympathetic and tender composer of love songs, and he throws the chief responsibility for the wickedness of the times upon the clergy. The anti-

clericalism of the sirventes is still more obvious in the case of Guilhem Figueira, a poet of low birth. The highest point of the Southern French lyric poetry is represented by men who are for the most part of unblemished reputation; it lasted about one hundred years, and the principal figures are such men as Bernart of Vendadour, who died about 1200, a protégé of the Count of Poitiers, Arnaut Daniel, whose fame was sung by Dante and Petrarch, and Guiraut de Bornelh, who died about 1220 — "the master of the troubadours." This age, short as it was, produced a many-sided lyric poetry of love and shepherd songs of elaborate canzone with effective refrains, of careful and over-elaborate rhythms and rhymes; it also exercised a permanent influence upon the German minnesingers and upon the poetry of Dante.

In the second half of the thirteenth century the knightly class began to degenerate into rudeness of manner and cupidity. The tournament became a brawl and love poetry an unnatural, unmeaning, and often immoral word-play. The Albigensian wars (1208-1229) deprived the nobility of Southern France of their political power and of their great wealth, and therefore made their patronage and their presents to singers and poets things of the past. Crusades, commanded by papal legates, ended in the most cruel persecution and extermination of the

Waldenses and their chief patrons among the nobles and princes, stifled all freedom of life and thought, and put an end to the delights of society and to the enthusiasm for art. Southern France had formerly been a centre of intellectual life, ready to receive all new discoveries, whether they came from the East or from Spain and Italy; it now became an isolated desert, broken only by the passionate denunciations of heresy.

The lyric poetry of Northern France is far inferior to that of the south; on the other hand, the epic poetry of the south

cannot be compared with the productions of the half-Teutonic north. Hence lyric poetry to the north of the Loire is, in form and contents, merely a feeble echo of the south, and its representatives, the *trouvères* and *ministrals*, are but feeble imitators of the southern poets and singers. The only important figure is Count Thibaut of Champagne, who was King of Navarre from 1234; he gained reputation as a poet of love songs, religious songs, and hymns to the Virgin, though in his case elaboration of form replaced the vital spark of genius. The character of the Northern Frenchmen was matter-of-fact rather than fantastic or emotional, and inclined more to the free and occasionally immoral *fabliau* than to the chivalrous poem of love.

None the less, the north retained a strong and capable nucleus of chivalry, and was preserved from southern degeneration until the fourteenth century. The education and training of the knight was ostensibly founded upon that of the monk;

**How the
Knights were
Trained**

in fact, the age of the Crusades had united the ideals of the knightly and ecclesiastical career in the persons of ecclesiastical orders of knights. The young noble who was intended for a knight was sent at an early age to his lord's castle, even as the novice was educated from childhood within the walls of the monastery and



A FRENCH KNIGHT OF THE
EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY

prepared for the future duties of his order. Until his fourteenth year he stood midway between the servants and companions of the household. He waited at table, went errands for his master, accompanied him when hunting or travelling, and performed duties also for his mistress. He then became a squire and his master's armour bearer, practised riding, the use of arms, and all knightly pursuits. He received the accolade in his twenty-first year with the observance of certain religious formalities. The previous night (*la veille*) was spent by the squire in the chapel in prayer; in the morning he took the bath of purification, and after several hours' rest, was clothed in red and white garments. The time of rest was to symbolise his future state of rest in Paradise, the white garment his moral purity, and the red, the battles in which he would have to shed his blood. From the priest's hands he received the knight's sword on his knees before the altar, and made his vows. He then received from some distinguished noble, in the presence of witnesses, the blow on the shoulder or neck which dubbed him knight.

The religious character even of this secular chivalry was expressed in the struggles for Christianity against the heathen—for as such the adherents of Mahomet were reckoned by the Church of the time—and in the protection of widows and orphans, of the oppressed and defenceless; at the same time ideal theories of honour and love were constantly disturbed by entirely secular thoughts. The conception of honour appears rather as the honour of a class or profession than that of a person. A knight who had been guilty of base dealing or common offence, or had shown himself cowardly in battle, was expelled, publicly denounced by a herald, and cursed by the Church, his coat of arms and his weapons were broken by the executioner, his shield was bound to the

tail of his horse and destroyed by the animal in the course of its wild career.

During the better period of the chivalrous movement the robbery of merchants and of monasteries was naturally avoided, as was any infringement of the property of others. Practice in the use of arms could be gained not only in campaigns and feuds, but also in tournaments, the organisation of which was the result of the Crusades. These took place in the presence of ladies, who gave their praises to the victors and whose colours

were worn by the knights, so that the whole proceeding was connected with courtly life. In the French tournaments thousands often fought; men were killed and wounded, though the laws of the tournament insisted that only blunted weapons should be used, and that the struggle should end when the opponent had been thrown from his horse. The need for some sign by which knights could distinguish one another, as their lowered visors made recognition impossible, led to the use of coats of arms, which were hereditary in a family; there was some outward sign upon the helmet, the shield, and the surcoat, consisting either of an animal or some other device.

The knight did not trouble himself greatly with learning. He occasionally knew some foreign languages and was almost always a clever player on the zither. Reading and writing were unknown accomplishments to him. This lack of education, as is invariably the case, led to a disregard of the refinements of life and produced an inclination to drunkenness and gambling, to cruelty towards subordinates and prisoners, and even towards wife and children. The castles were usually restricted in space, as they were thus more defensible; the main room was the knight's hall, and here the lords lived, especially in winter, in great lack of occupation, cut off from all refining

An Age when Chivalry Flourished



A FRENCH KNIGHT OF THE
LATER THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The Strict Code of the Knights

influences. They ate without knives or forks, with fingers or wooden spoons, sat upon benches or stools, and had little or no light when darkness came; in cold weather the heating of the rooms was generally defective. Instead of windows, they had openings in the walls, which, in bad weather, or for the protection against cold, were closed with shutters.

The education of the knights was but scanty, better provision in this respect being made for their wives and daughters. Ladies of good birth were often able to read and write, and sometimes even knew Latin or some other foreign tongue; they were clever at needlework, cooking, and the preparation of medicine, and were distinguished especially by courtly manners and refined modesty. Food and clothing in knightly families, apart from festival occasions or drinking bouts, from which women were excluded, were very simple, as their supplies depended upon the chase, the fish pond, the vegetable garden, the produce sent in by the serfs, or the small beer brewed in the castle brewery; foreign wines appeared only after the Crusades. Clothing, for the most part, was home-made also.

The service of ladies, peculiar to chivalry, bore within itself the germ of degeneration in so far as it was carried on not only by unmarried but by married knights, usually devoted to some married woman, for whom adventures were undergone, tournaments fought, though sometimes the fair one was entirely unknown or purely imaginary. The result was an unnatural and affected subtlety, which destroyed a movement contributing largely at the outset to the development of courtly manners and culture.

Chivalry, like the feudal system in general, was wholly incompatible with the conception of a uniform state as planned by the Capets. Instead of devoting their strength and their forces to their king and country, adventurous knights went fighting throughout the world, in Spain or in the East, against the "heathen," in

the civil wars of England, or in Italy or Sicily, whither they were attracted by the possibility of gaining lands and money; here Charles of Anjou, the chivalrous brother of Louis IX., won Naples and Sicily from the declining family of the Hohenstauffen. Hence it was fortunate for France that this restless and adventurous class was destroyed by internal disruption and degeneration, and became robber knights, lost life and property in the Crusades, or perished on foreign soil before the invention of gunpowder, when the consequent change of military tactics entirely put an end to their existence.

The guidance of French literature passed from the hands of the clergy to the knights, first in poetry and afterwards in history. The earlier poems of Northern France are of a narrative and legendary

character, and deal principally with Christ and His Apostles, the Virgin Mary, the saints and martyrs of the Church, remarkable conversions, and lives of an edifying character. With the beginning of the Crusades the subject-matter is extended, and no longer confined to the immediate environment of the writer; the scene of action is often laid



MOUNTED KNIGHT OF THE 12TH CENTURY

in the East. It is not until the age of the Crusades that the chivalrous epic begins its career.

The personality of Charlemagne, which had now become fabulous, was first brought into local connection with the East as a result of the disagreeable reception accorded to the first Crusaders by the Byzantine Greeks and their emperor, Alexius; this connection appears in the Alexandrian poem "*Comment Charles de France vint en Jérusalem.*" Charles is said to have started under the influence of his wife's pride to measure his power with Hugo of Constantinople, a king who is supposed to have been more powerful. He makes a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where God does miracles for him and gives him the chief relics of the Passion, which he causes to be preserved in St. Denis. In Constantinople



MAIN ENTRANCE AND TOWER OF ST. LAWRENCE AT THE CASTLE OF VITRÉ



REMAINS OF FALAISE CASTLE, BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR



THE MASSIVE OUTER WALLS OF THE CASTLE OF CARCASSONE
SOME OF THE GREAT STRONGHOLDS OF MEDIÆVAL FRANCE

he sees that Hugo is inferior to himself ; his companions mock at the Byzantine and his Greeks, but are preserved by Divine Providence from the misfortunes which they had deserved. Here we have clearly a Crusader's conception of his own fortunes. The influence of Crusading ideas is also obvious in the description of

French Heroes of an Earlier Day the great emperor, ascribed to Archbishop Turpin of Rheims, but really composed at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century ; this was the "*Historia de vita Caroli magni et Rolandi ejus nepotis*," which dealt with his struggles with the unbelievers in Spain, the heroic death of Roland, the warden of the Breton March, in the valley of Roncesvalles, and the treachery of Ganelon ; the latter subject is also treated in the Latin poem concerning the treachery of Ganelon. The figure of Charles is sometimes modelled on that of Christ, and his twelve paladins correspond to the twelve disciples ; he also appears as an idealised Crusader.

The model for Ganelon's character seems to have been the treacherous and voluble Greek who, in the opinion of the Crusaders betrayed by him, was in secret connection with the infidels. This chronicle was soon translated into the dialect of the Isle de France, which from the twelfth century onwards became a more uniform literary language. The subject of this somewhat poetical cycle was reduced to writing in its earliest form about 1090 as the "*Chanson de Geste de Roland*." It was an amalgamation of older poems, perhaps fragments from Charles' lost collection of epics, and was edited in its present form about 1170 by the minstrel Turold ; the hero resembles the Teutonic warrior rather than the Crusader inspired by religious ideals. In comparison with Roland, the Emperor Charles is a somewhat feeble figure, and is

The Great Charles in Poetry depicted rather as a querulous old man than as the bold and energetic restorer of the empire. The character drawing is elementary, and produced by the simplest means and often by nothing more than the conventional adjective. The lights and shadows are distributed unequally. On the one side we see subtlety and cunning, on the other invincible heroism and supernatural power, friendship and fidelity to death, and heartrending grief, inspired by

the warmest patriotism, for the death of so many nobles. The poem arose within the area of the Norman dialect, and was intended to celebrate the praises of the Breton race, to which the historical Roland belongs. Several other narratives from the Carolingian cycle describe the battles of Charles with his disobedient vassals, apparently modelled upon that war of suppression which the Capets waged against the feudal nobility of the twelfth century. As the poets belong to the retinues of the great lords who were conquered, they are invariably found in sympathy with the losing side.

About the middle of the twelfth century a fresh body of material for French epic poetry was provided from England and Brittany. In the sixth century the Britons had retreated from modern Britain before the Anglo-Saxons and brought with them their legends of King Arthur and the heroes of the round table ; these stories had also been disseminated by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was for some time in French service, in his "*Historia Britanniae*," or "*Historia Britonum*," composed before 1135. In the **King Arthur and the Holy Grail** "*Roman de Brut*" of Robert Wace, Arthur, like the legendary Charlemagne, is represented as the chief of twelve peers, and as accomplishing marvellous exploits with these bold knights. The religious element was introduced into this cycle by the amalgamation of the Arthur traditions with the legend of the Holy Grail.

The best known of these Grail epics is the "*Perceval*" of Chrestien de Troyes, a poet acquainted with Latin authors and especially with Ovid ; his works were composed at the courts of Champagne and Flanders between 1155 and 1188. In this epic is shown the picture of a knight inspired by religious enthusiasm and moral purity, without fear or reproach, which is expressed in a series of adventures, and at times in exquisite form ; the same poet in his "*Chevalier de la Charette*" (Lancelot) and in his "*Tristan*," which is now lost, depicts two knights of more human character, who are made traitors or weaklings by the seductions of love. The remarkable versatility of this epic poet appears in another form in the love epic of "*Erec and Enite*" and the "*Chevalier au Lion*." Love is here a source of true heroism and chivalrous spirit. Chrestien thus displays a series of knightly crusades

in their most different forms, especially as affected by the service of love, which may bring either destruction or blessing.

Two German epic poets entered into the labours of Chrestien, Hartmann von Aue, the author of "Erec" about 1190 and of "Iwein" about 1200, and Gottfried of Strassburg, the author of "Tristan and Isolde" about 1210. Wolfram von

Eschenbach in his "Parzival" shortly after 1200 uses the material which appears in Chrestien's poem of the same name, and follows his model very closely. Connected with the Grail legends is also the Lorraine poem of the swan-rider "Lohengrin." Like the old Carolingian, Breton, and Lorraine legends, the history of antiquity, the Trojan war, and the deeds of Alexander the Great, were also treated so as to transform the Greek heroes into mediæval knights and Crusaders.

The rising citizen class was bound to express its thoughts in literature no less than the knightly class. This was done in the Fabliaux, which originated in the East, but were modelled on the daily life of the citizen as it was at that time. Their satire is directed against the upper classes or the cultured clergy and physicians, but also depicts the gloomier side of citizen life, the narrow-mindedness, drunkenness, and jealousy of the men, the infidelity and falsehood of the women. The needs of the middle class

upon the stage were satisfied by such productions as the two musical plays of Adam de la Halle—about 1235 to 1287—while mystery and miracle plays taken from the Bible and the legends of the saints attracted the whole of the people to the Church. There were at the same time allegorical pieces, or "moralities," also based upon

the teaching of Christian morality. The ironical mockery of the lower classes at the court and the clergy is expressed in the thirteenth century by the "Roman du Renart," with its later continuations, which was composed in the Netherlands upon Northern French models. The fox is here a satire upon the intriguing courtier who insinuates himself within the

despotic government of the king of beasts, the lion, and brings ruin upon defenceless or honourable people. The monks are his accomplices, and he shows a hypocritical submission to the Popes and the Church.

The animosity which was cherished against the feudal system and the mediæval Church, with its miracles, pilgrimages, crusading sermons, and ritual, and also that against the laity with their different classes and representatives, appears in the "bibles" of Guyot de Provins and Hugues de Berze; these are encyclopædic narratives, in metrical form, of some 34,000 lines. They originated at the beginning of the thirteenth century; men of every class co-operated in their production, laity and clergy alike, and their composition, like their general tendency, thus far resembles the encyclopædias of Diderot and D'Alembert.

A compendium of the thought and knowledge of this scholastic age, with a criticism of Church, religion, and morality, may be found in the

allegorical, stilted, and wearisome "Roman de la Rose," which was composed and continued by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, who lived in the thirteenth century. The sleeping poet attempts in a dream to pluck a rose from the hedge of love; Obstacles and annoyances of every kind try to defeat his object and to drive him



THE LEGENDARY KING ARTHUR

The deeds of the half-mythical Arthur and his knights have been immortalised in poetry and romance. According to the legend, he led the Britons to the overthrow of the Saxon invaders.

From the bronze statue on the monument of the Emperor Maximilian at Innsbruck

from his purpose. Only when his guardian spirit, Belaccueil, has freed him from the prison in which Jalousie has confined him can he pluck the rose. The subject-matter of this romance was turned to account by Molière; the truly French flavour of the

The Early Literature of France

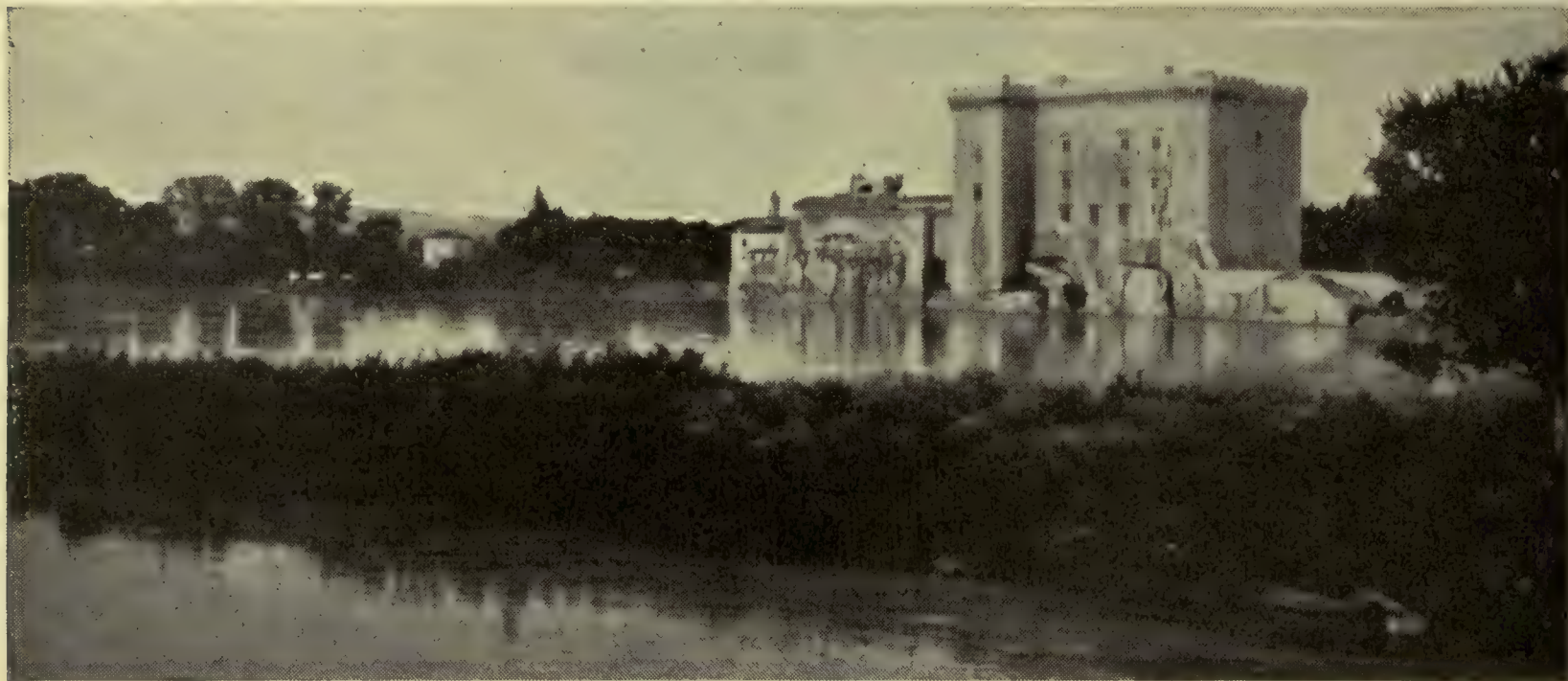
satire consoles the reader for its weary scholasticism and the dryness of the allegorical treatment.

One of the most charming productions of early French narrative art is the novel "Aucassin et Nicolette." Thus we see that the poetical literature of North France, which attained its highest point rather in the twelfth than the thirteenth century, gives a many-sided and yet a true picture of the general and varied society of the time.

This poetry reflects with a special clearness the transition from the age of the Crusades, which began with the triumphs

writing decayed; the chronicle of Regino at the outset of the tenth century was the last attempt for the moment to produce a universal history from the beginning of the world. In the Eastern, as in the Western empire, local history takes the place of imperial history. The disruption prevailing in France during the tenth and eleventh centuries held out no inducement to the historian. It was not until later that Philip Augustus and his grandson Louis IX. found important historians of their deeds in Rigord, who died about 1209, and William of Nangis, who died about 1300, but the historical revival is closely connected with the Crusades.

With the thirteenth century the description of the Crusades passes into the hands of the Crusaders themselves, the knights. In place of the Latin chronicles of the



A HOME OF THE TROUBADOURS: THE CASTLE OF TARASCON

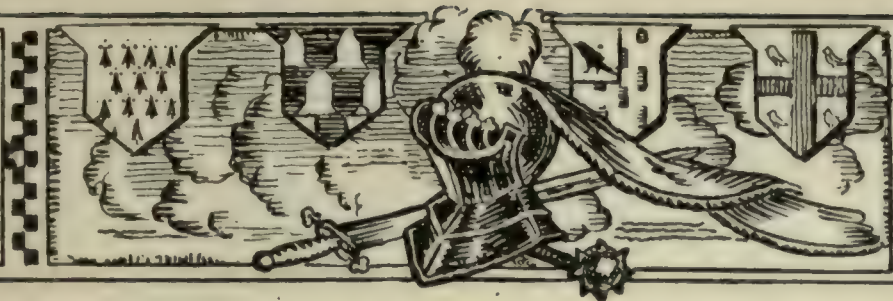
The Castle of Tarascon, picturesquely situated on the Rhone, was founded by Count Louis II. in the fourteenth century, In the days of the Troubadours and the Courts of Love this castle was a notable centre of these knights errant of literature.

of the Church in religious belief, but ended with the undermining of both by the influence of foreign religions and philosophies. Perceval marks the height of Catholicism, the earnest belief of undoubting devotees; the bible of Guyot is inspired not only by the heresy of the Waldenses, but is also the expression of that destructive worldly wisdom which Voltaire was to represent five centuries later.

After centuries of torpidity, the writing of history was revived by the general shock of the Crusading movement. Great changes in French history have invariably introduced new departures in historical writing. Gregory of Tours was inspired by the foundation of the Frankish state under Clovis, the authors of the Frankish annals by the greatness of Charlemagne. When his empire broke up, historical

monks come French histories inspired with the chivalrous spirit. Godfrey of Villehardouin (1160-1213) describes with dramatic power and ruthless regard for truth that Fourth Crusade which placed the Byzantine Empire for some decades in the hands of the Northern French Count Baldwin of Flanders and his successors. John of Joinville (1224-1318) describes in a straightforward, faithful, and religious

narrative the personality and deeds of St. Louis. Historical writing had thus emancipated itself from clerical control and had assumed a national character. On the other hand, philology and philosophy, with painting, architecture, and music among the arts, remained for the moment entirely or principally in the hands of ecclesiastics. RICHARD MAHRENHOLTZ



FRANCE UNDER THE VALOIS

THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR WITH ENGLAND

APART from the so-called Salic Law, the next heir to the throne after the death of Charles IV. would have been Joan, the daughter of Louis X. and grand-daughter of Philip IV., but her claim was hardly discussed at the time; she was given Navarre as an indemnity. But the right of Philip of Valois to the crown was formally challenged by Edward III. of England (1327-1377), who claimed as grandson of Philip IV., whose daughter Isabella was his mother. At first, indeed, Edward did homage to the new king as Duke of Guienne, and thus acknowledged him in his character of a feudal lord, which was due, however, only to his royal title; but so soon as his intimate relations with the Flemish town of Ghent, where Jacob van Artevelde was in power, and his growing influence in the Netherlands generally—the Emperor Lewis had nomi-

**English
King Claims
France**

nated him Stadtholder of the empire in Lower Lorraine—led him to believe that the moment was propitious, he assumed the title of King of France and invaded the country in 1339 in order to conquer it. But no battle was fought. In the spring of 1340 Philip collected a fleet in the harbour of Sluys in order to prevent Edward's cross-

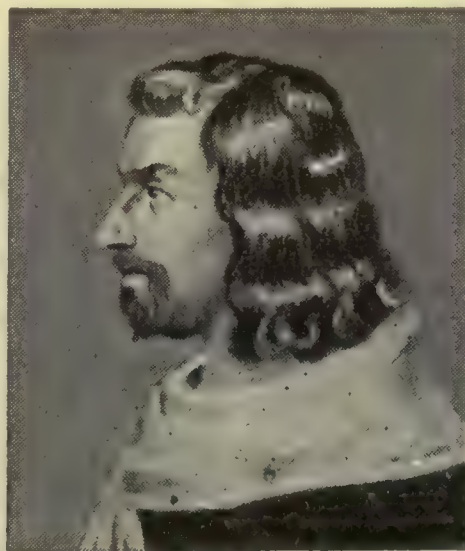


KING PHILIP VI., AND HIS SON, JOHN "THE GOOD"

The right of Philip VI. to the throne of France was challenged by Edward III. of England, who claimed the throne as grandson of Philip IV. This claim was the pretext for the Hundred Years' War. On the death of Philip, in 1350, his son John, surnamed "the Good," succeeded him; he was defeated at Poitiers and taken to England as a prisoner.

longer and concluded a truce. A dispute had broken out in Brittany in the year 1341 about the ducal dignity. One claimant was supported by France, the other sought the help of Edward, who thus had a pretext for a new war. An English army marched victoriously through Normandy in 1346, and then went up the Seine to the gates of Paris. There first the French under the command of their king confronted it. But no decisive blow was struck until Edward, falling back towards Flanders, took up a strong position at Crecy-en-Ponthieu, and was immediately attacked by the advancing French on August 25th; in spite of an immense numerical advantage (68,000 against 20,000) Philip was defeated. The day marked a glorious victory for the English arms. Edward then marched to Calais, and besieged the town, so important to him, for eleven months; when it finally surrendered, English settlers were placed in it, in order to create a permanent base for the English regal power.

But the resources for carrying on the war were exhausted by these operations. Through the good services of the Pope a treaty was concluded, which did



not, however, at once apply to Brittany. The struggle for the supremacy in the country still continued there. In August, 1350, Philip VI. died; he was succeeded on the throne by his son John, surnamed "the Good" (1350-1364), who tried to prolong the truce with England. But he

did not succeed in changing it into a permanent peace, for Edward trusted to the fortune of his arms and had not yet relinquished his hope of the French throne. His son also, Edward the "Black Prince," to whom the victory at Crecy was chiefly due, would not hear of a peace. When, therefore, John refused to comply with the demand of Edward that the English possessions on French soil should be relieved from feudal jurisdiction, the war began afresh in 1355. Its outbreak was hastened by the circumstance that Charles of Navarre, with whom John had

A two years' truce between the two hostile powers had been arranged even before the return of the young Edward to Bordeaux; but dangerous disturbances in the interior shook the monarchy during John's imprisonment. The government, and especially the method of levying taxes, had aroused discontent among the towns, which were increasing in wealth, and formed the most powerful part of the States-General. When, after the king's imprisonment, the dauphin, afterwards Charles V., summoned the states of North France and asked for their support in the



QUEEN PHILIPPA PLEADING BEFORE EDWARD III. FOR THE MEN OF CALAIS

Wishing to be king of France as well as king of his own country, Edward III. of England landed an army on French soil and won a great victory over King Philip VI. at Crecy-en-Ponthieu. Advancing next on Calais, Edward took it after a siege of eleven months. The picture shows his queen, Philippa, on her knees making her successful appeal for the lives of the men of Calais, whom Edward, enraged at their stubborn resistance, had determined to execute.

From the painting by H. C. Selous

quarrelled, implored the help of England against him. The opportunity for new enterprises was eagerly seized. The Black Prince with a small force raided the Loire district from his headquarters at Bordeaux. John met him with superior numbers. After a vain attempt to come to an agreement, John was completely defeated at Poitiers on September 19th, 1356, and himself fell into the hands of the English. He was conducted to England, where the king of Scotland also was living as a prisoner of Edward.

crisis, the representatives of the towns desired redress for all abuses in the administration, and had their definite demands laid singly before the dauphin by a committee. Under the stress of circumstances the crown was compelled to concede every request of the towns.

Nevertheless, an open insurrection broke out in Paris in 1358. Charles of Navarre, who was still in captivity, was liberated, his adherents, who had been executed, were declared innocent, the prisons also were opened, and the red and blue cap,



EDWARD THE THIRD OF ENGLAND AT THE HISTORIC SIEGE OF CALAIS, WHICH ENDED IN A GREAT ENGLISH VICTORY
From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, R.A. By permission of the Corporation of London

the badge of the revolutionists, was forcibly placed on the head of the dauphin himself. The example of the towns was followed by the rising of the peasants in the country, the so-called Jacquerie, which was suppressed only by most merciless severity. Common cause against the peasant revolt drove the nobility over to the side of the dauphin, and the Spiritual Estates stood by him. When he escaped

of Navarre, however, began a war against him which did not end until 1359.

In that year Edward appeared again with an army on French soil, after the States-General had rejected the terms of peace already accepted by King John; but he was unable to capture Rheims, in spite of a siege which lasted many weeks. The investment of Paris, which he attempted in the next year, proved ineffective owing to deficiency of provisions. A peace, therefore, was concluded at Bretigny in May, 1360, according to which France renounced all feudal jurisdiction over the English possessions, while Edward abandoned his claim to the throne of France, and at the same time handed over Normandy and Anjou to John. But, notwithstanding the conclusion of peace, for a long time there was no tranquillity in France, for the English soldiers remained in the country, contrary to the royal orders, and actually defeated a French army specially levied to oppose them.

The raising of the heavy ransom for King John, who returned to his country after a five years' captivity, produced much misery. In one place only could John record a favourable result. The duchy of Burgundy had fallen to the crown in 1361, and the king conferred it, two years later, on his youngest son, Philip the Bold. The latter founded the new Burgundian dynasty, and through Margaret of Flanders acquired the Franche Comté, belonging to the German



EDWARD III., OF ENGLAND, ON HIS WHITE PALFREY AT CRECY

from the hands of the Parisian mob he had a considerable body of adherents at his command. In Paris the insurgents were not agreed among themselves. There were three factions who fought against each other. The dauphin was soon able to march into the capital, hold a Bloody Assize, and in due form carry on the government for his captive father. Charles

Empire, and the Flemish provinces. As one of the princes who was detained in England as a hostage for the ransom had escaped, John himself returned to England once more in 1363, and died there in captivity in the spring of 1364. The father was succeeded by the eldest son, Charles V. (1364-1380), who as dauphin had already conducted the government after 1356,

and had acquired some experience in home politics. Certainly he had no ability as a commander, but Bertrand du Guesclin, a distinguished soldier, stood at his side and conducted with great success the king's wars against England. Charles' system of government was based mainly on a steady resistance to the towns, which prided themselves on their strength, while through economy he restricted the meetings of the States for granting supplies. Besides this, he abolished the representation of the towns by self-chosen deputies. In the municipal administration also the royal power was increased. The nobility and the towns, in spite of the perpetual crushing weight of taxation, felt themselves gradually bound to the king, and differences were adjusted. The gratitude which the people felt toward the king found its expression in the surname "The Wise."

The mercenary troops, which at the beginning of the reign were marauding everywhere, had been led across the Pyrenees in consequence of the war for the succession in Castile, so that at last French soil was rid of them. Since Prince Edward, who governed absolutely in the continental territories of England, took the side of King Peter in the Castilian dispute, the Anglo-French war was renewed on Spanish soil. But Charles V. also considered the moment suitable for an advance on his part, especially since great dissatisfaction with the foreign rule was manifested by the population in the English territory. The conditions also of the Peace of Bretigny were not yet carried out. The war, therefore, began afresh in 1369 with the French invasion of Guienne. The Black Prince, who had desolated parts of the country and committed cruel barbarities, worn out by illness, was now compelled to return to England, and there died before his father. Du Guesclin

then succeeded in conquering all the English possessions by the end of 1372. Calais was the only fortified place remaining in English hands. All the English attacks on France were fruitless, since the French on their side avoided every battle, but were indefatigable in skirmishes and pursuits. Du Guesclin, indeed, was the first great guerrilla leader of mediæval times. King Edward III. died in 1377, leaving



PHILIP VI. OF FRANCE AFTER HIS DEFEAT AT CRECY

Philip VI. was resolved to expel the English from France, but sustained an overwhelming defeat from Edward III. at Crecy in 1346. The English lost very few of their small army, while the French loss has been estimated at 30,000.

his kingdom to his grandson, Richard II. (1377-1399), who was only eleven years old. Charles outlived him three years, and was succeeded by his son, Charles VI., aged twelve (1380-1422).

An inevitable struggle for the guardianship of the youthful king immediately loosened the hitherto compact fabric of the sovereignty. In Paris and elsewhere sanguinary riots broke out, and the royal

coffers were plundered; and simultaneously disturbances again arose in the Flemish towns. Ghent had assumed a democratic constitution under Philip van Artevelde, and seriously menaced Count Louis. Philip of Burgundy, Louis' son-in-law and the future heir to Flanders, espoused his cause, marched with the chivalry of France into Flanders, and defeated the burghers of Ghent at Roosbeke in November, 1382.

The result of this campaign was primarily in the interests of Philip's dynasty; but it was generally thought throughout France, with good reason, that the example of the Flemish towns had not been without its influence on their own country, and it was hoped, therefore, that the subjugation of Flanders would restore tranquillity to France as well. The royal authority, supported by the nobility, was completely in the ascendant at Paris after this success in the neighbouring country, and a similar result was visible in the other towns.

In 1388, being then twenty years old, King Charles took over the government. But since after 1392 he became completely mad, the administration was necessarily conducted by a regency under the king's two uncles, Philip of Burgundy and Louis of Orleans. The two brothers and their followers were most bitterly, even disgracefully, hostile to each other. When,

after Philip's death, in 1404, his son, John the Fearless, received the government in Burgundy, open civil war threatened. As John approached the city of Paris in 1405

with a large army, the Duke of Orleans fled with Queen Isabella. A temporary agreement was made. But in 1407 John of Burgundy had his cousin, Louis of Orleans, treacherously murdered, and then, being hailed by the burghers of the towns as their protector, came forward as the real ruler of France. But the family of the murdered man, supported by the Count of Armagnac, wished to avenge Louis' death. Troops were levied by both sides, and a calamitous party struggle ensued. The town of Paris at first, under the government of the guilds, was entirely Burgundian, and the Orleans family, whose party were known as the

Armagnacs, succeeded in gaining the upper hand only after the year 1413.

These disturbances did not fail to rouse the ambitious schemes of the energetic King Henry V. of England (1413-1422). He claimed the English possessions on the Continent, and the payment of the still outstanding ransom for King John, as well as the hand of Katherine, daughter of Charles VI., with a large dowry. Since his wishes

were not met by France, in 1415 he landed with an army in Normandy. Charles VI. and the dauphin, Louis, took the field in person, and a French army



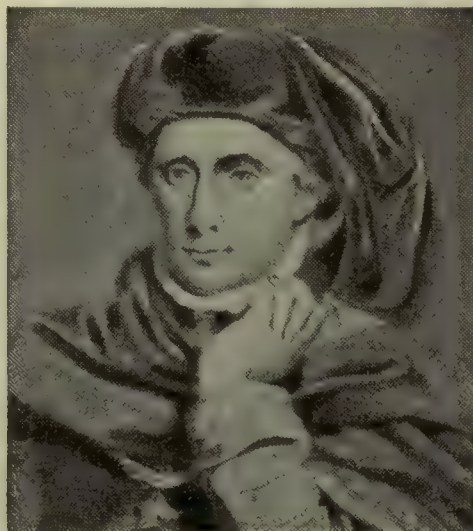
THE GREAT BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN

Described as the first guerrilla leader of mediæval times, Bertrand du Guesclin took a leading part in the wars of France against England, and by the end of 1372 he had succeeded in regaining all the English possessions, Calais being the only fortified place remaining in English hands.



THE FRENCH KINGS CHARLES V. AND CHARLES VI.

The eldest son of King John, who died in captivity in England, Charles V. ascended the throne in 1364, and ruled so well that he became known as "The Wise." His son Charles VI., aged twelve, succeeded him in 1380.





AN INCIDENT IN THE GREAT RISING OF THE FRENCH PEASANTRY IN THE YEAR 1358

France was in a disordered condition in the fourteenth century, and the towns rose in revolt against the government. The example of the towns was followed by the rising of the peasants in the country, and it was only after the most merciless severity that the revolt was suppressed. The illustration represents an attack of the peasants upon a noble's home. From the painting by George Rochegrosse



PHILIP THE GOOD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY

Philip succeeded his father, John the Fearless, as head of the Burgundian party, to whom the progress of Henry V.'s arms on his second invasion of France was largely due; his later defection ended all chance of an English conquest.

met him and placed the English in a very dangerous position; but, as at Crecy and Poitiers, the English arms triumphed once more in a pitched battle at Agincourt. Henry, however, was obliged to return to England without making full use of his victory to enforce his demands, owing to the want of money.

The Orleans party by this time held the chief power in France. The government rested in the hands of Count Armagnac, among whose chief adherents was Charles, son of King Charles VI., who, after the death of his four elder brothers, had become dauphin, and was now only in his fourteenth year. The count banished the queen to Tours, where she held a rival court. Isabella now publicly proclaimed that the regency for her mad husband and the youthful dauphin belonged to her, and that she was resolved to conduct it with the help of John of Burgundy, by whom Paris was taken in 1418. But even the Burgundian troops were not able to restrain the excited populace. Armagnac was murdered, and a great part of his

followers met the same fate. Isabella and John made their solemn entry into the capital some time afterwards, and banished from the city all who had sided actively with the Armagnac party.

Henry V. had already resumed hostilities in 1418. Normandy came into his power in 1419, owing to the fall of Rouen, but the parties in France continued to fight each other and forgot the common foe. At last, when John of Burgundy had been murdered, in September, 1419, by a follower of the dauphin, Charles, who was now considered the leader of the Armagnacs, his son, Philip, surnamed the Good, sought the help of England and allied himself to Isabella, who now declared the dauphin a bastard. Philip and Isabella made a treaty with Henry V. at Troyes in May, 1420, according to which Henry was to marry Katherine, sister of the dauphin, and at the same time was to become the successor of Charles VI. and immediately undertake the duties of regent. This treaty made France a province of England. Henry entered Paris, assembled the Estates, and procured from them a ratification of



THE FAMOUS XAINTRAILLES

One of the most valiant and renowned captains of France who, with La Hève, drove the English out of the country



THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT BATTLE OF AGINCOURT

In this picture we see illustrated an incident at the beginning of the great battle between the English and French at Agincourt in 1415. Sir Thomas Erpingham, having arranged the troops, exhorted them to fight vigorously, and then throwing into the air the baton which he held, he cried, "Now strike!" The army responded with a great shout, at which the French marvelled greatly. Thus began the fight which ended so gloriously for England.



JOHN THE FEARLESS, DUKE OF BURGUNDY
Civil war threatened in France when John the Fearless received the government in Burgundy. After having had his cousin, Louis of Orleans, murdered, John was hailed by the burghers of the towns as their protector. In 1419 he was murdered by a follower of the dauphin, Charles.

the treaty. The parliament declared the dauphin, Charles, to have forfeited his rights, and ordered him to quit the kingdom. Henry conquered almost the whole country north of the Loire, but died in the midst of his victorious career on August 31st, 1422. Charles VI. died two months later.

Charles VII. was long unable to enter on the heritage of his father, for the English regarded their new king, Henry VI., son of Henry V. and Katherine of France, an infant hardly a year old, as the lawful sovereign of the land. The rights of the infant king were guarded for the time by his uncle, the Duke of Bedford, who had twice conquered the partisans of Charles in the field.

But the war was waged desultorily, until, at the end of 1428, the Earl of Salisbury appeared with fresh troops and undertook the siege of the important town of Orleans. The town offered a vigorous resistance; the English leader and many of his soldiers lost their lives

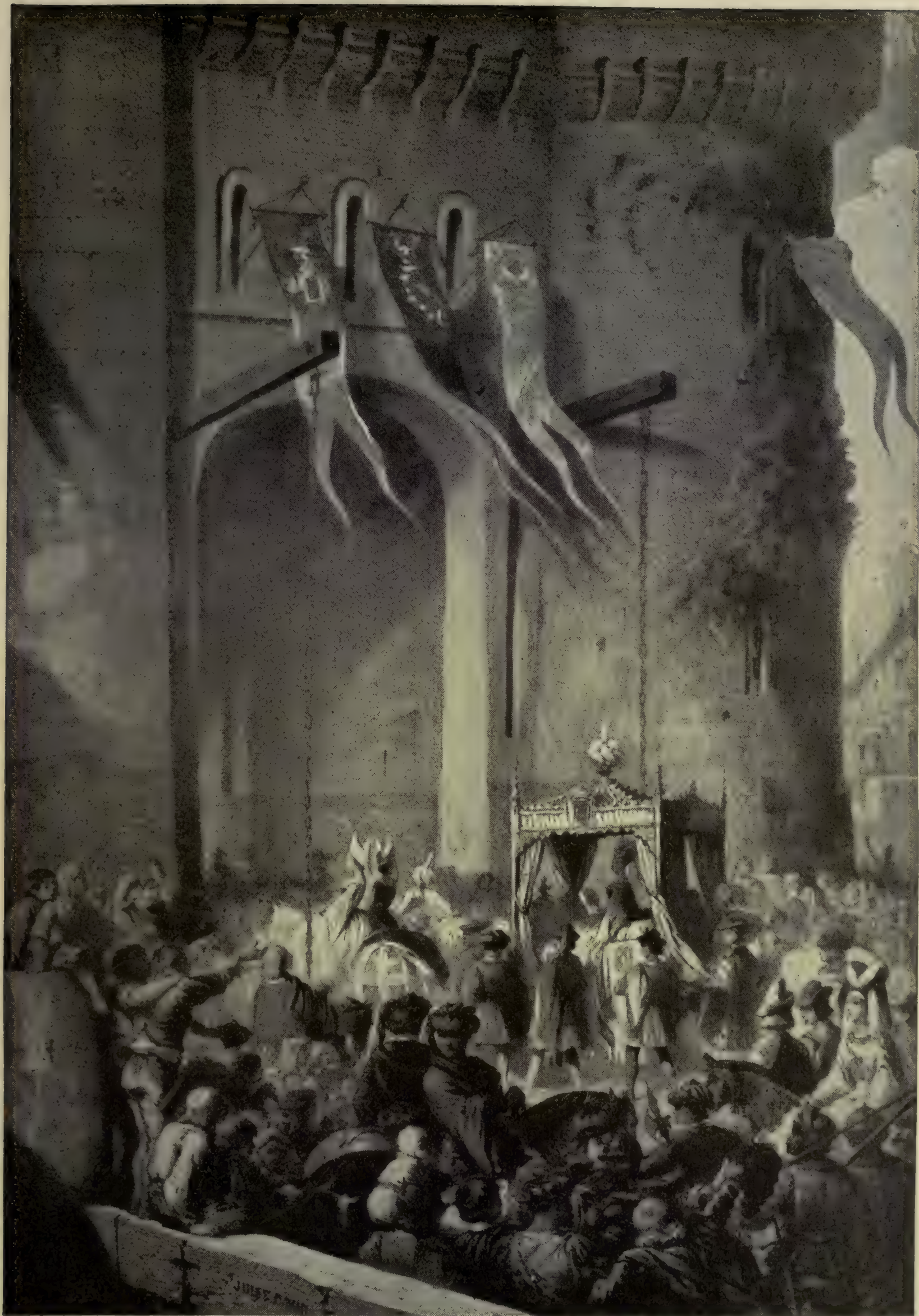
in the battle, but the brave citizens could look for no help from their king, Charles. In this desperate state of affairs a saviour appeared to them—Joan of Arc, born on January 6th, 1412, in Domrémy, a hamlet situated on the Lorraine frontier of Champagne. She regarded herself as the heaven-sent rescuer of her country, and demanded permission to place herself at the head of an army, in order to free Orleans and lead the king to Rheims for his coronation. She triumphantly overcame the resistance of her incredulous hearers, and finally was received by the king and given a detachment of soldiers, in order that, mounted as their commander and in male attire, she might lead them to the relief of the beleaguered town.

Inspired by heaven, Joan bore a white flag, with the picture of the Saviour, in front of the warriors, and fortunately succeeded in gaining entrance to Orleans during a sortie of the besieged at the end of April, 1429. She then began at once an attack on the English, who soon feared the "Maid of Orleans" as if she were



LOUIS, DUKE OF ORLEANS

When John the Fearless approached Paris in 1405 with a large army, the Duke of Orleans fled with Queen Isabella, but was afterwards treacherously murdered at the instigation of his cousin, John of Burgundy.



THE SOLEMN ENTRY INTO PARIS OF THE QUEEN-REGENT ISABELLA

The unhappy affliction which befell King Charles VI. was the means of plunging France into disorder, rival parties fighting for power and honour. For a time the Orleans party held the chief power, and the Queen was banished to Tours. Isabella, however, proclaimed that the regency for her mad husband and the youthful dauphin belonged to her, and making a solemn entry into the capital she banished from the city all who had taken sides with the Armagnac party.

a daughter of Satan. After a brilliant victory of the French on May 7th, the enemy gave up the siege. All Orleans was filled with joy, and convinced of the supernatural mission of Joan, for she had kept her first promise; Orleans was freed. A peasant girl had performed what no com-

**Joan of Arc
Assists
King Charles**

mander had yet successfully done, and that in a few days. The royalist party revived, and their spirit was renewed.

Charles' throne seemed rescued, and without any action on his part, for he was only too much inclined to neglect energetic measures. Joan now wished to keep her second promise, and to lead Charles to be crowned at Rheims. A start was made, notwithstanding the opposition of the generals, who proposed a conquest of Normandy first. The advance was made with a few thousand men; the English were driven from all their posts during the victorious progress, and the king's following was increased on every side. Before Charles entered the city where he was to be crowned, deputies came out to meet him, and promised submission. The king entered the city of Rheims, and on July

17th the coronation and anointing were performed. Joan stood during the ceremony at the king's side, holding a flag. Her mission was completed, according to her own ideas. She now held back in the council, and only inspired the masses of soldiers by her presence. Her family was raised to the nobility, and her native place freed from all taxation.

Charles' position had been completely changed at one blow. He ceased to be the head of the Armagnac party. Numerous former adherents to the Anglo-Burgundian party now submitted to him. But Paris persisted in its old hostility, chiefly perhaps from fear of the king's vengeance. An attempt of Joan's to take the city

**The Brave
Joan
in Prison**

failed, because the king did not support her, and she herself was wounded. She soon had presentiments of her capture. Nevertheless, she defended the town of Compiègne against Philip of Burgundy. There she was actually made prisoner during a sortie on May 23rd, 1430, and was abandoned to the vengeance of the English, who saw in her alone the cause of their disasters. After long languishing



THE PRIEST'S BLESSING: BEFORE THE GREAT BATTLE OF AGINCOURT

Like Edward III., King Henry V. of England was ambitious to sit on the throne of France, and with a huge army he crossed the Channel to make good his claim by force of arms. At Agincourt he met the French army, winning a great victory after one of the most famous battles in England's history. In this picture we see a priest blessing the troops

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert in the Guildhall Art Gallery



CHARLES VI., KING OF FRANCE, HOLDING A PUBLIC AUDIENCE

From a miniature by Jean Fouquet in the Royal Library at Munich

in prison, she was condemned by the spiritual court of French ecclesiastics as a witch, handed over to the "secular arm"—that is, the English—and burned in the market-place of Rouen on May 30th, 1431. The ungrateful king never once took up her cause, though it would have been well in his power to do so. The revision of the judgment, which took place twenty-five years later at the command of Pope Calixtus III., and ended in the complete vindication of Joan, can only partially reconcile the world to the ingratitude of the king.

The position of the English did not alter after Joan's death, especially since no such ample reinforcements as might have been expected arrived from home. The most important point was that the Burgundian party, with whose help England had previously made such great conquests, now drew back; in fact, tried for a reconciliation with Charles. This was actually effected by a peace at Arras in 1435. Philip of Burgundy was liberally compensated by gifts of land, and released from feudal obligations for the term of

Charles' life. Besides this, the Duke of Bedford, the English commander on the Continent, had died, and among the citizen population of Paris there was a keen wish to see the king once more in their midst. In April, 1436, Charles' army was able to enter Paris, after a complete amnesty had been promised to all who had opposed him, and in 1437 the king himself entered his capital.

The whole country, especially the north, had suffered severely under the war and the internal party feuds, so that nothing was more sincerely desired

before Chatillon, and his army completely defeated. The English power was thus driven out of France except for Calais, the only town which England could hold for the future.

The great enemy had been expelled. But these lasting, unspeakably calamitous wars had cruelly affected the country. The devastation of the fields could be remedied only gradually and by the unwearying toil of the people. Besides, it was necessary to take prompt and vigorous measures against the bands of robber mercenaries, or "free companies," who roamed the



THE PEASANT MAID OF ORLEANS IN THE HANDS OF THE ENGLISH

Clad in white armour, the simple peasant maid, Joan of Arc, marched at the head of a troop of French horsemen to drive the English from Orleans. The enemies of France were scattered, but the heroic maiden was betrayed by some of her own countrymen and fell into the hands of the English, who burned her alive at Rouen, as depicted on page 3824.

From the painting by Roland Wheelwright, by permission of the Autotype Company

than peace. Negotiations led finally to a truce in 1444, since the internal affairs of England made a continuance of the war seem impossible. In France, however, the opportunity was taken to develop an appropriate military system, and on the renewal of hostilities in 1449 the English were deprived of the whole of Normandy in a single year. The province of Guienne also was conquered without any appearance of help from England. At length an English army went to Southern France in 1452 under the command of the veteran Talbot. But the general was killed the following summer

provinces. The first duty was to exterminate them. In 1444, Charles, at the request of the Emperor Frederic III., had sent a considerable part of these pillagers of the country into Switzerland to fight against the confederates. The best of the remainder were picked out, and thus a paid body of fifteen troops of cavalry was formed, which was to be permanently under arms. It was now an easy task to deal with the remaining and inferior mercenaries, especially since the regular police force was now available against these hordes. The defence of the country had then to be better organised



THE HEROINE, JOAN OF ARC, AT THE CROWNING OF KING CHARLES VII.

The wonderful story of Joan of Arc is one that will never die. A simple peasant maid, she put on armour that she might fight for her king and country, and in this picture we see her in one of the greatest moments of her life, when she took her place by the throne of the king of France, whose peaceful coronation was due entirely to her great victories.

From the painting by J. E. Lenepveu in the Pantheon

to meet all contingencies; a regular reserve was therefore formed, which might be called out in case of war, since every parish was responsible for the arming and training of a guard. A national militia organised on this basis was bound to represent an immeasurably stronger power than the town contingents which had been attached as a whole to the royal army. The fate of the feudal army was sealed in France by these measures, since the means requisite for the maintenance of the troops were obtained by a special universal tax. The Estates were now less frequently summoned, and the towns lost the power which they had formerly possessed in the assemblies of the realm. In 1453 a decree was passed requiring all customary rights to be defined in writing, and in this way the procedure and jurisdiction of the courts of appeal were distinctly improved. The Church developed more than before into a national Church in connection with the resolutions of the Council at Basle. The abilities of Charles VII. were doubtless more adapted for the work of organisation than for vigorous action; indeed, his modern methods of government provoked the opposition of the

nobility, who attempted to incite the dauphin, Louis, against his father. He succeeded, indeed, at first in frustrating their designs; but just when it seemed that the son would once more rebel against his father, death removed the father in the summer of 1461.



THE BURNING OF JOAN OF ARC BY THE ENGLISH AT ROUEN

From the painting by Lenepveu



FRANCE UNDER THE LATER VALOIS

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE NATION

THE former rebel was now himself crowned king as Louis XI., and pursued the same objects as his father. His efforts extended to the building up of an absolute monarchy, even if he expelled from among his councillors precisely those who had previously been at the helm, and collected new men round him. Nothing was more important than to bind the powerful crown vassals, the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, more closely to the throne. He was successful in the beginning, but Francis of Brittany ventured to resist the claims of King Louis XI. He effected an alliance of the most prominent members of the nobility, and threatened an open attack. Louis tried to win the support of citizen inhabitants of the towns. A war with the nobles ensued, and the Burgundians pressed on to Paris itself. A battle in the summer of

The King's Enemies Besiege Paris

1465 was indecisive, and the united enemies of the king began to besiege the capital. Louis avoided a battle, and tried to keep his enemies at bay. The feeding of such mighty armies was bound soon to break down. After an armistice, they concluded a peace towards the end of October, according to which the brother of the king, the Duke of Berry, who belonged to the insurgents, became ruler of Normandy, while the Duke of Brittany maintained his independent rights unimpaired.

The peace was tantamount to a victory of the nobles; but the king did not intend to abandon his policy. It is true that he recalled some of his father's councillors to his court, doubtless a concession to his opponents. But one by one all were overcome who had previously united themselves in common cause against him. The Duke of Berry soon lost Normandy again; other nobles were won over to the plans of the king, and the weaker ones were suppressed by force.

Burgundy alone offered a strenuous resistance; in place of Philip, now an old man, his son Charles, surnamed the Bold, had for some years held the reins of government there, and in the summer of 1467 became the lawful successor. Louis would have been glad to turn to his advantage the long-existing quarrel of Charles with Liège, but the Burgundian would not entertain the proposal, and after the conquest of the refractory town in autumn, 1467, his position became still stronger.

Brilliant Court of Arras

The Burgundian domain, which extended from Luxemburg to the sea, had only in the last generations, through the skilful policy of aggrandisement practised by its princes, become an important power interposed between France and Germany. The brilliant court of Arras became a model for other courts of European princes. Trade and industry, art and intellectual life flourished splendidly in the rich towns. But the government of the country, under Philip, and still more under Charles, had suppressed the local authority and attempted a uniform organisation of all political forces after depriving them of their independence.

The rich resources of the land enabled the duke to maintain permanently a powerful army, and to furnish it with artillery and waggons, so that it possessed the most complete military equipment of the time. His policy aimed at the protection and enlargement of his power on two sides especially; he wished to be

Independence of Charles the Bold

as independent of France as he was of Germany. Even if the foundation of a Burgundian kingdom at the cost of Germany, a demand that Philip had made in 1447 from Frederic III., had not been realised, yet the position of Charles the Bold, in view of the importance of the German kingdom, which could not prevent

the growth of Burgundian influence in the territories of Western Germany, was really equivalent to independence. The oath of fealty, which was still taken to the French as well as to the German crown, could have little significance in the circumstances.

King Louis XI. had been obliged in 1467 to resume the war with the Dukes of Brittany and Berry and had been successful before Charles of Burgundy was able to lend aid to his friends. War with the latter seemed inevitable. Louis tried in vain to stir up the people of Liège once more against their lord, and to pacify Charles himself with money. At last he had a personal interview with his opponent at Peronne in order to come to terms.

But while he was still with him, the terrible tidings spread of a rising of the Liégeois, who had driven out their bishop, and Charles' fury was now turned on the king, since he thought that he

possessed unmistakable proof of his treacherous policy. It was with difficulty that Charles was induced to spare the king himself, and he did so only on the concession that he himself should rule for the future as sovereign over what had hitherto been the feudal dependencies of France. He exacted also some compensation for the Duke of Berry. Louis swore to all demands and was forced to consent to take the field in person against the rebellious town of Liège.



KING LOUIS XI.

The eldest son of Charles VII., Louis XI. succeeded his father on the throne; he did much to improve the internal administration of the country, and has been described as "the first of modern statesmen."

Possibly Louis was never very sincere in his concessions. He succeeded in persuading his brother, the Duke of Berry, to be content with the richer but more distant Guienne in place of the provinces of Champagne

and Brie, so closely bordering on Burgundy; and by 1469, he effected a complete reconciliation with him. Other rebellious vassals were crushed. By these means the king soon felt such renewed



LOUIS, KING OF FRANCE, A PRISONER AT PERONNE

The feudal nobles of France were not too kindly disposed towards Louis XI., and in alliance with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, they gave the king much trouble. When war with this powerful lord seemed inevitable, Louis had a personal interview with him at Peronne in 1467 with the object of coming to terms, and was there practically a prisoner in the hands of his enemy. It was only with difficulty that Charles was prevailed upon to spare the king's life.

security that he began to despise the sovereignty of Burgundy, and commanded an assembly to proclaim the feudal tenant, Charles, guilty of high treason.

Since the duke did not appear before the court at Paris, royal troops invaded Burgundy at the beginning of the year 1471, and occupied some important places. It was only in February that Charles on his side proceeded to besiege Amiens. But he achieved no successes, and bad news came from home, so that in April he was willing to make a truce for a month. He again sought an alliance with the king's brother, but the latter died, possibly from poison. Before the expiry of the truce Charles renewed hostilities and now was more successful; but his army committed such depredations in the country that the inhabitants were roused to fury, and the citizens of Beauvais in particular offered a most stubborn resistance. The town was not captured, for the Duke of Brittany, being hard pressed by the king, did not come to aid.

Charles, therefore, was forced to retreat, owing to terrible scarcity of provisions, due to the devastation of the land. His retreat was rendered difficult by numerous skirmishes; at last he was compelled to make a new armistice. Louis availed himself of it to subdue his rebellious vassals in the south, especially the Duke of Alençon. But Charles did not remain quiet, and hoped by an alliance with Edward IV. of England finally to conquer Louis. Edward declared himself ready for a campaign against France in 1475, and actually appeared in June before Calais. Charles, however, whose forces had been considerably lessened by the disastrous siege of Neuss, could not give the expected assistance, especially since Louis had again fought with success in Burgundy. Edward had pictured to

himself a more favourable state of things in France, and in his disappointment he did not hesitate to accept the arrangement proposed by Louis, and, in consideration of a large indemnity, to return home again. Charles also, who now was intent on other plans, agreed in 1475 to a nine years' truce. France seemed freed from her most dangerous enemy, although Louis was always counting on a renewed attack of the Burgundian. The complications, however, with Lorraine and the Swiss now claimed the attention of the ambitious warrior so closely that he could not think of other hostilities. On January 5th, 1477, Charles the Bold was killed after his defeat by the Swiss at Nancy.

His realm, however, through the marriage of his daughter and heiress Mary with the young Maximilian, son of Frederic III., passed to the house of the Austrian Hapsburgs, and not to France. Of all the enemies of Louis the only survivor was Duke Francis of Brittany, whose secret league with Edward of England had been discovered by the king in 1477. He here contented himself with the confiscation of one county and with a renewed oath of loyalty. But he treated the Duke of Nemours according to his old principle, and took bloody vengeance. His despotic aim, the



STATUE OF LOUIS XI.

conquest of all imaginary and actual enemies of his kingdom, was attained. He acquired Provence by inheritance, and the people trembled more than ever before the king—but still more did the king tremble before the people. He suspiciously looked out for conspiracies everywhere among servants and ministers, and punished with great severity.

After a life of anxiety, at once full of work and empty of pleasures, Louis XI. died at the end of April, 1483. The government of France by the States had

**CHARLES THE BOLD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY**

He headed the league of vassal nobles against Louis XI., and when he became Duke of Burgundy, on the death of his father, Philip the Good of Burgundy, in 1467, he made an attempt to throw off all allegiance to France and its king. He met his death fighting at Nancy in the year 1477.

completely disappeared under him and mainly through him. Modern absolutism, which influences all powers by the constitution, took its start under him, and reached its height through Louis XII.

Charles VIII., son of Louis XI., was only thirteen years old on his father's death. Of little ability, and still less education, he was incapable of reigning independently, and was entirely under the influence of his sister Anne, who was married to Peter, the subsequent Duke of Bourbon. In conformity with the wish of the people, the States-General were summoned at the beginning of 1484, and sat for two months at Tours. Complaints were raised on all sides about the pressure of taxation, but the deliberations had no lasting results.

The appointment of a regular regency was refused, to the injury of the country; for once more, as at the beginning of the century, civil war broke out. The husband of Louis' daughter Joanna, Duke Louis of Orleans, did not wish to acknowledge the influence of his sister-in-law, Anne, and, in alliance with the Duke of Brittany, began war against the party of the king,

but was defeated in the summer of 1488, and taken prisoner. Charles, however, wished to act independently and did not allow himself to be guided any longer by his sister. He released the Duke of Orleans from prison, and married, at the end of 1491, Anne, daughter of the deceased Duke Francis. Thus Brittany, the lords of which had hitherto been bitterly opposed to the king, was annexed to the crown of France.

The intended union of this heiress with Maximilian, king of the Romans, had thus been frustrated, and he demanded compensation for this as well as for the fact that the previously arranged marriage of his daughter Margaret with the French king had now become impossible. His ally, Henry VII. of England, was indemnified by a money payment. Maximilian himself lacked the means to make war; for this reason he finally, in 1493, preferred an amicable arrangement, and received back the counties of Burgundy and Artois, where the feeling of the population had already decided in favour of the German sovereign.

Since Charles, Count of Maine, had died in 1481, King Louis had acquired the

**A CONSTABLE OF FRANCE**

Under Louis XI., the Comte de St. Pol was Constable of France, an office equivalent to that of Commander of the Forces. This high official was executed at the Bastille.



LOUIS XI. ENTERING PARIS ON JULY 18th, 1465, AFTER THE BATTLE OF MONTLHERY

From the painting by Tattegrain

heritage of Provence as well as claims to the kingdom of Naples, and Charles wished to assert this claim when, after the death of King Ferdinand in the beginning of 1494, party hatred began to spread its horrors over Italy. In order not to let slip the favourable opportunity of interference, Charles marched in the autumn with a large army over the Alps. Contrary to expectation he obtained favourable concessions from Piero de Medici, but by so doing caused the banishment of the princely family, and could gain little from the indignant citizens of Florence. He now went to Rome, where Alexander VI. lived in the greatest fear. The Pope agreed to cede to the French some fortresses as bases of operation, and to hand over his son, Cesare Borgia, as hostage. Charles left Rome at the end of January, 1495, and marched to Naples, where Alfonso II.,

son of Ferdinand I., was governing, tormented by the stings of conscience for his past cruelties. In order to escape the hatred of the people, he resigned his rule and gave over the country to his youthful son, Ferdinand II. The success of the French arms soon disheartened the Neapolitan troops; some of them deserted to Charles, who was able in February to enter Naples and was soon in possession of the whole country.

The French conquerors did not, however, understand how to win the goodwill of the people. The brutal treatment which the population received from the French soldiery roused a burning hatred which could not be quenched by the hastily introduced remission of taxation and the inauguration of public amusements. The Pope also refused to crown Charles king at Naples. The lords, formerly at enmity with each other, now united against the common foe, the French intruder. Lodovico Sforza of Milan, who had especially invited Charles to make the Italian expedition, Pope Alexander VI., Venice, Ferdinand of Sicily, and the king of the Romans, Maximilian, all united against the king of France. He marched away unsuspectingly from Naples, in May, left half his army behind, and turned

homewards with the remainder. But in July an army of Milanese and Venetians attacked him in superior force near Fornuovo; nevertheless, he succeeded in worsting them and continued his march. Before he left Italian soil, in October, a

treaty was made with the allies, but nevertheless the final results of this Italian campaign were very unfavourable for Charles. Even before he reached France, the banished Ferdinand had attempted to recover his realm, and the revolt of the people against the French yoke assisted his effort. The remains of the French army disappeared in battle or from sickness, and King Charles VIII., in April, 1498, soon after his return home, died from the result of an accident.

Since Charles' sons had predeceased him, he was succeeded on the throne by his cousin Louis, of the elder

house of Orleans, as the twelfth of this name (1498-1515). He was in the prime of life when he took the reins of government, and had hitherto played little part in public affairs. But the people soon recognised that the best qualities of a ruler—justice, clemency, and appreciation of a nation's needs—were not wanting in him. In foreign policy, it is true, he was no better than the other monarchs of the time in a somewhat inglorious statesmanship, and ambition drove him to the most rash schemes. He procured a divorce from his wife, and married his predecessor's widow, Anne, the heiress of Brittany, in order to annex this duchy permanently to the crown. His predecessor on the throne had opened the road to Italy. Louis was determined to take it.

The acquisition of Milan was now the object of the French policy. The grandmother of the king had been the daughter of Galeazzo Visconti, the first Duke of Milan, who died in 1402. After preparations of every kind, which proved the shrewd and far-sighted calculations of the king, an army crossed the mountains in the summer of 1499, and conquered the country, from which the Duke Lodovico Sforza had to fly with incredible swiftness.



KING CHARLES VIII.

The son of Louis XI., whom he succeeded as King of France in 1483. By his marriage to the heiress of the Duke of Brittany, he added Brittany to his own domain.

Milan the
Envy
of France

FRANCE UNDER THE LATER VALOIS

The French king made a solemn entry into Milan, and Genoa surrendered to him. Venice indeed, by virtue of an earlier treaty, received a share of the French victory; but France had thus won a strong base of operations which dangerously menaced Italy.

Soon after the departure of the king the storm burst against the foreign dominion; the inhabitants, bitterly exasperated by the outrages of the conquerors, welcomed the old duke when he entered his land in February, 1500, with an army of foreign mercenaries. The French garrisons could offer no resistance, and withdrew. Louis, however, sent reinforcements, and Sforza's Swiss mercenaries refused to fight against their countrymen in the French service.

The duke's cause was lost; he wished to fly, but was betrayed and led prisoner to France, where he spent ten years in captivity. Louis was not yet satisfied with his success; his wishes were now centred on

Naples. There he came into contact with the powerful Ferdinand the Catholic of Aragon, who, as husband of Isabella of Castile, represented a formidable opponent. The two therefore joined, according to the terms of a treaty, in common action against the uncle of Ferdinand II., Frederic of Naples, whose friendly relations with the Turks were to form the pretext.

The two kings, thirsting for conquests, posed as the protectors of Christendom. Nothing was known of this alliance at Naples, where the people thought that Louis alone was their enemy, and actually hoped for Ferdinand's aid against him. When, in the summer of 1501, a French army appeared in Rome, the treaty was disclosed, since both sovereigns demanded and received the papal investiture of Naples. Under these circumstances Frederic could not resist; he surrendered to the French, and lived in



THE ENTRANCE OF CHARLES VIII., KING OF FRANCE, INTO NAPLES

It was the great ambition of Charles VIII. to conquer Italy, and he invaded that country in 1495. Entering Naples, he found the people eager for French rule, and soon he found himself in possession of the whole country. But the conquerors did not understand how to win the goodwill of the people, who quickly rose up against them. Though Charles defeated the Milanese and Venetians at Fornuovo, the results of the Italian campaign were not at all to his advantage.

France with a large yearly allowance until his death, in 1504. Louis' pleasure at the possession of Naples did not last long. Since no agreement could be made with Ferdinand as to the frontier, war resulted. In it the Spanish general, Gonsalvo Hernandez de Cordova, the "Great Captain," was repeatedly victorious, and finally gained sole possession of the capital. Louis, in furious indignation at the failure of his undertakings, immediately equipped several armies against the Spaniards; but at the end of 1503 the most powerful of them was completely routed by Gonsalvo on the Garigliano. A three years' truce was concluded in February, 1504, by the terms of which the whole of Naples was annexed to Spain. The events in Italy were of decisive importance for the king of the Romans, Maximilian, whose vassal had been

unceremoniously banished from Milan, and the acquisition of Naples threatened to furnish the French king with another strong centre for operations. King Maximilian, in order not to let his claims on Milan disappear, had already consented to the betrothal of his grandson, Charles, aged a year and a half, to Claudia, infant daughter of Louis, on the condition that both should inherit Milan, and had promised to invest Louis with the duchy. This treaty was, in 1504, extended, so that in the event of Louis dying without male issue, Naples, and both Brittany and the duchy of Burgundy in France, should fall to the future wife of Charles. Thereupon Louis was actually invested with Milan. But soon afterwards all idea was abandoned of a marriage between Claudia and Charles. Louis had possibly never seriously contemplated it. In fact, the fulfilment of the compact of



LOUIS XII. OF FRANCE
He succeeded his cousin, Charles VIII., in the year 1498, and reigned till 1515, dying three months after his marriage to Mary, the sister of Henry VIII. of England.



DEATH OF GASTON DE FOIX AT THE GREAT BATTLE OF RAVENNA, IN THE YEAR 1512
In this great battle the army of Louis XII. of France, under the youthful commander, Gaston de Foix, met the papal and Spanish forces and inflicted upon them a decisive defeat. France, however, lost her brilliant leader, who fell in the battle.

1504 would have been equivalent to a partition of France.

In all the negotiations between the kings, Louis and Maximilian, an important part had been played by the latter's son Philip. Out of hatred for him the Spaniard, Ferdinand, was drawn more closely to Louis, and received the hand of his niece, to whom Louis had granted his claims on Naples. Claudia was betrothed a little later to Count Francis of Angoulême, the heir-presumptive to the French throne, and the brilliant prospects of the Hapsburgs were destroyed. Philip would gladly have avenged the affront, but he died in 1506, and King Maximilian was too weak to venture on war with Louis, who successfully crushed a rising in Genoa in 1507.

Maximilian soon afterwards engaged in an unfortunate struggle with the powerful republic of Venice, which refused him a passage for his troops to Rome, and was forced to conclude a truce in April, 1508. Since the republic seemed equally dangerous to Louis and Maximilian, a treaty was signed at Cambray on December 10th, 1508, when it was arranged that each party should recover from the republic the territories to which he laid claim. The Pope and King Ferdinand of Aragon joined the league, as well as some smaller rulers. In the spring of 1509 a powerful Venetian army was in the field when the French advanced to the attack. Victory rested with the French arms, and each of the allies received the districts which he wished to occupy. Attempts of the Venetians to separate the allies by formal offers proved ineffectual. They succeeded, however, in regaining Padua by the help of the population. Shortly afterwards, King Maximilian, with a powerful army, supported by French and Spaniards,

appeared before the city and began the siege, but discontent and want of money finally forced him to abandon it. He marched back to Germany and dismissed the greater part of his army. Pope Julius II. also had obtained from Venice what he wanted. Ferdinand was invested with Naples, and desisted from the struggle, so that now only France and King Maximilian continued the war.

In order to crush the opposition of the Pope, their former ally, the two kings, supported by some cardinals, arranged to hold a general council in November, 1510. It was actually summoned at Pisa, but Julius forbade the assembly, and on his

part convened a Lateran Council at Rome. The Pope had now allies in Venice and the Swiss; Ferdinand of Aragon also was a firm supporter. Thus the so-called "Holy League" was formed in order to drive out Louis. But the French again were victorious, and captured Brescia with terrible slaughter in 1512. The Pope won over Henry VIII. of England for the League, and induced King Maximilian to make a truce at any rate with Venice, so that Louis now had to trust to his own power alone. He once more won a decisive victory at Ravenna, but, unfortunately, Gaston de Foix, the youthful



BAYARD WOUNDED AT BRESCIA

During the capture of the town of Brescia by the French in 1512 many brave deeds were witnessed, but they were all eclipsed by the exploit of Bayard, "the knight without fear and without reproach," who defended a castle against an overwhelming body of troops.

French commander, fell in it. The Pope, deeply concerned by the reverse, breathed again when he learned that an army of the Confederates had invaded Milan, and with the help of Venice was driving the French out of the country. Maximilian Sforza, a son of Lodovico Sforza, now became duke of the territory, reduced by the loss of some districts. A new danger was threatening King Louis from Spain, where Ferdinand brought the kingdom of Navarre under his dominion. Thus the end of the year 1512 showed a much less favourable prospect.

However, Pope Julius, who had been the soul of the league, died in February, 1513. Soon afterwards Louis concluded with his former bitter enemy, the republic of Venice, a treaty with regard to the joint conquest of Milan. The new Pope of the family of the Medici, Leo X., a determined enemy of the French, allied himself against them with King Maximilian, Ferdinand, and Henry VIII., in order to offer resistance to the combined power of Venice and France. After a preliminary success the French were defeated on June 6th, 1513, at Novara by the Swiss soldiers of Sforza, and the Venetians now saw themselves abandoned by Louis. Picardy was overrun by an army of Henry VIII.,

which, supported by German knights, conquered the enemy in August and captured Tournay. At the same time an army of Swiss wished to conquer Burgundy. But the French commander entered into a treaty with them—which the king did not ratify—and thus this threatening danger was averted. Louis now tried to make terms with his enemies, and succeeded in doing so. Henry VIII. actually gave him the hand of his sister Mary. But on January 1st, 1515, only three months after his marriage, Louis XII. died, deeply mourned by his people, and left his kingdom to Francis, Count of Angoulême, a great-grandson of their common ancestor, Louis of Orleans. ARMIN TILLE



THE DEATH OF THE BRAVE BAYARD, FIGHTING FOR FRANCE IN 1524

Bayard, the most chivalrous hero of the Middle Ages, whose famous exploit at Brescia is referred to on the preceding page, met his death fighting for his country against Milan in 1524. With a handful of men he remained behind to hold the enemy in check while the French army retreated from a difficult position. He was thus engaged when a stone from a crossbow struck him, snapping his spine in two places. He was lifted from his horse, and laid beneath a tree, as shown in the above picture, and after breathing a prayer he begged his friends to turn his face to the foe.

From the painting by Benjamin West



ALFRED: THE HERO KING OF ENGLAND

3834¹



THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE AGES

By H. W. C. Davis, M.A. and Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST ALFRED AND THE SAXON KINGS

WE left Egbert of Wessex, in the early years of the ninth century, engaged in establishing what may be called a single suzerainty among the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. But the progress of the work begun by him was delayed by the descent of a new storm of invaders on the English coasts. The Northmen, driven out from the Scandinavian countries by the love of adventure, the hope of booty, and repugnance to the centralising policy of their native kings, began to plunder Northumbria at the close of the eighth century. Gradually their raids brought them further to the south, and in the year 832 their bands wintered for the first time on English soil, in the Isle of Sheppey. From that year to 878 the English kingdoms were fighting for bare existence against ever increasing hosts, who came at first in the hope of plunder, and afterwards with the intention of founding a new state.

England was not the only victim: on the coast of Ireland, and from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Garonne, the Northmen made themselves felt as the worst foes of peace in a period of general anarchy; but in England they performed their work of destruction with special thoroughness. They destroyed the kingdoms of Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia, and Alfred the Great, who came to the throne of Wessex in 871, found it necessary to

purchase a respite from the attacks which had brought his kingdom to the last gasp. After seven years of incessant fighting, and a final victory at Ethandune, in 878, the young king divided England with his enemies. By the Treaty of Wedmore a

The Great Alfred and the Danes line drawn from Reading to the point where the Ribble takes a western turn in the direction of the sea was fixed as the boundary between the English and the Danes. In East Anglia the invaders formed a kingdom under the rule of Guthrum; in Eastern Mercia there arose a federation of five Danish boroughs. The rest of the Danelaw was settled by smaller communities organised on a republican model.

Alfred survived the treaty of Wedmore by more than twenty years. This period he occupied partly in warfare against new bands of Danes, partly in the reorganisation of his shattered kingdom. The pains which he took to improve his army, by a stricter enforcement of the service and by calling out the ordinary militia in relays, bore fruit even in his own time. He secured Wessex and West Mercia against sudden raids; he reannexed Essex and the town of London. He also fortified boroughs as places of refuge and posts of observation, and he was wiser than most of his successors in his attempts to create a powerful navy for the defence of the English coasts. But his warlike exploits were eclipsed by those of his descendants,

and he is more justly celebrated for his endeavours to revive religion and education, for his translations of such standard works as Boethius, Orosius, and Gregory's "Pastoral Care," and, finally, for his connection with the first English Chronicle, which appears to have been compiled under his supervision. His code of laws, though no more than a summary of custom and previous enactments with some few improvements, is at once a testimony to his care for the good order of his kingdom, and a historical monument

lands which had been ceded at the Peace of Wedmore; and every stage of their advance was marked by the establishment of new strongholds and the restoration of an ordered government. Edward the Elder (900-925), aided by his sister Ethelfleda, the lady of the Mercians, encroached steadily upon the Danes in the midlands and the eastern counties. Before his death the Five Boroughs and the kingdom of East Anglia had been incorporated with Wessex. Athelstan (925-940) is famous as the victor of Brunanburh, a battle



AN EARLY TRIAL BY JURY IN THE TIME OF KING ALFRED

In this picture the artist, Mr. C. W. Cope, R.A., depicts a trial by jury in the early days of English history. In his account of the reign of Alfred the Great, the historian Hume describes trial by jury as an institution "admirable in itself and the best calculated for the preservation of liberty and the administration of justice that was ever devised by the wit of man." Though trial by jury is generally supposed to have been founded by Alfred, the authorities are now agreed that it was probably transplanted from Germany and introduced by the Saxons after their settlement in England.

of the first importance. It is doubtful whether he should be regarded as the inventor of the administrative system which we find in the later Anglo-Saxon period; but his authentic acts are in themselves sufficient to place him among the heroes of the English nation.

The immediate successors of Alfred (900-978) were men of more than average ability and resolution; and it is less their fault than that of our authorities that the men, apart from their deeds, live only as shadows in the page of history. Step by step they completed the reconquest of the

which gave him possession of Northumbria. Edmund the Magnificent (940-946) crushed a rebellion of the Five Boroughs, conquered Cumberland, and gave it to Malcolm, King of Scots, as the price of an alliance which English vanity magnified into a submission. Under Edgar the Peaceful (958-976) and his able minister, Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, there was at length a respite from warfare. The chief energies of the government were now devoted to Church reforms, such as the enforcement of celibacy upon the clergy and the diffusion of a strict monastic rule, and to the obliteration

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

of the feud between the native English and the Scandinavian immigrants. At this point we may pause to survey the political institutions of the West Saxon state, which in this period reached their highest point of elaboration and efficiency. Unless their nature is clearly grasped, much of later English history cannot be understood, for the story of the English constitution is one in which there are no violent breaches with the past, and the influence of West Saxon legislation remains a living force in England long after the close of the Middle Ages.

The English crown was regarded as the monopoly of the house of Cerdic—that is, the Wessex kings—but it was admitted that as between the members of that family the nation might exercise the traditional right of election, and that an incompetent or tyrannical king might always be deposed. But the prominent part taken by the crown in the struggle with the Danes, a brilliant series of conquests, and the moral support of the Church, gave to the West Saxon monarch of the tenth century a power as much greater in degree as it was more extensive in sphere than that of German tribal sovereigns. He had no standing army; but a large body of thegns held land from him as the price of military service, and every freeman was bound to muster at his summons for a defensive war. He imposed no taxes, but his demesnes and customary dues supplied him with ample resources for his ordinary needs. The old nobility of birth (*eorls*) had become extinct or had lost its former consequence; and the king's thegns, who now counted as nobles, were no mean

counterpoise to the hereditary aldermen in whose hands the government of the more recently conquered provinces was allowed to remain as a concession to the spirit of local and tribal independence. Absolute, however, the king was not, in theory or in practice. A folk-moot of the whole body of the freemen was impossible in a kingdom which extended from the English Channel to the Scottish border, but in all matters of importance the king was bound to take the opinion of his Witan, or wise men—a council composed of aldermen, bishops, and king's thegns. It was through this assembly that the national prerogative of electing and deposing kings was exercised.

For purposes of local government the whole of England south of the Mersey and the Humber was divided into shires, of which some, such as Kent and Essex, represented kingdoms of the so-called

Heptarchic period, others were provinces of the old West Saxon state, while a third class were of more recent origin, the creation, as it would seem, of Alfred and his immediate successors. New or old, each shire possessed a folk-moot which met in full session three times in the year, to act partly as a local parliament and partly as a law court. For judicial purposes it might be summoned specially at other seasons, when only those immediately interested as judges or parties to the suits in progress were expected to attend. The position of president in the shire-moot was shared by the bishop, the

sheriff, or royal steward of the shire, and the alderman, who was in theory elected by the Witan, but in practice was a hereditary official. The sheriff



EGBERT THE GREAT

Driven in his younger days to seek refuge at the Frankish court, Egbert of Wessex there learned many lessons that were valuable to him on his return to England. He extended his kingdom, and fought the invading Northmen.



THE GREAT KING ALFRED

The name and fame of King Alfred will never pass from the grateful remembrance of the English people. Born in 849, he was crowned at Winchester when twenty-three years old, and for many years he fought against the Danes.

From the portrait in the Bodleian Library at Oxford



THE CELEBRATED "ALFRED JEWEL" IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM AT OXFORD

This notable example of ancient cloisonné enamelling was found at Athelney in Somersetshire in 1693, and it is considered possible that the jewel, or, at any rate, the enamelled part, was brought from the East, and is not an example of Saxon workmanship. Around its edge is the legend, "Aelfred mec heht gevvrcan"—Alfred ordered me to be made.

administered the royal demesnes, collected the king's customary dues in kind or money, and enforced the three primary obligations of the freeman—that is to say, service in the field, repair of fortresses, and maintenance of bridges. The alderman led the

The Primitive Operations of the Law

militia of the shire to the royal host, and received in payment the third penny of the profits arising from the shire court. The shires were divided into districts, known by the name of hundreds, which appear to be in many cases of great antiquity, representing the original settlement of a single clan or military unit. In the tenth century the hundred is important for purposes of justice and police. Minor disputes and infractions of the peace were settled in the monthly hundred court; malefactors were pursued by the hue and cry of all the lawful men within the hundred.

The efforts of the hue and cry to suppress wrongdoing were supplemented by a system of sureties. Every lord was responsible for his men, and the inferior ranks of the population both in the country and in boroughs were divided into groups or tithings, in each of which each member was responsible for the good conduct of the rest. Often the tithing was coincident with a village. This system of frank-pledge

is the chief purpose for which the village community is recognised in Anglo-Saxon law. Yet there is evidence to show that villages, whether they still remained free, or whether they had fallen under the dominion of a lord, were communities with a truly corporate feeling. The common-field system of agriculture necessitated universal conformity to the traditional methods of cultivation; and private owners were thus debarred from making special profits by the development of improved methods. Hence it was only by trade, and in the towns, that capital could be accumulated. Of towns there were a fair number in the tenth century; and we have evidence of some degree of foreign trade with Normandy, Flanders, and the Rhine lands. But the towns had been founded, as a rule, more with a view to military requirements than to the convenience of buyers and sellers. Though

Where the Kings Lived

they received the privilege of special law courts, managed by their own portreeves, and of markets under the protection of the king's special peace, their prosperity developed slowly except in the southern and eastern counties. Gloucester, Winchester, and London were important as royal residences; Exeter, Bristol, and London, possessed some

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

foreign trade, and Norwich was beginning to attain prosperity. But London alone had any pretensions to influence the policy of the government.

In the institutions which we have described there is nothing of importance

Christianity's Influence on Legislation

which can be ascribed either to a Roman or a Keltic model. And what is true of institutions is also true in the main of private law, so far as it is preserved for us in the legislation of Alfred and his descendants. No doubt Christianity brought with it some maxims of the Code and Digest—the law relating to ecclesiastical persons and cases was constructed upon this foundation; we may also trace to the same source the right of testamentary bequests of movable property, and one form of real estate ("bocland").

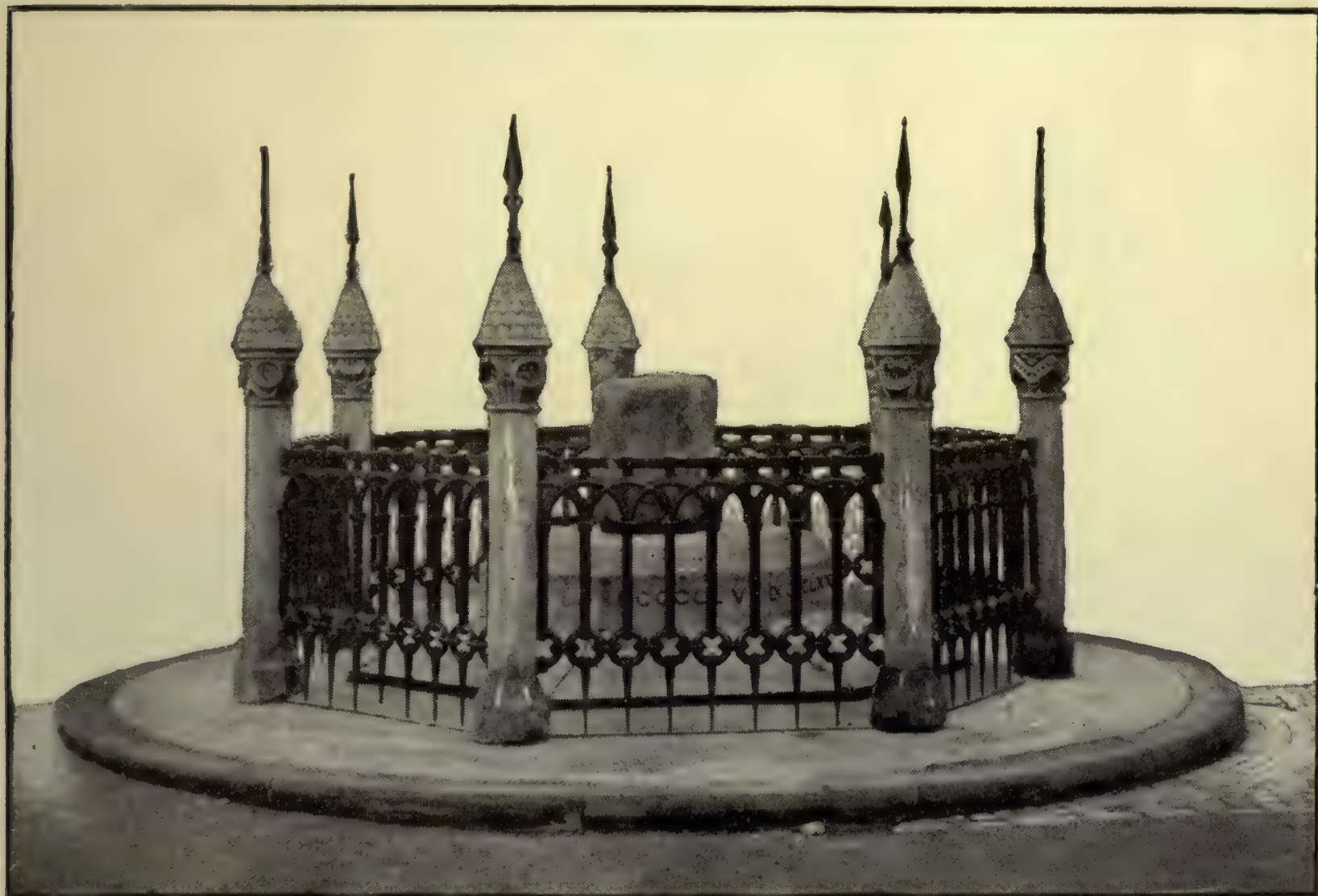
But the main substance of the customary law is Germanic. In the districts colonised by the Danes it received a Scandinavian tinge, as the very name of the Danelaw denotes; even under the rule of Edgar there was no attempt to impose one uniform law upon the local courts. In the Danelaw also we find some peculiar modifications of the Teutonic administrative

system; a patriciate of "lawmen" appears to exercise considerable influence in the Danish boroughs, and some of the eastern shires are divided, not into hundreds, but into ridings and wapentakes.

But the Danes, although by no means such barbarians as their enemies would have us believe, were inferior to the English in political intelligence; their fusion with the English race was more important for its invigorating effect upon the national type of character than for any changes of political theory which it produced. It must, however, be remembered that the struggle with the Danes accelerated the growth of a tendency towards feudalism which was inherent in the English, as in all other Germanic societies. During the period of invasions

How Feudalism Grew

it became increasingly common for the poor freeholder to "commend" himself and his land to the protection of a powerful lord. Society began to crystallise into groups, within which the bond of union was the tie of personal fidelity to a common superior. But, independently of the invasions, royal policy and the natural pressure of economic development did much to promote the



THE CORONATION STONE OF EARLY ENGLISH KINGS

This celebrated stone, on which some of England's earliest kings were crowned, stands at Kingston-on-Thames, in Surrey, and, as shown in the illustration, is protected by a stout iron railing. The kings crowned on this stone were Athelstan in 925, Edmund I. in 940, Edred in 946, Edward the Martyr in 975, Ethelred II. in 978, and Edmund II. in 1016. Under each of the columns surrounding the stone is a penny of one of the kings mentioned.

growth of feudalism. The crown was always ready to utilise the feudal tie for purposes of police, by making the lord responsible for the good conduct of his men; and a bad harvest probably did as much as the worst of Danish raids to swell the ranks of the dependent class.

The last and the worst of the conflicts with the Northmen had still to come. In 980, immediately after the accession of Edgar's younger son, Ethelred the Unready—really *Unrede*, redeless or ill-advised—new hordes made their appearance on the English coast; in 991

geld") was introduced. The subsequent attempts of the king to collect a fleet were frustrated by the dissensions or treachery of his aldermen; and when, in 994, Olaf Tryggvesson, king of Norway, and Sweyn Forkbeard, king of Denmark, descended upon England, with designs of conquest and lasting colonisation, they found the country an easy prey. Their ships were repulsed from London by the valour of the citizens, and they were bribed by Ethelred to accept a truce; but they withdrew from one point of the coast, only to reappear upon another. The



EDGAR THE PEACEABLE BEING ROWED DOWN THE DEE BY EIGHT TRIBUTARY PRINCES
Known as the Peaceable, King Edgar brought a time of tranquillity to his kingdom to which it had long been a stranger. He reigned for thirteen years before his coronation took place, and it is said that when he visited Chester shortly after the ceremony, he was rowed on the Dee from the city to the Minster of St. John by his eight vassal princes, Kenneth of Scotland, Malcolm of Cumberland, Maccus of the Isles, and five Welsh princes. Edgar was canonised after his death, at the age of thirty-two years, and miracles are said to have been worked at his shrine.

Brihtnoth, the heroic alderman of Essex, was defeated and slain at Maldon by Norwegian pirates, his household thegns falling to a man around the body of their lord. Their loyalty inspired the noblest of Anglo-Saxon ballads, and presaged success for their country in the coming struggle:

Mind shall the harder be, heart shall the keener be,

Mood shall the more be, as our might lessens.

But the sequel was not worthy of the prelude. Ethelred made peace with the invaders, giving them a bribe of ten thousand pounds of silver, and thus the fatal practice of paying blackmail ("Dane-

central government lay in the hands of Mercian favourites, who were mistrusted by the men of other provinces.

Combined preparations for defence were frustrated by provincial jealousies and by the shortsighted selfishness of the shire militias, who would arm only to defend their own homes. The English foot soldiers, moreover, toiled vainly in pursuit of the marauders, who seldom failed to obtain horses when they disembarked. Such was the discouragement of the English that small bands of Danes roamed freely through the length and breadth of the kingdom. Again and again the country



Valentine

THE MILLENNARY STATUE OF ALFRED THE GREAT AT WINCHESTER

The thousandth anniversary of Alfred's death was celebrated in 1901 at Winchester, England's ancient capital, and this striking statue of the great king, the work of the sculptor, Mr. William Thornycroft, was then erected.

**WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR**

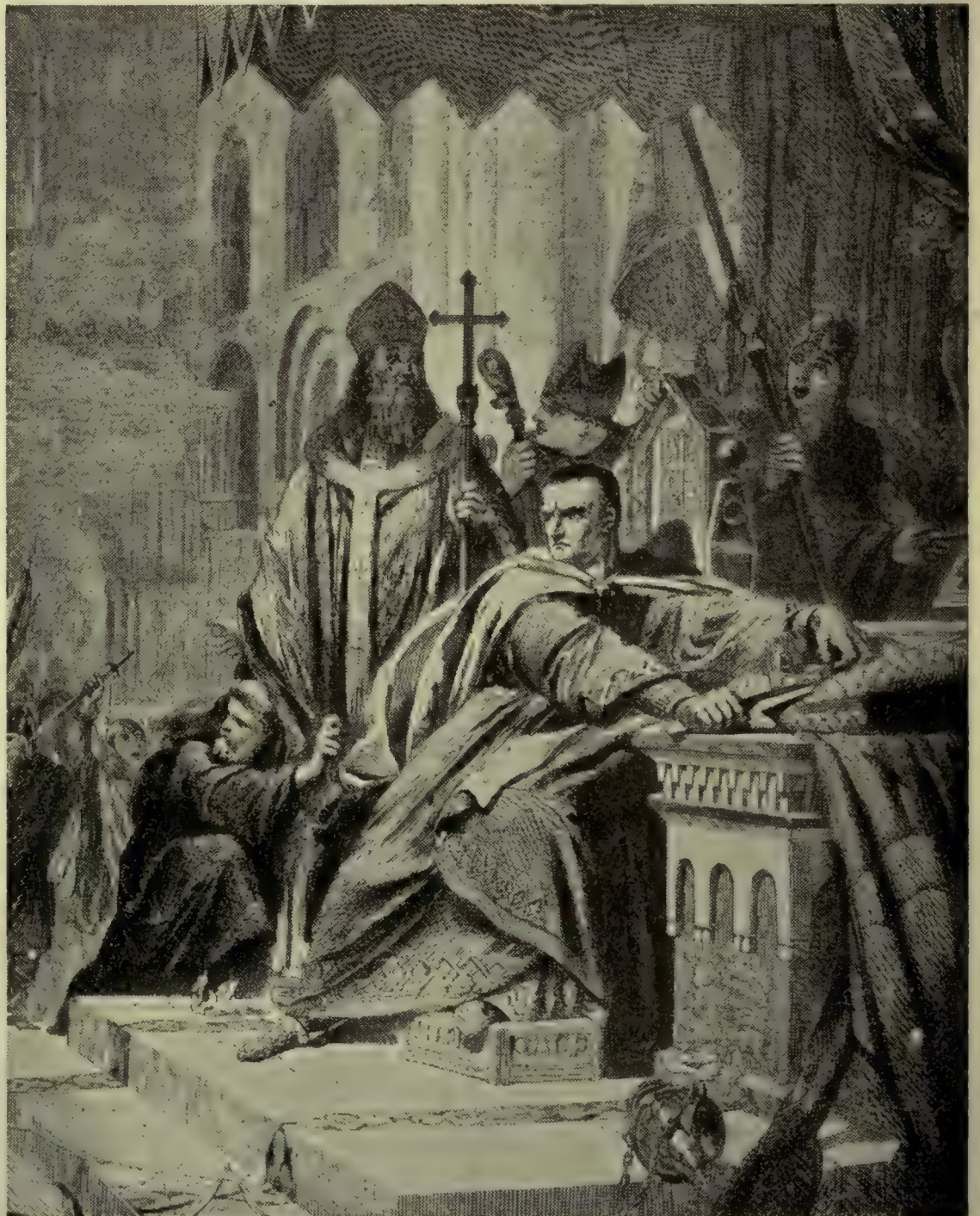
A natural son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, the Conqueror was born at Falaise in 1027 and in 1066 invaded England.

was oppressed with taxes to provide new Danegelds, which resulted in encouraging new visits.

In 1002 the English king sought to strengthen an alliance with Richard II. of Normandy by marrying Emma, the sister of the duke; he was successful in his immediate object of excluding the pirates from the harbours of this Scandinavian colony, which had enjoyed since the year 912 a recognised position as a dependency of the crown of France. The later results of the Norman alliance were portentous, and it at once produced a new phase in the Danish wars. The marriage emboldened Ethelred to command the massacre of St. Brice's Day—November 11th, 1002—in which a number of the more recent Danish settlers in England were slaughtered during a time of truce. But Sweyn, now king of Denmark, returned with an overwhelming force to avenge his countrymen; and a protracted war ended with the flight of Ethelred to Normandy in 1014 and the prostration of his king-

dom at the feet of Sweyn. The death of the conqueror in the same year enabled Ethelred to return and continue the struggle till his death in 1016. His son and successor, Edmund Ironsides, proved a warrior of no mean skill and fortune, but met his equal in Knut, or Canute, the son of Sweyn, and died, worn out, perhaps, with the strain of five pitched battles in six months, at the moment when his enemies had been forced to compromise with him for the partition of the kingdom. Upon his death Canute was elected king by the Witan, since all were weary of a struggle which now seemed hopeless. The remaining children of Ethelred and Emma found a shelter at the Norman court.

Under Canute and his sons Harold and Harthacnut (1016-1042), England became the leading province in a Scandinavian empire, which included Norway, Denmark,

**THE CORONATION OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR**

The coronation of the Conqueror at Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day, 1066, witnessed an outburst of ill-feeling between the two peoples. When the Saxons within the Abbey shouted their assent to the coronation, according to time-honoured custom, the Normans outside mistook the noise for an attack on their leader and set upon them. The nobility rushed from the Abbey in alarm, and it was with considerable difficulty that William was able to quell the tumult.

From the picture by John Cross



THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND TOLD IN THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

The extraordinary piece of needlework, 214 feet long, known as the Bayeux Tapestry, from which the above illustrations are reproduced, is said to have been worked by, or under the superintendence of, Matilda, the Conqueror's queen. It contains a detailed representation of the events connected with the invasion and conquest of England, and it is now preserved in the Library Museum at Bayeux, where it had for centuries been kept in the Cathedral, to which Matilda had presented it. As a historical document the tapestry is of the utmost value and it is wonderfully preserved.

and the south of Sweden. In Europe Canute held a position second only to that of the Emperor Conrad II.; and by his presence at Rome on the occasion of Conrad's coronation in 1027 the Danish sovereign proclaimed his desire for friendship and peaceful intercourse with the chiefs of Christendom. He aspired to complete the conquest of Scandinavia, but it was in England that he fixed his residence. Norway and Denmark were left to be ruled by his sons or other viceroys, and he attempted to civilise these countries on the English model. He endeavoured, not without success, to win the favour of his English subjects, dis-

and Harold, son of Godwin. It appears that he resisted the temptation of colonising England with his countrymen. The acts of treachery and injustice with which he is charged fell entirely on the few great families which were dangerously powerful. But his early death, in 1035, and the unpopularity of his sons snapped the tie with Scandinavia. On the death of Harthacnut, in 1042, there being no obvious Danish candidate for the vacant throne, Edward, the sole surviving son of Ethelred, was recalled from Normandy and elected by the Witan, acting under the suggestion of Earl Godwin.

From this point to the year 1066, the government was in dispute between the



RIVALS FOR ENGLISH TERRITORY: EDMUND IRONSIDES AND CANUTE

These two men, Edmund Ironsides and Canute, were engaged in a bitter struggle for the possession of English territory, and the outcome of the duel was that the country was partitioned between them in 1016. On the death of Edmund, Canute was proclaimed king of all England, which became the leading province in a Scandinavian empire.

missed the greater part of his fleet, retaining only a small force of huscarls as a bodyguard, enforced the best laws of his predecessors, and, as his position became better established, relied more and more upon Englishmen as his assistants. Of the four great earldoms into which he divided England, the most important, that of Wessex, was entrusted to the Englishman, Godwin.

The introduction of regular taxation was his one unpopular measure. Under the name of Danegeld he introduced an impost of 50 cents on the hide of land (120 acres); but the tax was continued by his English successors, Edward the Confessor,

house of Godwin and the rival house of Mercia. The king was a puppet in the hands of these two families; he had little taste for political affairs, made it his chief ambition to provide for his Norman favourites, and incidentally earned the title of Confessor by attempting to infuse something of the austere Norman discipline into the degenerate English Church. He married Godwin's daughter, and lent himself to that ambitious statesman's plans of self-aggrandisement. Earldoms old and new were conferred upon the queen's relations, until only Mercia and Northumbria lay beyond the range of Godwin's influence. But the king chafed against



KING CANUTE REBUKING HIS FLATTERING COURTIERS

When he became king of all England, on the death of Edmund Ironsides, Canute ruled with wisdom and with power, winning and subduing men by the greatness of his personality, and he gave to the distracted country eighteen years of peace and order. Troubled by obsequious courtiers, Canute, it is said, took them to the seashore, and rebuked their flattery by showing them that the advancing waves would not retire at his word and had no regard for his kingship. The story goes that never after would the king wear his crown, but hung it on the head of the crucified Lord.



THE GREAT BATTLE OF SENLAC, NEAR HASTINGS, IN THE YEAR 1066

Important issues for England were at stake in the great battle of Senlac, near Hastings, which was fought on October 14th, 1066. Landing on the shores of this country, William I., Duke of Normandy, was determined to bring the kingdom of England under his power, and leading his great army to Senlac he awaited the attack of King Harold. In the battle which ensued the English troops were overthrown. Harold and his two brave brothers fell with many of their faithful followers. One of the first acts of William the Conqueror after his coronation was to build a convent at Senlac.

the yoke and resented the attempts of Godwin to deprive him of his Norman favourites. In the middle of the reign, in 1051, the earl and his family were expelled by a coalition between Edward and the house of Mercia. Godwin returned in a few months, leading a host which he had raised by the help of his allies, the King of Leinster and the Count of Flanders.

In the meantime the king had received a visit from his cousin, William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, and this prince had obtained promises of the reversion of the English crown, which, although destitute of any legal value, sufficed to mark him out as the future rival of the house of Godwin. The West Saxon earl signalled his return to power by expelling the most dangerous of the foreign favourites, but compromised himself in the eyes of the devout by substituting an English archbishop, Stigand by name, for the Norman nominee of the king. It was a mistake, for which he partially atoned by adopting a conciliatory attitude towards his Mercian rival. But his son Harold, who succeeded him in the earldom of Wessex in 1053, pursued a policy which sowed dissension in the kingdom and in his own family. He thrust his brother Tostig into the earldom of Northumbria, and vainly endeavoured to outlaw Earl Ælfgar of Mercia; then, in 1065, alarmed perhaps

by the imminence of Edward's death, he reversed his policy, allowed the Northumbrians to expel Tostig, and acquiesced in their choice of an earl from the Mercian family. Harold was still strong enough to procure his own election by the Witan, when the Confessor died without issue on January 5th, 1066. But he was accepted only as an alternative to the dreaded Norman.

He was attacked almost simultaneously from two quarters: from the north by the exile Tostig and Tostig's brother in arms, Harald Hardrada, the king of Norway; from the south by William of Normandy, who came, supported by the blessing of the Pope and the treasures of his father-in-law, the Count of Flanders, to reform the English Church and to claim the inheritance of the Confessor. Over the northern army Harold won a signal victory at Stamford Bridge; Tostig and the king of Norway were left upon the field. But at the battle of Senlac, unsupported by the northern earls, Harold fell in his turn before the Norman duke. The country was paralysed by a disaster which probably affected only a fraction of its fighting force. The Normans made their way by easy

stages, and without encountering opposition, to London, the headquarters of Harold's government. On Christmas Day, 1066, the Conqueror was duly crowned at Westminster.



THE BURIAL OF HAROLD OF WESSEX AFTER THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR GRANTING A CHARTER TO THE CITIZENS OF LONDON
This illustration, from the painting by Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A., in the Royal Exchange, represents the moment when William the Conqueror, attended by his queen and surrounded by his bishops and nobles, is handing the charter to Godfrey. The architecture is taken from the Chapel of the Pyx at Westminster, which is generally accepted as having been built before the Norman Conquest, while the costume is taken from the Bayeux Tapestry.

William the Conqueror

Described by a Contemporary

This estimate of the character of the Conqueror, from the pen of one who knew him personally, is taken from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the earliest history written in the English language and the earliest vernacular record of national events in modern Europe. The name of the author is not given, but there is strong evidence to show that in its original form it was undertaken at the suggestion of King Alfred, and that some parts of it were actually written by him. Compiled in the form of a book of annals, the Chronicle is supposed to have been begun about 892, at Winchester, the capital of the West Saxon kingdom, and continued by various chroniclers down to 1154.

IF any would know what manner of man King William was, the glory he obtained and of how many lands he was lord, then will we describe him as we have known him, we, who have looked upon him, and who once lived in his court. This King William, of whom we are speaking, was a very wise and a great man, and more honoured and more powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure towards those who withstood his will. He founded a noble monastery on the spot where God permitted him to conquer England, and he established monks in it, and he made it very rich. In his days the great monastery at Canterbury was built, and many others also throughout England. King William was also held in much reverence; he wore his crown three times every year when he was in England: at Easter he wore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester. And at these times, all the men of England were with him, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and earls, thanes, and knights. So also was he a very stern and a wrathful man, so that none durst do anything against his will, and he kept in prison those earls who acted against his pleasure. He removed bishops from their sees and abbots from their offices, and he imprisoned thanes, and at length he spared not his own brother Odo.

AMONGST other things, the good order that William established is not to be forgotten; it was such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosom-full of gold unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him. He reigned over England, and being sharp-sighted to his own interest, he surveyed the kingdom so thoroughly that there was not a single hide of land throughout the whole of which he knew not the possession, and how much it was worth, and this he afterwards entered in his register. The land of the Britons (Wales) was under his sway, and he built castles therein; moreover, he had full dominion over the Isle of Mann (Anglesea): Scotland also was subject to him from his great strength; the land of Normandy was his by inheritance, and he possessed the earldom of Maine; and had he lived two years longer he would have subdued Ireland by his prowess, and that without a battle. Truly there was much trouble in these times, and very great distress; he caused castles to be built and oppressed the poor. The king was also of great sternness, and he took from his subjects many marks of gold, and many hundred pounds of silver, and this, either with or without right, and with little need. He was given to avarice and greedily loved gain. He made large forests for the deer, and enacted laws therewith, so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer, so also the boars; and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed concerning the hares, that they should go free.

THE rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked naught of them; they must will all that the king willed, if they would live; or would keep their lands; or would hold their possessions; or would be maintained in their rights. Alas! that any man should so exalt himself, and carry himself in his pride over all! May Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him the forgiveness of his sins! We have written concerning him these things, both good and bad, that virtuous men might follow after the good and wholly avoid the evil, and might go in the way that leadeth to the kingdom of heaven.

A PAGEANT OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST

In these forty pictures by Daniel Maclise, R.A., the story of the events leading up to the Norman invasion till the death of Harold is told in graphic form, giving a vivid outline of this period of great historic interest.



Harold, departing on a visit to William of Normandy, takes leave of Edward the Confessor.



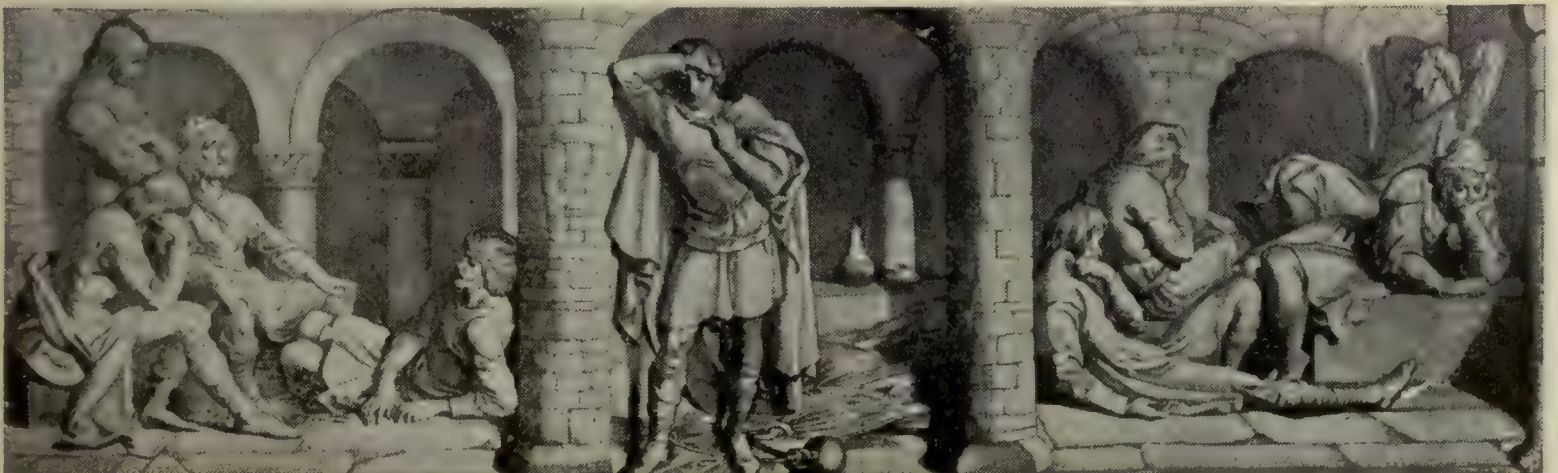
Harold and his knights ride to their place of embarkation at Bosham, Sussex.



Harold's ship stranded on the Norman coast, in the territory of Guy, Count of Ponthieu.



Harold and his companions brought as prisoners before Guy of Ponthieu and his Norman knights.



Harold and the Saxons are confined in the Castle of Beaurain, near Montreuil.



Harold's captivity announced to William of Normandy, who is informed that Guy of Ponthieu demands ransom for him.



Guy of Ponthieu gives further audience to Harold and his companions, whose release is demanded by heralds from Duke William.



Harold and Duke William meet.



Harold, William's companion in his campaign in Brittany, receives the submission of Conan, Earl of Bretagne.



William confers upon Harold the dignity of a Norman knight.



Harold's oath of fidelity to William, sworn over the concealed relics of the saints.



Harold, about to return to England, bids adieu to William, who loads him with farewell gifts.



Harold, returned from Normandy, presents himself to Edward the Confessor.



Morcar, elected Earl of Northumbria in place of Tostig ; Harold mediates with the nuncios of the election.



The marriage of Harold with Aldyth, sister of Edwin and Morcar.



Edward the Confessor's death.



The coronation of Harold as King of England.



William, in his hunting-ground at Rouen, receives intelligence from Tostig of Harold's coronation.



Tostig, defeated in his attempt against Harold, flies in his galley from the English coast.



Hugues Maigrot, a monk, has audience of King Harold, to propose conditions from Duke William.



Tostig, meditating another attack upon Harold, solicits the aid of Sweyn, King of Denmark, and of Harald Hardrada, of Norway.



William, bent upon invading England, begs for the aid of Philip I. of France, and of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, his father-in-law.



William consults the nobles and merchants of his dukedom for help in his design.



Pope Alexander consecrates a banner for William's service, and grants a ring containing a hair of St. Peter.



Homage rendered to the consecrated banner.



William displays the relics of St. Valery to allay the discontent of a portion of his troops at the proposed invasion.



Duke William in his galley, and accompanied by his fleet, crosses to England.



William stumbles as he lands, but, grasping the earth with his hand, calls out that he thus takes possession of English soil.



Meanwhile Tostig and Harald Hardrada are victorious, and receive the submission of the city of York.



The retreat of Edwin and Morcar from York.



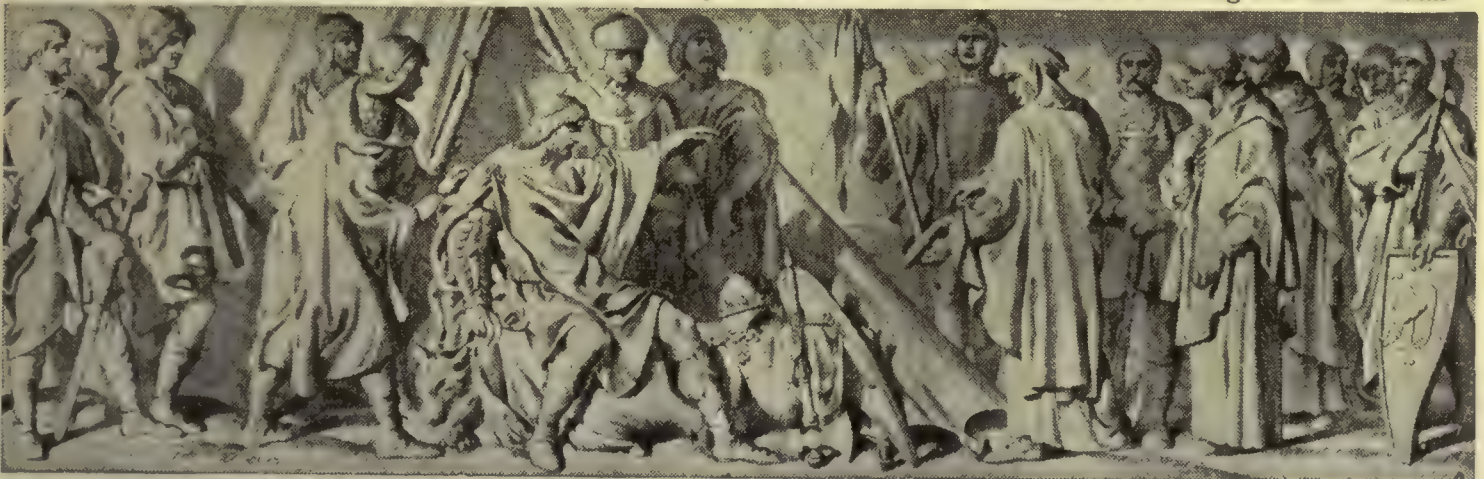
Harold's interview with Tostig, his brother, and with Hardrada, Tostig's ally, before the battle of Stamford Bridge.



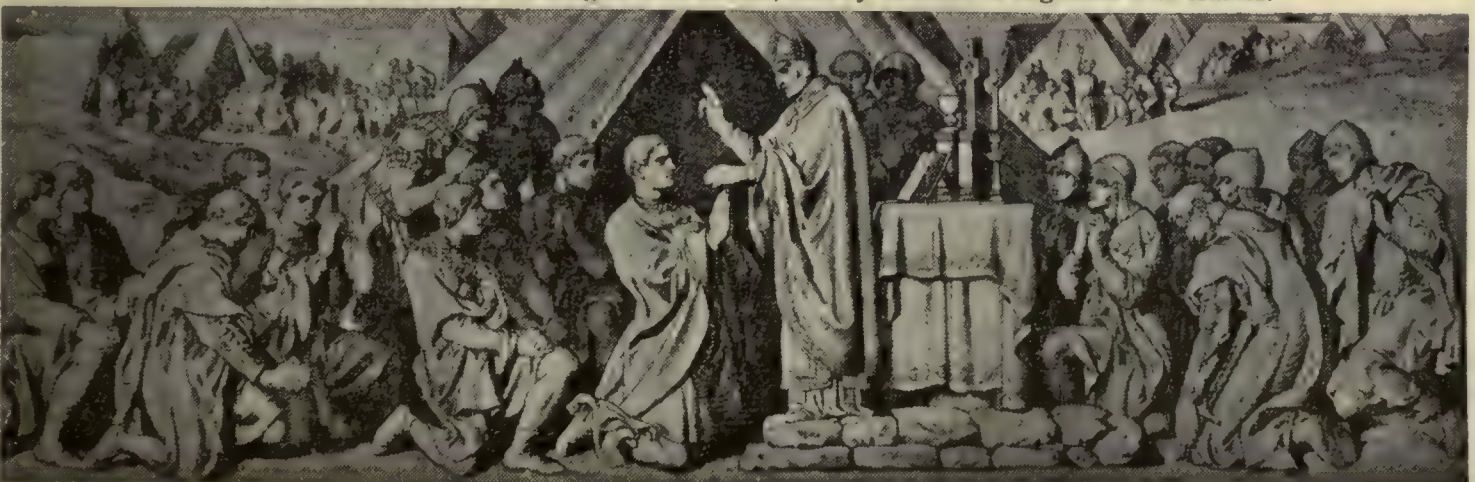
The death of Tostig and Harold Hardrada after the battle of Stamford Bridge.



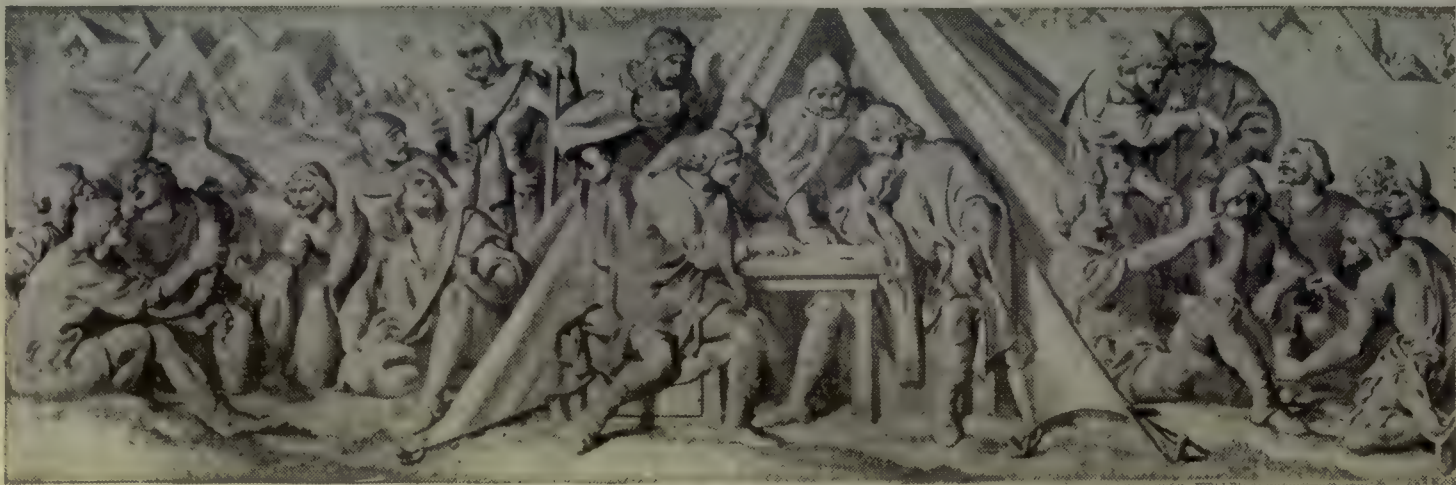
Harold, conqueror at Stamford and wounded, sits at a banquet in York. A herald announces the landing of Duke William



The day before the battle : A knight, with monks, sent by William to negotiate with Harold.



The eve before the battle : Pious observance of the Normans



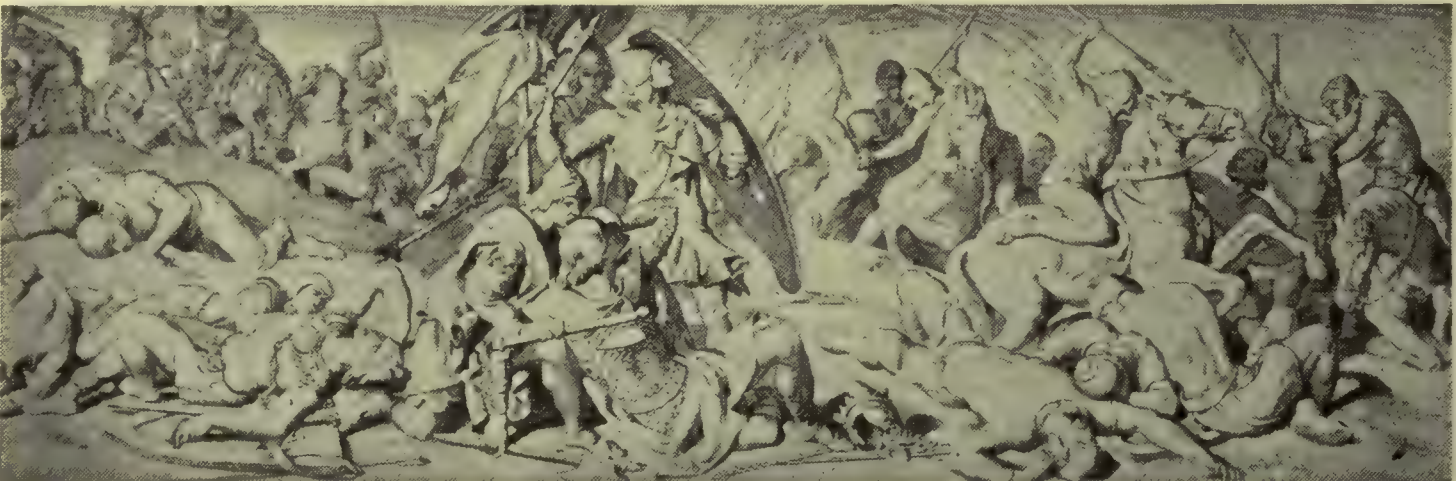
The eve before the battle: Riot and wassail of the Saxons.



Morning of battle. A Norman chief, leads Duke William's van, singing the song of Roland and juggling with his sword.



Normans, retreating, are stayed and turned by William, who discloses his face to counteract the rumour of his having fallen.



Harold, in front of the standard of England, is pierced by a falling arrow.



The night after the battle: Edith discovers amid the slain the body of Harold, last Saxon King of England.



THE NORMAN PERIOD IN ENGLAND

THE CONQUEROR AND HIS SUCCESSORS

THE Norman Conquest is one of the turning points in English history. It came at a moment when the Teutonic policy of Egbert, Alfred, and Edgar was falling to pieces through the growth of new disruptive forces. In another century the great earldoms, if left to run their natural course of development, would have become independent kingdoms in fact if not in name. The Anglo-Saxon intellect had touched its zenith three centuries before the battle of Senlac, and since then had remained stationary, or perhaps retrograded. Except under external pressure it was most likely that England would have remained impervious to the new ideas of law, politics, science, and religion, which had grown up under the fostering care of the Continental churches. A short period of devastating warfare, a longer experience of the evils of

The Political Ascendancy of the Norman

Norman despotism and Norman feudalism, were not too high a price to pay for re-admission to the European commonwealth. Nor is it a mere fancy to ascribe the higher qualities of the English nationality to the union of a stoical and freedom-loving, but sluggish and unimaginative, German stock with a race which had engrafted French taste, Italian statecraft, and Burgundian religious enthusiasm upon the robust moral qualities of Scandinavia.

We have first to sketch the process by which the political ascendancy of the Norman was riveted upon the nation. This was the work of William the Conqueror (1066-1087), and it was barely begun by the day of his coronation. South-east England alone was then in his hands, and the submission of the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, tendered shortly afterwards, did little to secure the loyalty of those provinces. The west was secured only by the surrender of Exeter, where Harold's family had found a temporary

refuge in the year 1068. The northerners were aided in their resistance by Malcolm of Scotland and Sven, or Sweyn, of Denmark. The English earls proved traitors, and the Confessor's nephew, Edgar Atheling, came forward as a claimant to

the throne. The Danes, however, were bought off, the king of Scotland was intimidated into a profession of fidelity; England beyond the Humber was harried so mercilessly by the Normans that many parts lay desolate for sixty years after; and the famous stand of the native English under Hereward the outlaw, in the Isle of Ely, was, for want of Danish help, an episode of merely local importance.

In 1075 Waltheof, the last of the English earls, was lured by two of his Norman equals into a conspiracy of which the object was to raise the conquered people in a general rebellion for the benefit of the ringleaders. But the plot was disclosed, and Waltheof atoned for his folly with his life. Long before his fall the Church and the great mass of the common people had acquiesced in the foreign domination, and William's later campaigns against Norman and English elements of disaffection were waged partly with English troops. The explanation of his rapid success is to be found in the moderation with which he used his victory. While confiscating the lands of those who had actually fought against him, he left the great mass of proprietors in undisturbed possession. To all but the greatest

landowners and stoutest patriots the Conquest meant little more than the exchange of an English for a Norman lord.

Representing himself as the lawful heir of Anglo-Saxon kings, the Conqueror pursued the general policy of exacting none but customary rights, and of respecting vested interests. None the less he contrived, without departing from the

strict letter of the law, to endow with English lands an army of between 5,000 and 6,000 Norman knights. His conquest, unlike that of Canute, swept away the native ruling class, and put in its place an alien aristocracy, permeated with the spirit of continental feudalism, unacquainted with the language and traditions of their social inferiors, and seldom restrained from lawless violence by motives of piety or prudence. Fortunately for the future of the

**How William
Safeguarded
his Subjects**

nation, the Anglo-Norman nobility was almost as dangerous to its master as to the native English, and William was constrained to hold it in check by measures which directly and indirectly safeguarded his new subjects. Though he yielded to the theory that all landholders, as such, were entitled to civil jurisdiction over their free and unfree tenants, he maintained the courts of the shire and hundred, and kept a tight hold on cases of a capital nature. He was chary of granting compact estates which might develop into principalities; the earldoms of Kent, Cornwall, Shrewsbury,

Hereford, and Chester, and the episcopal palatinate of Durham, were created either in favour of his own kinsmen or for the protection of the frontiers against the Scots and Welsh. The enormous grants of land which he conferred upon others of his followers were composed of widely scattered manors; and in every shire the office of the sheriff was maintained as a check upon the feudatories. The great official earldoms were abolished, and those which he created carried with them no rights except over single shires.

In the central government there was a careful avoidance of the appearance of change. The Conqueror promised at his accession to observe the law of Edward. The promise was substantially fulfilled so far as the private and criminal law was concerned; where these were changed, for example by the abolition of the death penalty, the change was popular. With regard to the central government the promise could not be kept. The relation of the crown to the most important of its subjects was completely changed; those who had been primarily national



THE TRAGIC DEATH OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

Visiting Normandy in 1087, to deal with the French barons who had been making inroads into his dominions, William was riding down the steep street of the town of Mantes on the Seine, when his horse stumbled, throwing him against the high pommel of the saddle. Realising that the injury was serious, he requested that he might be carried to Rouen and laid in the monastery of St. Gervais, where he died on September 9th, 1087, at the age of sixty-one. In the above picture he is seen lying where he was stripped by the robber servants who watched him during his last hours.

From a drawing by Sir John Gilbert, R.A.



FITZ-ARTHUR FORBIDDING THE BURIAL OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

The body of the Conqueror was taken to Caen, for burial in the monastery of St. Stephen. Mass had been celebrated, the corpse placed on the bier, and the panegyric on the deceased pronounced by the Bishop of Evreux, when Ascelin Fitz-Arthur, who had often complained of the Conqueror's dealings with him, declared that the man who had just been praised was a robber. "The very land on which you stand is mine," said he; "by violence he took it from my father, and, in the name of God, I forbid you to bury him in it." Although this protest failed, William's remains were not allowed to rest in peace.

officials were now feudal tenants of the king. The royal court of justice became feudal in composition, law, and procedure. For the Witan was substituted the Magnum Concilium, to which all tenants in chief were summoned. The new body had little influence upon the government, and served more as a means of publishing the king's will and obtaining the assent of his subjects to resolutions which he had framed without their help than as a constitutional check. The revenue, too, became feudal in its character. Though Danegelds were regularly levied, feudal aids and dues must have formed at least an equally important item in the royal budget. It is true that the Conqueror declined to consider his power as solely feudal in its character. In the year 1086 he summoned all the principal landowners of England, whether tenants-in-chief or not, to a *moot* at Salisbury, which reminds us of a Frankish May-field, and the assembled host was constrained to swear allegiance to the king as against all other lords. The principle thus enunciated was

Landowners and the Conqueror ever afterwards upheld, and proved a valuable safeguard against feudal rebels. But neither the Conqueror nor his successors were completely successful in combating the theory that the allegiance of tenants in chief was limited by the terms of their feudal contract.

The condition of the English Church had furnished a pretext for the Conquest, and it was therefore natural that William should encourage such reforms as would bring the English clergy into line with their brethren of the Continent. In his first steps towards this end he invited or tolerated the assistance of papal legates. But after 1070, Lanfranc, who replaced the schismatic Stigand in the primacy, was the chief counsellor of the crown in ecclesiastical matters. A native of Pavia; and trained originally as a lawyer, Lanfranc migrated in early life to Normandy and entered the monastery at Bec, a house which had been largely instrumental in reforming the Norman Church according to Cluniac ideas. A statesman rather than a saint, Lanfranc showed perhaps more vigour than justice in his dealings

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with the English clergy. Native prelates were deposed whenever possible and Normans were nominated in their place; but in general his measures were well conceived and adapted to the peculiar circumstances of England. While he insisted on the celibacy of the regular clergy,

Lanfranc's Greatest Reform

he did not require those parochial priests who were already married to put away their wives, but only made it illegal for the rest to contract marriage in the future. His most momentous reform was the separation of the ecclesiastical from the lay courts. Hitherto the bishops had sat in the shire courts to try spiritual cases, and the result had been a scandalous intermixture of the canon and the common law. Henceforth all cases which concerned the cure of souls were to be tried before the bishop or archdeacon sitting without lay assessors. The result was to create a chain of new tribunals which steadily encroached upon the jurisdiction of the lay courts, and caused the greatest of the mediæval conflicts between the English Church and State. Lanfranc, however, can hardly be blamed for the distant effects of a measure which was primarily intended to disentangle the Church from secular interests. The concordat which he and William established between the Church and State is a proof of the archbishop's moderation. It provided that nothing should be done in any episcopal synod or council without the king's consent, and that no tenants in chief should be excommunicated except by the royal command.

A further clause is significant of the change which the Cluniac movement had produced in the position of the clergy. William insisted that no Pope should be acknowledged in England, and that no papal legates or letters should be received without his permission. He had cause to make these stipulations, for Gregory VII. claimed an oath of allegiance to the papacy in return for the support which, as a

cardinal, he had given to William's enterprise. The demand was refused. William promised to fulfil all the obligations which had been recognised by his predecessors, but would go no further, and Gregory was prudent enough not to press his point. But the abstract pretensions of the papacy, however cautiously they might be applied to particular cases, were still sufficient to justify William's uneasiness.

The Conqueror died in 1087 from the effects of an accident during the sack of Mantes, a frontier town of France. He was succeeded in Normandy by his son Robert, who had been a headstrong subject and proved a feeble ruler. In England the influence of Lanfranc and the expressed wishes of the Conqueror procured the recognition of Robert's younger brother, William Rufus.



RUFUS: KING WILLIAM II.

The second son of the Conqueror, William II., known as Rufus, succeeded his father on the throne of England in 1087. He was of a savage and unrestrained nature, and showed respect neither for the baronage nor for the Church.

as he was hunting in the New Forest in 1100; and in Robert's absence Henry Beauclerk, the third son of the Conqueror, obtained the recognition of his title from the English Church and nobles. The new king inherited from his brother two

The Hard Rule of Rufus

domestic problems. Rufus had oppressed both the baronage and the Church. In his dealings with the former he had insisted on regarding feudal grants as conferring only a life estate, had demanded extortionate reliefs as the price of confirming heirs in the lands of their ancestors, and had abused the rights of wardship and marriage which a feudal lord possessed over his infant and female tenants. Vacant

THE NORMAN PERIOD IN ENGLAND

bishoprics and abbacies he had insisted on treating as though they were escheated fiefs; he had appropriated their revenues, prolonged the vacancies, and demanded, under the name of a relief, large sums from those whom he eventually appointed. Chief among the preferments which he had exploited was the see of Canterbury, left vacant by the death of Lanfranc in 1089. A fit of sick-bed repentance led him, in 1093, to appoint the saintly Anselm of Bec as Lanfranc's successor. He had, however, afterwards repented of his repentance. For Anselm, in his character of tenant in chief,

of Belesme, whose head, the Earl of Shrewsbury, was the rallying-point of the disaffected barons.

As much a foreigner as his father and Rufus had been, Henry still contrived to conciliate the native English by a marriage with Matilda of Scotland, the niece of Edgar Atheling, and a lineal descendant of Alfred the Great, by reviving the courts of shire and hundred which feudal usurpation had been undermining, and by taking stern but necessary measures for the maintenance of the public peace. His hand fell heavily upon insubordinate



THE DEATH OF WILLIAM RUFUS WHILE HUNTING IN THE NEW FOREST

The exact circumstances attending the death of William Rufus are shrouded in mystery. On August 3rd, 1100, he was hunting in the New Forest with Sir Walter Tyrrel, a Norman knight, who, so the story goes, anxious to display his skill, shot an arrow at a stag that had suddenly started up near them; the arrow, glancing from a tree, struck the king in the breast and instantly killed him. It has been asserted that Tyrrel intentionally killed the king, while William's death has also been attributed to an aggrieved peasant. The king's body was buried in St. Swithin's, Winchester.

From the painting by E. F. Burney

was later exposed to incessant persecutions from the Curia Regis, or royal court, and went into a voluntary exile in 1097. Henry's first measures were designed to conciliate the classes whom his father had offended. He recalled Anselm, and issued a charter of liberties in which he promised to the Church her former freedom, to the barons a just assessment of their feudal liabilities, and to the people in general the restoration of the law of Edward. He was thus enabled to defeat an attempt to bring in his brother Robert as a counter-claimant, and to expel the unruly house

barons and more vulgar malefactors. He executed justice on them not merely through the Curia Regis, but also through itinerant judges whom he sent on circuit through the shires to hold extraordinary assizes in the local courts.

The repression of feudal independence was much facilitated by the conquest of Normandy. The single victory of Tinchebrai in 1106 gave the king the possession of his brother's person and the duchy. Robert passed the remainder of his life in English prisons. The English baronage lost their best ally and the asylum on

which they had always counted in the event of their rebellions proving unsuccessful. Normandy, however, proved an expensive acquisition. Until the death of Robert's son, William Clito, in 1127, the victor was never free from the danger of Norman rebellions aided by French gold and armies. Hence England was heavily taxed for Henry's foreign policy, and the greatness of his needs led to the establishment of an improved financial system, centring in the Exchequer, to which the royal sheriffs rendered a half-yearly account of the taxes, the proceeds of the law courts and demesnes, and the other sources of profit accruing from their shires.

The relations of Henry with the Church were troubled by the question of investitures, which had arisen on the continent long before 1100, but was first raised in England by Archbishop Anselm after his return from exile. The conflict was conducted without personal bitterness. But Anselm refused to depart a hair's-breadth from the policy enjoined upon him by the papacy, and Henry declined to renounce his claim upon the allegiance of the bishops. A compromise was, however, arranged with the Pope's sanction after Anselm had endured a second exile of four years' duration (1103-1106) rather than acknowledge the bishops invested by the king. Henry renounced the claim to invest newly appointed prelates with the insignia of spiritual office, but retained his former rights of patronage and feudal service practically undiminished. This compromise, though leaving the Church as far as ever from the freedom which it had been the object of

the struggle to obtain, supplied the model for the Concordat of Worms in 1122, which finally terminated the long war of investitures between the papacy and empire. It did not prevent further conflicts between Henry and the Church. In his later years he was harassed by the opposition of the Pope, and of a section among his own clergy, to that part of the Conqueror's ecclesiastical settlement which affected the power of the Pope. He made, however, strenuous and partially successful efforts to check the growing practice of appeals to Rome.

The catastrophe of the White Ship robbed him of his only son, and his death, in 1135, left England and Normandy in dispute between two claimants. On more than one occasion Henry had exacted from his barons an oath of allegiance to his daughter Matilda, the widow of the Emperor Henry V., who had been married in 1129 to Geoffrey of Anjou. But the prospect of a female sovereign with an Angevin husband was equally displeasing to the Normans and the English. The majority of the barons on both sides of the Channel preferred the claim of Stephen of Boulogne, who was, through his mother, a grandson of the Conqueror, well known, moreover, in England and Normandy, and a model of knightly excellence. The precariousness of his position as an elective sovereign was, however, the strongest point in his favour. The barons and the Church alike sold their allegiance to him on conditions. He was expected to abate the rigid autocracy which his predecessor had established, to restore to the



HENRY I., KING OF ENGLAND

He was the younger brother of William Rufus, whom he succeeded on the throne of England in 1100. King Henry died suddenly at Angers in Normandy, and was buried at Reading.



MATILDA, QUEEN OF HENRY I.

Eadgyth, better known as Matilda, the queen of Henry I., was the daughter of Malcolm, the king of Scotland, and of Margaret, the grand-daughter of Edmund Ironsides.

Church alike sold their allegiance to him on conditions. He was expected to abate the rigid autocracy which his predecessor had established, to restore to the



THE GREAT BATTLE OF THE STANDARD AT NORTHALLERTON, IN WHICH THE ENGLISH DEFEATED THE SCOTS

This picture represents a great battle between the English and the Scots in 1138. The crown of England having been usurped by Stephen, grandson of William the Conqueror, a conspiracy was formed against him on behalf of Matilda, the rightful heir, whose cause was aided by David I., King of Scotland. The Scottish king crossed the border with an immense army, and was met at Northallerton, in Yorkshire, by the English troops. The battle was waged with great obstinacy, but the Scots fled when the cry was raised that their king had been slain. The sacred banners of four English saints were taken into the battle to arouse the enthusiasm of the troops, and thus the fight has become known as the Battle of the Standard.

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in the Guildhall Art Gallery

Church her "freedom" of jurisdictions and elections, to leave the great feudatories practically sovereign in their fiefs. Disputes naturally arose as to the fulfilment of a compact so one-sided; disputes engendered conspiracies, and in his efforts to forestall the conspirators Stephen offended those men who were the mainstay of his government. He arrested and despoiled Bishop Roger of Salisbury, the great justiciar to whom the administrative reforms of Henry I. had been due. The cause of Roger was warmly espoused by his fellow churchmen, and furnished a convenient pretext to discontented barons.

Matilda was invited to England in 1139; with the help of her half-brother, Earl Robert of Gloucester, she gained possession of a considerable tract of country in and around the Severn valley, and castles were held in her name by rebels throughout the length and breadth of England. While Stephen hurried distractedly from castle to castle, and wasted in small enterprises the men and money which might have sufficed for a decisive campaign, the northern shires fell into the hands of David of Scotland, and the great feudatories sold their services alternately to him and to the empress, gaining new lands and new powers of jurisdiction by

each successive treason. Unlicensed castles were rapidly multiplied and became the nests of robber gangs which pillaged at large and robbed on the highways.



STEPHEN, KING OF ENGLAND

Helped to the throne by his personal popularity on the death of Henry I. in 1135, Stephen, son of the Conqueror's daughter, Adela, did not remain in favour, and had to acknowledge Matilda's son Henry as heir to the throne.

The courts of the Church profited by the general anarchy to draw into their net all suits affecting clerks and Church property. The issue of the dynastic struggle was decided more by accident than skill or strength. In 1141 Stephen was taken captive at the siege of Lincoln; but in the same year the Earl of Gloucester fell into the hands of the king's friends, and the two captives were exchanged. The Earl of Gloucester died in 1147, whereupon the Empress Matilda retired from England. The contest was

taken up by her son, Henry of Anjou, whose marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France, gave him ample resources. In 1153 the death

of Stephen's eldest son, the ambitious Eustace, paved the way for a compromise; by the mediation of the Church Stephen was induced to recognise the young Angevin as his coadjutor and heir. The anarchy came to an end; king and count devoted themselves harmoniously to the suppression of feudal licence; and in 1154 the death of Stephen brought his rival to the throne and opened a brighter era in the national history.



QUEEN MAUD PLEADS FOR STEPHEN'S RELEASE

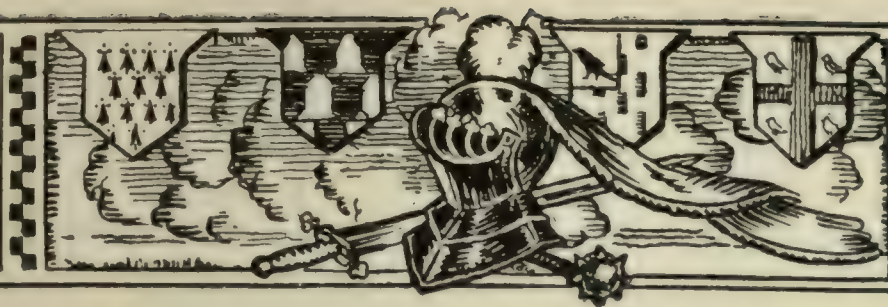
In 1141 Stephen became a prisoner in the hands of the Empress Matilda, and when Maud—Matilda's own cousin—appeared before her to beg for her husband's release, she drove the sorrowing wife from her presence.

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KING JOHN GRANTING MAGNA CHARTA

From the design by Ernest Normand for the cartoon in the Royal Exchange, London, by permission of Messrs. Hildesheimer & Co., Ltd.



ENGLAND'S ANGEVIN KINGS

THEIR QUARRELS WITH THE CHURCH AND THE NOBLES

HENRY II. was a true Angevin in his restless activity, his unbounded resourcefulness, and the furious determination with which he beat down resistance to his schemes. He had little sympathy with the English character or English traditions, and two-thirds of his reign were spent on the Continent in protecting, consolidating, or extending the heterogeneous collection of French fiefs which he inherited from his parents or acquired with his wife. But his marvellous administrative ability enabled him, in the intervals of other pursuits, to reform the whole fabric of English government. He revived and improved the fiscal machinery of his grandfather, and by the Inquest of Sheriffs in 1170 tore away from this office the privilege of hereditary, which had made the individual sheriff in preceding reigns as dangerous to the crown as any feudal baron. He gave to the royal court of justice a fixed consti-

Notable Achievements of Henry II.

tution, placed it entirely in the hands of professional lawyers, and separated it from the cabinet of administrative advisers. He extended the system of itinerant justices and made their circuits periodical. He modified the criminal law by ordering that in every shire sworn juries of inquest should be impanelled to present the names of suspected criminals, by forbidding the lords of private liberties to protect such criminals against arrest, and by limiting the opportunities of escape from punishment which were afforded by ecclesiastical sanctuaries and the ordeal.

In regard to the law of land, he substituted recognition by a jury for the detested Norman trial by battle, and offered new and more expeditious remedies to those who complained of unlawful dispossession. While refusing to give up the royal rights of the chase and his special jurisdiction over the forests, he did something to codify and mitigate the iniquitous forest laws. He reduced feudal privileges within the limits fixed by the

grants of his predecessors before 1135, and while encouraging trade, granting privileges to towns, and sanctioning the formation of trade guilds with extensive rights and monopolies, he prevented the communal movement from extending into his dominions. London, which was already in fact, and soon to be in law, the capital, he held in check; the illegal commune disappeared, and the privileges which the city had enjoyed under Henry I. were curtailed.

Henry's Hand on the Church

These wonderful successes were not unchequered with reverses. Henry attempted to curtail the judicial privileges of the Church, and with that end in view appointed his chancellor, Thomas à Becket, to the see of Canterbury in 1162. Class feeling proved too strong for the personal loyalty of this tried subordinate. Becket obstinately resisted the king's wish to bring criminal clerks and suits relating to Church lands within the purview of the royal courts. The claims of the Church were contrary to the usage which had obtained in the reigns of William I. and Henry I. The king therefore took his stand upon the "ancestral customs" which he formulated in the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164. Becket went into exile rather than observe the Constitutions, and the fact that Henry had taken this opportunity to forbid appeals to Rome gave the archbishop the support of the papacy.

The precarious position of the papacy, then engaged in a fierce struggle with the empire, protracted the struggle. But Henry was at length compelled to recall the archbishop; and when, in consequence of new quarrels, Becket was murdered by overzealous supporters of the king, in 1170, it was necessary for Henry to renounce the constitutions altogether, in order to escape sentence of excommunication. On minor issues he and his successors

Murder of Thomas à Becket

evaded the consequences of renunciation; but it was not until the advent of the sixteenth century that the immunity of criminous clerks from the secular courts could be materially diminished.

On the continent also Henry fought a losing battle. Though he acquired Brittany by a marriage between his son Geoffrey and the heiress of that county, he failed to conquer Toulouse, Auvergne, Berri, and the French Vexin, possessions which he coveted as a means of strengthening his frontier on the side of France. His continental possessions were divided by violent provincial feuds, and his sons on the continent turned against one another and their father, set province against province, and called in the king of France to their aid. The great king's end, in 1189, was accelerated by the humiliation of a defeat which he experienced from a coalition of Richard and John, his eldest surviving sons, with the astute Philip Augustus. His foreign empire was built on shifting sand, and only a few years more were needed to involve the whole fabric in utter ruin.

Against these reverses we must, however, set the extension of English influence in the British Isles. At his accession Henry recovered the North of England from the Scot, taking advantage of the death of David and the minority of his son, William the Lion.

In 1173 the latter embraced the cause of Henry's rebellious sons and invaded Northern England. Defeated and captured, he was not released until he had recognised Henry as his overlord by the treaty of Falaise. In Ireland an Anglo-Norman occupation of the east and south coasts was effected between

1169 and 1171 by the enterprise of Welsh Marcher lords who, with the consent of Henry, had taken service under Dermot, king of Neath. In the latter year the king visited Ireland to receive the homage



KING HENRY II. OF ENGLAND

Succeeding Stephen on the throne of England in 1154, Henry II., by his marvellous administrative ability, reformed the whole fabric of English government. His later years were crowded with troubles, and he died in 1189.

The period of 1189-1215 was marked abroad by the loss of all the continental possessions with the exception of Guienne, at home by a reaction, partly if not mainly



QUEEN ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE

The divorced queen of Louis VII., Eleanor of Aquitaine married King Henry II., to whom she brought considerable territory and a nominal suzerainty over the west bank of the Rhone.

feudal, against the growing centralisation of executive power, which culminated in the barons' war and the Great Charter. The two sets of events are closely connected, for ill success abroad increased taxation and discontent at home. Both were the natural result of circumstances, but both were accelerated by the faults of Henry's successors, Richard and John. The former took up the plan which his father had meditated, but wisely abandoned, of joining the Third Crusade to recover Jerusalem from Saladin, the sultan of Egypt.

Hitherto England had played but a subordinate part in the movement for the exclusion of the infidel from the Holy Land. Some volunteers had gone

ENGLAND'S ANGEVIN KINGS

to serve under Robert of Normandy in the first expedition; but those who joined in the second had gone no further than Lisbon, though the capture of this Moorish stronghold was largely due to the valour of the English contingent. The first occasion on which the English crown assisted the Crusaders was in 1188, when Henry II. levied for this purpose a tax of 10 per cent. on movable property (the Saladin Tithe).

through which the regency met their master's reiterated calls for fresh supplies, and afterwards by the crushing taxes which were needed for his ransom.

At the siege of Acre Richard quarrelled with the Duke of Austria, Leopold V. When the Crusade was abandoned, with its main object, the recovery of Jerusalem, unaccomplished, Richard was shipwrecked in the Adriatic, and caught by the duke's men while attempting to pass through



THE MURDER OF THOMAS À BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Appointed by Henry II. to be Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas à Becket became the champion of the rights of the Church, and differences arose between him and the king. Believing Henry desired his primate's death, four of the king's knights attacked and assassinated him at the altar of Canterbury Cathedral on December 29th, 1170. The death of this great prelate sent a thrill of horror through Europe. In 1220 Becket's bones were enshrined in a chapel of the Cathedral; for a long while pilgrimages were made to his tomb, and reverence was paid to him as a martyr and a saint.

From the picture by C. H. Weigall

Richard preferred to raise the funds for his expedition by the sale of privileges, offices, and crown demesnes, including the Scottish suzerainty, which his father had acquired by the Treaty of Falaise; and his force was composed mainly of men who had taken the Crusading vow and therefore served without reward. But during the king's long absence—from August, 1190, to March, 1194—the nation was harassed, at first by the exactions

Austria in disguise. The full sum demanded for his release was \$500,000; only a part was paid, but, to raise this, one-fourth of all rents and movable property had to be collected from the Church and laity. Nor was this the only bad result of the Crusade. In Richard's absence his brother John excited odium against the chancellor, William Longchamp, whom the king had left at the head of the government. Longchamp was exiled from

England by the baronage; and John then proceeded to form an alliance with Philip Augustus of France on the understanding that the dominions of Richard should be divided between them. Normandy was invaded by French forces, and John succeeded in raising a rebellion in England.

Although both attacks failed before the vigorous measures of the new regents, they left effects which were felt for the rest of Richard's reign. He found himself involved in an interminable war of skirmishes and intrigues against the King of France; and the English baronage was encouraged by John's example to resist the financial demands which the continental war entailed. The Great Council, which hitherto had been a source of strength to the crown,

readily lending the weight of its name to new laws and new taxation, now became an instrument of opposition; and Henry II. was called in question by the leaders of discontent. Something was done by Richard's able minister, the primate, Hubert Walter, to conciliate the lower classes and the minor tenants in chief. A part of the duties hitherto performed by the sheriff were taken from that unpopular official and entrusted to coroners elected in every shire; and a new tax on land, the carucage—a substitute for the earlier Danegeld—was allowed to be assessed by elected juries from 1194. Thus the right of self-government, of which the shires had been so long deprived, was partially restored to them, and the middle class of landowners, who served as coroners and assessors, were trained for their more difficult political duties of the future,

But these boons, intended to mitigate the unpopularity of heavy taxation, were imperfectly appreciated, and Hubert Walter fell from power, sacrificed as a scapegoat to his master's unpopularity.

Equally unsuccessful were the efforts of John to conciliate the trading towns. As regent after Longchamp's expulsion, the prince had sold to London the right of setting up a commune. It was a new departure, for hitherto the crown had jealously denied the boroughs the privilege of self-government; but a number of similar concessions were made to other towns of England and Ireland in the period of John's reign. Thus the development of representative institutions in the boroughs kept pace with the similar development in the shires. But shires and boroughs alike were soon alienated from the cause of John, and London played a great part in the struggle for the Charter of Liberties.

For John the beginning of troubles was the feud with the French monarchy, which, in spite of his previous friendship with Philip Augustus, devolved upon him in 1199 at the same time as the crown of England. Philip's first expedient was to support the claims of John's nephew, Arthur of Brittany, to the French dominions of the house of Anjou. Arthur's career ended in 1202, when he was captured by his uncle. The young prince was shortly afterwards assassinated, but the indignation which this crime provoked encouraged

Philip to stretch his rights of suzerainty to their fullest extent. On various pretexts he declared John's continental possessions forfeit; and in 1204 the English



RICHARD CŒUR DE LION

Going on a Crusade to the Holy Land, he defeated the Saracens, but failed to reach Jerusalem. He was made prisoner in 1192 by Leopold, Duke of Austria, and kept in captivity for two years. Richard passed less than one year of his reign in residence in England.



RICHARD'S QUEEN, BERENGARIA

She was the daughter of Sancho VI. of Navarre, and was married to Richard in Cyprus, in 1191, while the English king was on his way to the wars in the Holy Land.

were expelled without much resistance from Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. The English baronage refused to help in defending these provinces on the plea that they were not bound to foreign service; still less would they aid with men or money the expeditions which the king planned in later years for the recovery of his inheritance.



THE CORONATION OF RICHARD I. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

The coronation of the Crusading king took place on September 3rd, 1189, the ceremony being marked by great pomp and splendour. In the illustration, which shows the procession along the aisle of the Abbey, the Earl of Albemarle is seen carrying the crown, while over the head of Richard is a silken canopy, supported by four poles, each one being held by a great baron of the kingdom.

The quarrel with the barons had already become acute when, in 1208, the king involved himself in a feud with the Church, by attempting to force into the primacy a creature of his own, John Grey, the Bishop of Norwich. Innocent III., to whom the monks of Canterbury appealed, encouraged them to elect an English cardinal, Stephen Langton.

When John retaliated by punishing Langton's supporters with banishment and confiscation, the land was laid under an interdict, which was taken off in 1213 only upon condition that John recognised the papal candidate. John then endeavoured to secure the help of Rome against his irritated subjects by doing homage to Innocent for his dominions. The new archbishop, however, although the nominee of Innocent, and ordered to support the king, placed himself at the head of the baronial opposition. The demands of the party were formulated in 1214, while John was engaged in his final effort to recover the Angevin possessions. These demands, based upon the charter of Henry I., were embodied in a great document of the same character. They were presented to John at the sword's point on his return, when, deserted by all but a few adherents, he was finally forced to sign the new (or Great) Charter at Runnymede, near Windsor, on June 15th, 1215.

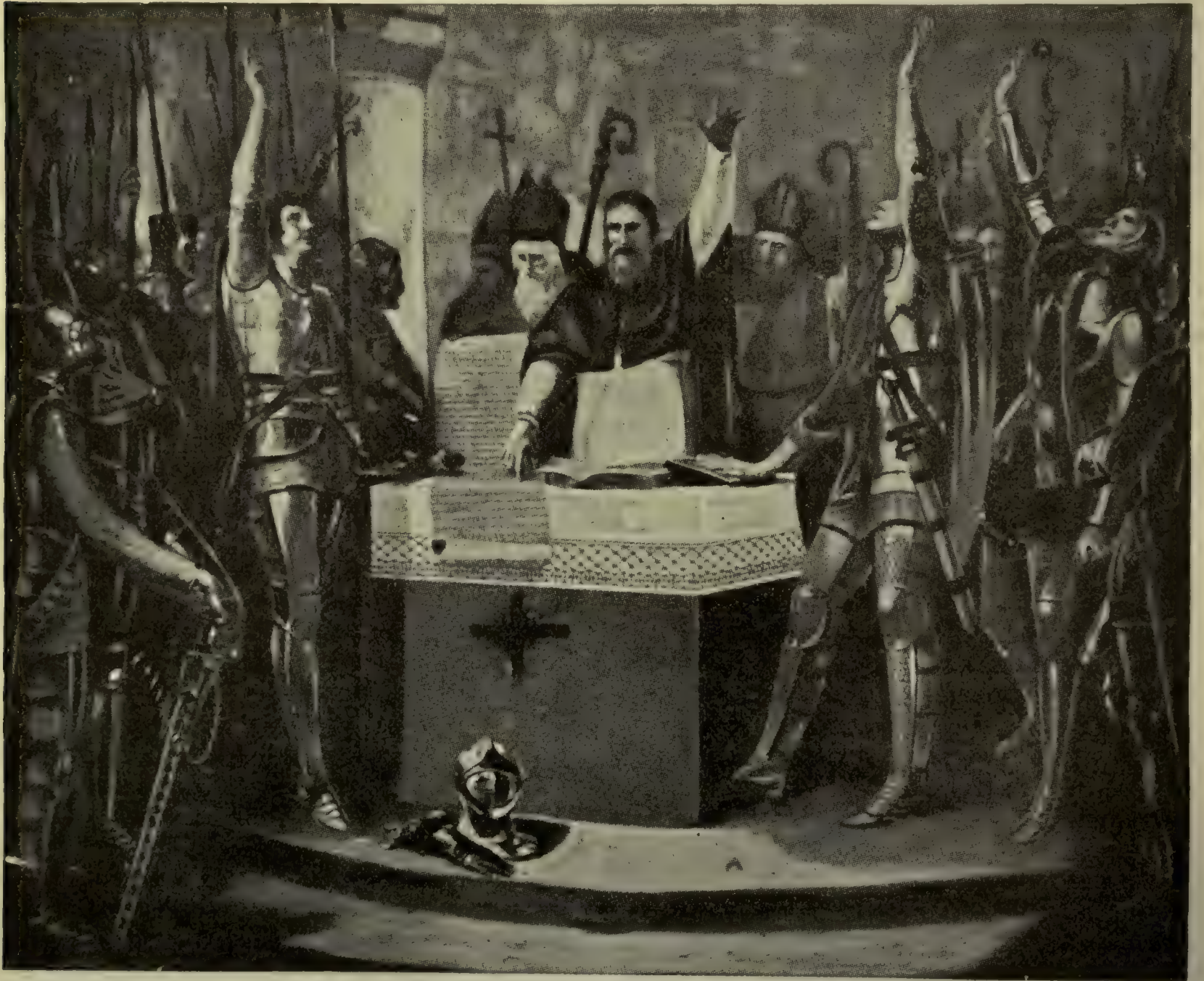
This famous document effected little change in the institutions of central and local government, nor was such reform the object of the authors. Magna Charta enumerates those liberties of the various orders in the state which had been most flagrantly infringed during the preceding three reigns. It consists of special promises to the Church, the barons, the free towns, the ordinary freemen, and the villeins. The crown's rights were more carefully defined and limited than heretofore. Abstract principles were, on the whole, avoided. But certain promises of a more general character, and affecting all classes equally, were included in the Charter—for example, that justice should not be sold, delayed, or denied to any man; that no judicial penalty should be inflicted except by lawful process; that fines should be

proportionate to offences; and that no extraordinary feudal aids or scutages should be levied without the consent of the Great Council.

The Charter was no sooner signed than the terms of peace were violated on both sides. The barons declined to disarm; the king collected mercenaries from abroad and obtained a papal dispensation from the oath which he had taken to observe the Charter. Driven to despair by the coalition of the king and Pope, the barons invited Louis, the son and heir of Philip Augustus, to come and be their king. He accepted the invitation; and, soon after he had landed, was master of the eastern counties. John, however, upon recovering from his first alarm, raised the west against the rebels and showed the qualities of a skilled general. But in the midst of a campaign of forced marches he succumbed to illness in 1216, and died,

leaving a son of only nine years old to succeed him, under the title of Henry III.

John's death did more than his military successes to save the dynasty. The barons, already alienated from their foreign leader, who openly displayed his contempt for the disloyalty by which he had profited, returned one by one to the allegiance of the boy-king. A victory in the narrow streets of Lincoln, and a sea-fight in the straits of Dover which destroyed the French fleet, completed the ruin of the opposition. In 1217 Louis signed the Treaty of Lambeth and evacuated England. His followers received an amnesty, and some submitted, while others departed for the Holy Land. Henceforth Henry had more to fear from the party of the Crown than from that of the Charter. His minority was troubled by feuds between the English and the foreign supporters of his father. The papacy was with



THE BARONS OF ENGLAND AND KING JOHN

This picture, by Mr. William Martin, in the University Galleries at Oxford, represents the Barons of England making oath to compel King John to grant the Charter of Henry I., which had been found by Archbishop Langton in a monastery. The pressure brought to bear upon the king had the desired result, and the great Charter of Liberties, which imposed on him and his successors distinct limitations of the royal power, was signed in 1215.

difficulty induced to withdraw a claim to the guardianship of the king and kingdom, which was based upon John's oath of vassalage. In 1224 Falkes de Breauté, who had commanded the foreign mercenaries during the war and had been rewarded with six sheriffdoms in the midland counties, raised a rebellion which for a moment threatened to shake the stability of the throne. Even when he had been crushed, the situation remained difficult.

Peter des Roches, a Poitevin ecclesiastic, to whom John had given the see of Winchester, succeeded in retaining the control of the young king's education, and filled the weak but ambitious mind of Henry with dreams of conquest on the continent and of autocracy at home. Trained in this school, the king quarrelled at the first opportunity with the justiciar Hubert de Burgh, who had been for some years the head of the regency. The great minister was dismissed in 1232, and the king, now of age, attempted to govern, like the Capets of France, through insignificant ministers, who could be trusted to render an implicit obedience to their master's wishes.

Under this feeble despotism England continued to the year 1258, and the Great Council vainly protested against a policy which was expensive, unpopular, and fruitless. The king fell into the hands of two groups of foreign favourites; the one was composed of Poitevins related to his mother; the other, consisting of Provençals and Savoyards, owed their influence to the queen, Eleanor of Provence, whom Henry married in 1236. They monopolised the highest honours and were enriched from the royal demesnes. They encouraged the king in his idle dream of reconquering the French posses-

sions, with the result that he attempted the invasion of Poitou in 1242, and experienced a humiliating defeat from Louis IX. at Taillebourg; subsequently they induced him to accept for his second son, Edmund, the crown of Sicily, which the papacy was endeavouring to wrest from the heirs of the Emperor Frederic II., while they traduced and drove into opposition the king's brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort, who was the only able statesman of the royal party.

Henry himself contributed to the popular discontent by the facility with which he allowed every new claim of the papacy upon the Church. Under the stress of the war with the Hohenstauffen, Rome had begun

to claim the right of taxing the national Churches; and this pretension, resented by every class of Englishmen, was supported by the king, in whom religious feeling was developed to the point of pietism. Under the stress of these grievances, and encouraged by the general indignation which domestic misrule was daily aggravating, the Great Council made reiterated protests, refused

to vote supplies, and finally demanded the right of nominating and controlling the royal ministers. In 1258 the king's financial embarrassments left him at the mercy of the Great Council; the result was the formulation of a new scheme of government—the Provisions of Oxford—under which supreme power was divided between two baronial committees, the one for executive and the other for legislative purposes. The crown on the one side, the Great Council on the other, were by this scheme reduced to insignificance. It was a device for transferring power to those who considered themselves in virtue of birth, wealth, and influence the natural leaders of English society.



KING JOHN AND HIS QUEEN, ISABELLA OF ANGOULÈME False, treacherous, and tyrannical, John, who became king of England in 1199, was guilty of many infamous deeds. Being excommunicated by Pope Innocent III., he yielded to the papal claims and agreed to hold his kingdom as a fief of the papacy. John has been described as "being odious and contemptible in public and private life."

The new government was not wholly ineffective. It expelled the alien favourites, cancelled the recent grants of royal demesnes, and by renouncing the Angevin claims to all French territory outside Gascony it purchased peace with France; but

**The Claims
of the Lesser
Landholders**

it had no satisfaction to offer either to the towns or to the lesser landholders, who since the time of Henry II. had been qualifying for political life by an active share in local administration. Both these classes had grievances to be redressed; both demanded a share in the government. Hence the ruling barons lacked popular support. Simon de Montfort and the king's eldest son, the Lord Edward, dissociated themselves at the first opportunity from the new government, which they had originally supported. The object of Montfort was simply to procure justice for the commonalty. Edward, on the other hand, thought merely of recovering popular support for the crown. Acting under his son's advice, the king renounced the Provisions in 1261, and proposed that Louis IX. of France should arbitrate between himself and the barons. The suggestion was accepted, and by the Mise of Amiens the French king declared the Provisions null and void.

The decision came as a crushing blow to the leaders of the oligarchic movement, and they retired from the struggle. But Montfort, at the head of a party which comprised some of the younger barons, the lesser tenants in chief, the towns, and a section of the clergy, refused to accept a settlement which left the king unfettered, and the people without a share in the government. At the battle of Lewes, in 1264, Montfort captured the king and Prince Edward. He immediately promulgated a new constitution, the most original and far-seeing scheme of political reform which the Middle Ages can show. It placed the nomination of councillors and ministers of state in the hands of a board of three, of whom Montfort was the

chief. But the three electors and their nominees were made responsible to the Great Council, and Montfort introduced a radical change into the constitution of this body. He summoned to it in 1265 not only prelates and barons, but also two knights from every shire, and burgesses from a certain number of cities and boroughs. Shire representatives had been summoned on previous occasions, both in this reign and in that of John, but the towns had never before been represented; and the knights, who represented the estate of the lesser landholders, had been consulted in the past only about taxation. In this parliament the third estate took part in all the deliberations, and their assent to the final decisions is formally recorded.



KING HENRY III.

Crowned King of England at Gloucester in 1216, Henry III. was a ruler who lacked energy and resoluteness, but he was pious and loved art and literature. He died in 1272.

Montfort appealed to two distinct interests in the nation. There was an ecclesiastical party, which resented the league between king and Pope and the consequent taxation of the national Church for the benefit of Rome. There was also a constitutional party, whose views were summed up in the thesis of their famous manifesto, the Song of Lewes, that "the king is not above the law, but the law above the king," and in the doctrine that the law should be made, and its application controlled, by a representative

assembly. But it is the usual fate of enthusiasts to be dependent on the support of a well-intentioned but apathetic majority, which is easily converted from the new doctrine to the old. Montfort fell at Evesham in 1265. He had incurred the suspicion of designs upon the crown, he had failed to reform in a few months the

**The Fate
of Simon
de Montfort**

accumulated abuses of centuries, and he had outraged the accepted ideas of loyalty and good faith. From the first he was confronted by a compact body of irreconcilables. As soon as his popularity waned, they fell upon him and restored the old order over his grave. He was long revered as a patriot, but his party disappeared from English politics.

Simon de Montfort

"THE HERO AND MARTYR OF ENGLAND IN THE
GREATEST OF HER CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLES"

HE was indeed a mighty man, and prudent, and circumspect; in the use of arms and in experience of warfare superior to all others of his time; commendably endowed with knowledge of letters; fond of hearing the offices of the Church by day and night; sparing of food and drink, as those who were about him saw with their own eyes; in time of night watching more than he slept, as his more intimate friends have oft related. In the greatest difficulties which he went through while handling affairs of state, he was found trustworthy; notably in Gascony, whither he went by command of the king, and there subdued to the king's majesty rebels beforetime unconquered, and sent them to England to his lord the king. He was, moreover, pleasant and witty in speech, and ever aimed at the reward of an admirable faith; on account of which he did not fear to undergo death, as shall be told hereafter. His constancy all men, even his enemies, admired; for when others had sworn to observe the Provisions of Oxford, and the most part of them despised and rejected that to which they had sworn, he, having once taken the oath, like an immovable pillar stood firm, and neither by threats, nor promises, nor gifts, nor flattery could be moved to depart in any way with the other magnates from the oath which he had taken to reform the state of the realm. . . . And the earl, like a second Joshua, worshipped justice, as the very medicine of his soul.

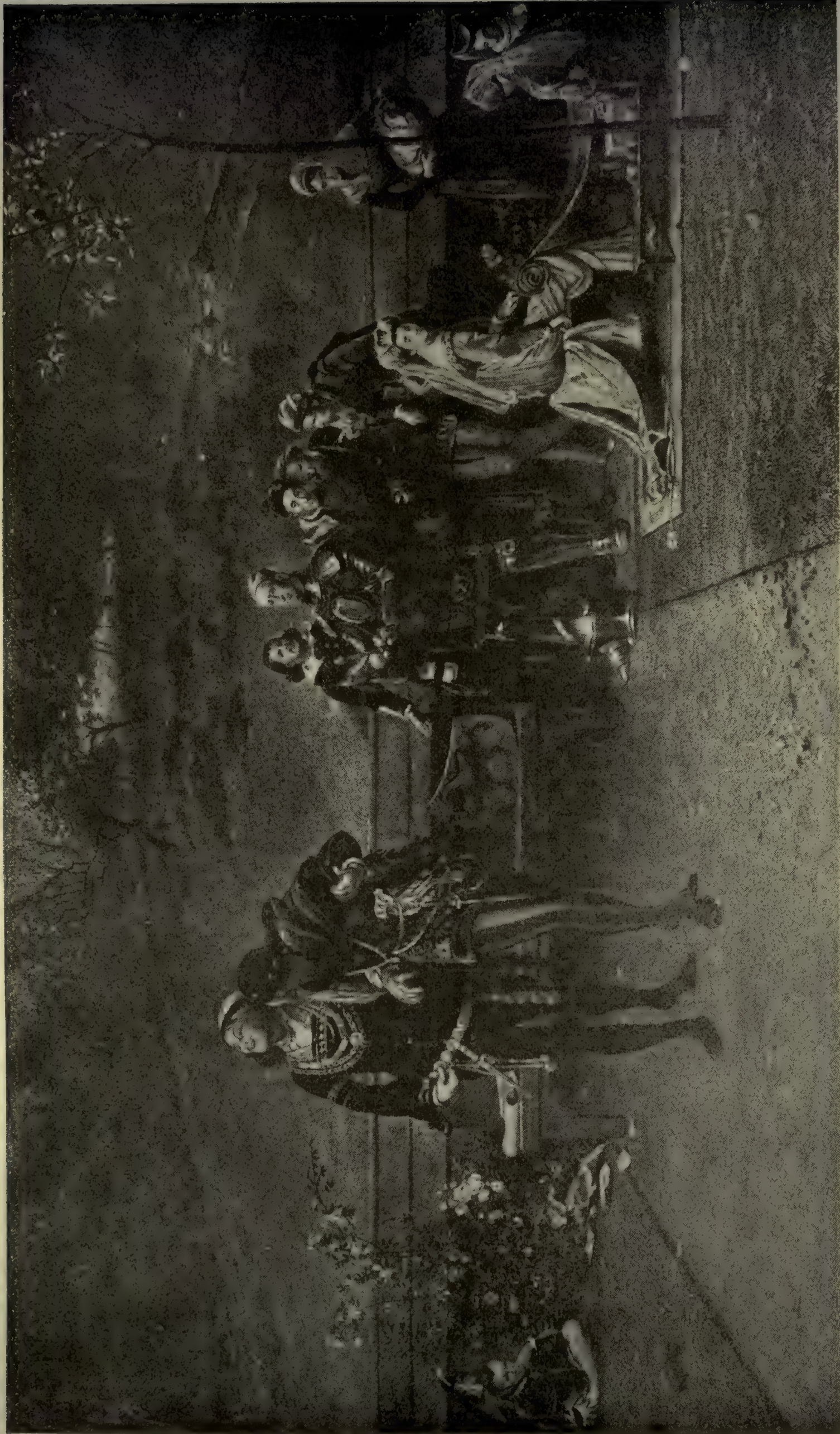
Rishanger, the Monk of St. Albans, in his "Chronicle"

HAD he lived longer, the prospect of the throne might have opened before him, and he might have become a destroyer instead of a saviour. If he had succeeded in such a design, he could not have made a better king than Edward; if he had failed, England would have lain at the feet of Edward, a ruler whose virtues would have made him more dangerous as a despot than his father's vices had made him in his attempt at despotism. He was greater as an opponent of tyranny than as a deviser of liberties; the fetters imposed on royal autocracy, cumbrous and entangled as they were, seem to have been an integral part of his policy; the means he took for admitting the nation to self-government wear very much the form of an occasional or party expedient, which a longer tenure of undivided power might have led him either to develop or to discard. The idea of representative government had, however, ripened under his hand; and although the germ of the growth lay in the primitive institutions of the land, Simon has the merit of having been one of the first to see the uses and the glories to which it would ultimately grow.

Bishop Stubbs in "The Early Plantagenets"

HE was more than a great general, more than a great politician, far more than a mere party leader, inasmuch as he obeyed to the death that ruling principle which his own words expressed, "I would rather die without a foot of land than break the oath that I have made." This was why he was worshipped as a saint and a martyr; and if we smile at the popular superstition which believed in the miracles wrought at his tomb, we can look up to the popular instinct which recognised in him that rarest of all miracles, a true patriot. The form of government which he set up, and the constitutional measures he adopted to strengthen it, sufficiently disprove the assertion that he used the pretext of reform to cover the designs of a purely selfish ambition. The fact that he never aimed at supreme power, in spite of the insults and injuries he received at the hands of Henry, until it became evident that in no other way could justice be done, acquits him of the charge of traitorous disloyalty to his king. The fact that he was the only one of the greater nobles who remained true to his cause shows how far he was above the prejudices of class, and what temptations he had to surmount before he left the common rut in which his peers were content to move, and marked out for himself the nobler and more dangerous course to which duty called him. A conviction of his own honesty of purpose, a firm faith that the right would triumph, as well as an overweening confidence in his own powers, led him to persevere in that course to the end, and to essay the impossible. He failed, but he was fortunate in that he did not live to feel the bitterness of failure.

W. G. Prothero in "Simon de Montfort"



KING EDWARD II. BEFORE HIS ACCESSION, WITH HIS FAVOURITE, PIERS GAVESTON

The son of a Gascon knight, Piers Gaveston ingratiated himself into the affections of Edward, the first Prince of Wales, but the friendship did not find favour with the king, Edward I., who banished Gaveston from the kingdom and made the prince promise never to recall him. No sooner, however, had the prince ascended the throne than he sent for Gaveston, and loaded him with honours and riches. The king and his favourite are seen in the picture, the nobles, who later executed Gaveston, standing by in disgust.

From the picture by Marcus Stone, R.A., by permission of the "Art Journal."



THE FIRST TWO EDWARDS AND THEIR WARS WITH THE SCOTTISH KINGS

THE influence of Montfort's ideas is apparent in the policy of Edward I. The overthrower of Montfort succeeded his father, in 1272, with no intention of satisfying the political aspirations of the third estate. But circumstances were too strong for him. He found the crown impoverished and heavily in debt; the hereditary revenue barely sufficed for ordinary expenses, and throughout his reign he was involved, partly by circumstances, but more often by his own choice, in prolonged wars. So far as he could, he used feudal levies, liable to serve for forty days at their own expense; but it was no longer possible to win campaigns with forces of this kind. Making an extensive use of paid knights and men-at-arms, he required frequent grants of taxation from the Great Council, and it soon became evident that taxes upon the property of the non-feudal classes would be tolerated only if these classes were consulted. From 1273 onwards we find him trying experiments in representation. These culminate in the summoning of the so-called Model Parliament in 1295.

To this assembly the prelates and barons were summoned as to a Great Council, representatives of the inferior clergy as to a national synod, knights of the shire and burgesses as to Montfort's parliament of 1265, with this difference, that there was no attempt to pack the assembly as Montfort had done. Since 1295 the form of the English Parliament has undergone considerable changes. The estate of the lower clergy withdrew, by its own wish, soon after Edward's time, and thenceforth, till the reign of Charles II., voted supplies through the convocations of the two archiepiscopal provinces.

The list of magnates and of towns entitled to be summoned was frequently altered even in Edward's reign. But from the year 1295 a parliament including representatives of towns and shires has been an

essential feature of the English constitution.

The control of the new body over taxation was settled in principle as early as 1297, when the threat of rebellion, provoked by illegal imposts on exports and on the shires, compelled the king to sign the "Confirmatio Cartarum." The language of

The King Abandons the "Evil Dues" this document is guarded, and Edward, while abandoning the "evil dues," carefully refrained from committing himself to any general principle. There is, however, little doubt that his concession was understood, and meant to be understood, as a promise that neither land nor movables should be in future taxed at the king's arbitrary will and pleasure. It should be noticed that it was the king's intention to consult the third estate on no other question save that of subsidies. For advice on legislation and policy he looked, as of old, exclusively to the magnates. But before the end of the reign the commons had asserted the principle that redress of the grievances expressed in their petitions ought to precede the grant of money; and thus the way was prepared for the claims which they advanced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to exercise a power of control and revision over almost every department of the administration.

Barons' Weakened Powers The development of this new assembly, through which a definite, although a subordinate, share of political power was allotted to the commons, could not fail to weaken the position of the baronage. The significance of parliamentary institutions from this point of view was recognised and resented shortly after Edward's death. But in his lifetime the new parliament was accepted by the estate of the barons as a necessity, and was no doubt the less criticised because it was the result of a gradual evolution. The reign of Henry III. had shown how powerful feudalism could be so long as it stood on the defensive,

and how little popular support would be worth in a protracted struggle with the traditional leaders of the nation.

Edward therefore shrank from declaring open war upon feudalism, and preferred to use it rather than to crush it. The

concessions which he made to win the support of the barons were almost as important as his covert invasions of their privileges. Already, as the ally of Simon de Montfort, he had helped, by the Provisions of Westminster, to bind and define the judicial power of the great lords over their free tenants. In the statute of Gloucester in 1278 he went a step further, ordering a strict inquiry into the nature and source of all existing private jurisdictions. From this time forward a sharp distinction was drawn between "royal rights" of justice and ordinary seignorial rights which might be regarded as inherent in the ownership of land. The crown resumed all royal rights which had passed into private hands otherwise than by express grant or immemorial prescription. Owing to this policy the higher feudal courts became

of little value to their owners and quickly fell into desuetude, while the importance of manorial courts was greatly diminished. On the other hand, the land laws of Edward I. ministered to the aggrandisement of the great families. The statute "De Donis" in 1285 restored the

power of strict and perpetual entail, which had been undermined by a series of judicial decisions; that of mortmain, in 1279, by forbidding religious bodies to acquire new lands, secured lay lords against one of the most frequent frauds

through which they were robbed of their feudal dues; and, finally, that of "Quia emptores" in 1290, which, while permitting the holder of unentailed land to sell it freely, made the buyer the immediate tenant of the seller's lord, came as a boon

both to great landlords and to the holders of encumbered estates. It is not surprising that Edward, though he had to deal with a hostile coalition of barons in the crisis of 1297, was generally able to count on their support. Feudal levies were a valuable element in the great armies with which he overran Wales and Scotland, and the estate of the barons did him excellent service in his determined conflict with the papacy.

This conflict assumed importance because it came at a time of friction between the monarchy and national Church. The statute of mortmain

was naturally resented by the clergy, and it was followed by the writ of "Circumspecte Agatis" in 1285, which defined the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in civil cases. The protests of Archbishop Peckham against these measures did not call for

serious consideration. But the hands of the next primate, Winchelsey, were strengthened by the daring and unexpected action of Boniface VIII. in issuing the Bull "Clericis Laicos." Boniface forbade the clergy to pay taxes to the lay power without the consent of

the Holy See; and it was not until the clergy had been outlawed and the Pope intimidated that the obligation of the Church to contribute subsidies for national purposes could be once more asserted. Winchelsey, defeated on the question of



THE GREAT EDWARD I.

Coming to the throne of England in 1272, Edward I. revealed high qualities as a general, a warrior, a lawgiver, and a statesman, and proved himself to be one of England's greatest rulers. He waged long war against Scotland.



Eleanor of Castile



Marguerite of France

THE TWO QUEENS OF EDWARD I.



THE LAST MARCH OF EDWARD I.: DEATH WITHIN SIGHT OF SCOTLAND

King Edward I. of England twice defeated the Scots, but after the crowning of Robert Bruce as King of Scotland the English were driven from that country. Edward, however, determined again to make war on the Scots, and he collected the whole of his forces at Carlisle to lead them northward. But while the troops were arriving the king fell ill, and at Burgh-upon-Sands, resting by the wayside, he died, his last moments gladdened by the sight of a flaming town that marked the course of his army. From his Scottish wars he was called "The Hammer of the Scots."

From the water-colour drawing by W. Bell Scott, by permission of Mrs. Hueffer

ecclesiastical privilege, made himself the leader of a baronial opposition; constitutional grievances were made a pretext for avenging those of the clergy. In 1300 Boniface VIII. claimed Scotland as a fief of the papacy, and forbade Edward to invade that country. Again Winchelsey and the orthodox clergy were to be found upon the side opposed to the king. The struggle ended with the removal of Winchelsey from the primacy through the good offices of a new and more moderate Pope; and the statute of Carlisle, forbidding men of religion to pay taxes to any foreign power, gave the papacy a significant hint of what might be expected if it encouraged the perverse ambition of the national Church.

Turning from the futile dreams of continental aggrandisement which had brought his father to the verge of ruin, Edward devoted his attention to consolidating the royal power within the British Isles. He interfered little with Ireland; but circumstances gave him the opportunity of asserting himself in Wales with permanent, and in Scotland with temporary, success. From the days of the Confessor, Wales, though divided between petty

dynasties and convulsed by internal wars, had been a thorn in the side of England; the raids conducted by the Norman kings and Henry II., often with imposing forces and a vast expenditure of treasure, seldom resulted in a real extension of English influence. The colonisation of the marches by predatory adventurers had proceeded steadily, and in the thirteenth century the plain country to the north and west and south of the Welsh mountains was securely held by a chain of castles, partly in royal and partly in private hands. But the growth of the Marcher aristocracy had led to a new danger. The great houses linked their fortunes by marriage and alliance with those of the chief Welsh dynasties; and the princes of North Wales had shown, first in the struggle for the Charter, and again in the civil wars under Henry III., that they were disposed to encourage every movement which might paralyse the hostility of the English crown.

If North Wales were once subdued the whole country would be at the feet of England. To this object Edward devoted himself between 1277 and 1283. By a skilful combination of land and sea forces

Llewelyn, the ruling prince of North Wales, was hemmed up in Snowdon, and forced by the Treaty of Conway, in 1277, to acknowledge his dependency on England. An attempt to repudiate the submission led to a second invasion, to the flight and death of the prince, and to the enactment of the "*Statutum Gwalliæ*" in 1284 incorporating the principality with the dominions of the English crown. The marches kept their old privileges and organisation, except that the right of private war, which they alone of the English barons claimed to exercise, was abolished. The remainder of Wales was divided into shires—Cardigan, Carmarthen, Merioneth, Carnarvon, Anglesey, and Flint—which were governed, like those of England, through shire courts and sheriffs, but were unrepresented in the English parliament, and subject to the authority of special justices, whose headquarters were fixed at Carnarvon and Carmarthen. The Welsh shire courts administered the old Keltic private law, with such alterations as English ideas of reason and justice demanded; and the land remained Keltic in blood and speech and sentiment, though it is true that some attempt was made to create towns which should be centres of English influence.

More than a century after Edward's measures it was still possible for Owen Glendower to resuscitate the instinct of national independence in Wales, and seriously to prefer a claim to represent Llewelyn's dynasty. But the Tudors completed the work which Edward had begun. Most of the marches had then become, through forfeiture, escheat, or inheritance, the property of the crown. Under Henry VIII. they were partly grouped in new shires and partly incorporated with those already in existence. From 1536 onwards the shires and towns of Wales were represented in the English parliament; the remnants of Marcher lawlessness and privilege were stamped out of existence by the Council of Wales and the marches, a local Star Chamber with large discretionary powers, which continued in existence until the year 1640. The attempt to conquer Scotland

arose out of claims of suzerainty similar to those which had justified the conquest of Wales. The import of the homage usually tendered by the kings of Scotland to their southern neighbours was uncertain, the Scots themselves claiming that it was merely due for the English lands of which their kings were tenants, while the English naturally saw in it a proof of the dependency of Scotland as a whole. It is neither possible to determine nor profitable to discuss the original nature of a relation which began as early as the tenth century, and meant in practice so much as the stronger party could make it mean and no more. The facts of real importance are that Scotland had until recent times always proved a troublesome neighbour to England, that Alexander III., although a



THE FIRST PRINCE OF WALES

The independence of Wales came to an end when Edward I. led an army into the principality. Summoning the representatives of the subdued people, the king, it is said, promised them a prince who was a Welshman by birth, and who could speak no other language. Then he showed his infant son Edward, who had been born at Carnarvon.

son-in-law of Henry III., had stoutly refused to acknowledge himself the vassal of Edward so far as his kingdom was concerned, and that it was imperative to prevent Scotland from taking part in European combinations as a free and independent state.

The death of Alexander III., in 1286, was followed at no long interval by that of his granddaughter, the Maid of Norway; the disputes which immediately arose among the numerous competitors for the vacant throne

enabled Edward to assert his suzerainty. With the consent of all the claimants he conducted an arbitration which ended in the recognition of John Balliol as the rightful heir. The new king did homage to the full extent of Edward's pretensions, and

New Scottish King it would have been well if the latter had remained content with this guarantee of peace, the greatest that could reasonably be expected, and a far greater concession than the pride of the Scottish people approved. An ill-judged attempt to assert the jurisdiction of the English royal court over Balliol and his subjects led to the virtual deposition of the vassal king, the election of a baronial committee of regency, and, in 1296, to an alliance between the new government and Philip the Fair of France, who had recently declared war upon Edward with a view to the recovery of Guienne and Gascony. The policy of the English king had precipitated the danger which it was intended to prevent.

The danger was, however, promptly met. In 1296 the Lowlands were overrun by an English army, and Balliol, the nominal head of the national movement against the English supremacy, was taken and relegated to an English prison. Scotland was placed under English regents. The regalia of the crown were sent to Westminster as a sign that the independent existence of the kingdom had now ceased.



EDWARD II. AND HIS QUEEN, ISABELLA OF FRANCE
Edward II. had none of the great qualities of his father, whom he succeeded on the throne of England in 1307, and in 1327 he was deposed because of his incompetence and murdered in Berkeley Castle.

But in the following year, William Wallace, a poor knight of whose early life we know almost nothing, was able to collect an army, which at Stirling destroyed the garrison of occupation, and to make himself

the head of a new national regency.

A timely truce with France enabled Edward in 1297 to return home from an uneventful expedition to Flanders, to effect a settlement with the leaders of the constitutional opposition at home, and to invade Scotland for the second time. At the

battle of Falkirk the squares of Wallace's spearmen were shaken and shattered by the masterly tactics of the English king. Wallace became a homeless fugitive, to be betrayed and executed after years of wandering; and Scotland received a constitution under which the government was vested in a regent, a council, and the assembly of the Scottish Estates. The latter body was to be represented in the English parliament, but to legislate independently for Scotland; the English shire system and the law of the Lowlands were to be applied without exception over the whole country. Moderate and skilfully planned, so far as details went, the new constitution was in its essence intolerable to Scottish pride; it was hardly promulgated before a new national leader appeared in the person of Robert Bruce, the grandson and namesake of a competitor who had all but defeated Balliol's claim to the throne.

The Bruce, though overthrown almost as soon as crowned by a third army of

Death of the Great Edward invasion, defied his pursuers in the fastnesses of the Western Isles, and it was left for Edward's successor to complete

the reduction of the rising, if he could. The old king, worn out by strenuous labours, died at Burgh-upon-Sands, on the Solway Firth, in the act of launching a new host against the supporters of Bruce in 1307. The greatest legislator and most

far-seeing reformer of an age which all over Europe was rich in statesmen, Edward bequeathed to his son a kingdom more extensive, more compact, and more highly organised than any which had hitherto existed in the British Isles, but at the same time loaded with debt, involved in a hopeless war, and weakened

Character of Edward II. by the discontent of an aristocracy whose political ambitions became more dangerous in proportion as their feudal privileges and responsibilities were diminished by increasing centralisation. The new king was the last man to extricate his inheritance from these embarrassments; profligate, extravagant, and idle, he abandoned public affairs to Piers Gaveston, an unpopular favourite of Gascon origin.

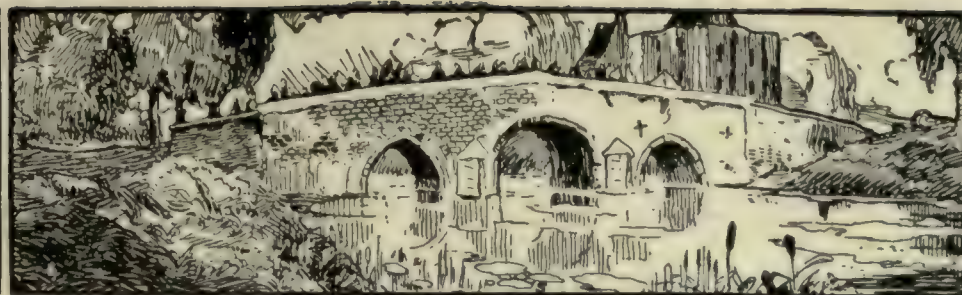
The Scottish war was dropped at the moment when there was the best prospect of ending it with success; and the next few years were wasted in bickerings with the great barons, for which Piers Gaveston was principally responsible. Led by the king's cousin, Thomas of Lancaster, the great earls clamoured for that influence in the royal counsels which, according to custom, should have been theirs. Incompetent and untrustworthy to a man, the malcontents would have merited little sympathy if the king had placed himself in the hands of an abler favourite. Even under Gaveston's guidance he pursued a more patriotic policy than that of his opponents; and it was an invasion of Scotland on his part which enabled them to assemble in council and pass, without the concurrence of clergy or commons, ordinances for the banishment of Gaveston, the regulating of the government, and the limitation of the king's prerogative.

The ordinances provided for annual parliaments; but the form of government which they set up was one in which supreme power was divided between the ordainers and the estate of the baronage. It was an oligarchic constitution, similar to the Provisions of Oxford, but with even less pretence of solicitude for the common weal. The king would have been justified in challenging the ordinances on the broad ground of constitutional principle. He chose rather to accept those which involved a question of principle, and only to disregard that which touched his

favourite. The concession was inadequate; Gaveston, having fallen into the hands of his rivals, was beheaded without a trial, and the king, after having weakly consented to a reconciliation with the murderers of his friend, in the hope that by so doing he might save the last of the English strongholds in Scotland, was left by the opposition to fight the national cause without their aid.

Attempting the relief of Stirling with a force which by no means represented the full strength of his kingdom, he lost the battle of Bannockburn in June, 1314, and with it his last hope of destroying Scottish independence. Stirling capitulated at once, and Berwick a few years later. The Scots in their turn took the offensive. Northern England was savagely raided, and Edward Bruce, crowned king of Ireland in 1315, waged incessant and successful war upon the English settlers of that island for the next three years. To the problem of meeting these attacks little thought was given by any English party. Edward's main thought was to be revenged upon his arch-enemy, the Earl of Lancaster. With the aid of new favourites, the Despencers, he sowed dissension in the ranks of his opponents; and in 1322 Lancaster, deserted by his adherents, experienced the same fate which he had meted out to Gaveston. A constitutional colour was put upon this act of vengeance by means of a parliament which declared the ordinances illegal, and laid down the important principle that all matters touching the king, the realm, and the people should be settled exclusively by a parliament composed of the three Estates.

It was, however, a time of general want and suffering. Famine and murrain proved no less destructive than the raids of the Scot; and for all misfortunes the king was held accountable. A miserable intrigue between his wife, Isabel of France, and Roger Mortimer, a lord of the Welsh Marches, gave the starting-point for a conspiracy which was joined by all the enemies of Edward and the Despencers. The latter were seized and hanged; the king was deposed in favour of his son by a parliament in which the commons were present as approving though silent spectators. Even the murder of Edward a few months later, in 1327, failed to produce a reaction.



THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

ENGLAND'S PART IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE

WHEN the queen-mother and Mortimer, acting as the self-constituted guardians of the young Edward III., concluded a humiliating peace with Scotland their popularity at once evaporated. A new conspiracy, in 1330, sent Mortimer to the scaffold, relegated the queen to a close though honourable confinement, and made Edward III. king in fact as well as name. The new ruler immediately established a name for vigour and military success. He once more attacked Scotland, which the death of Robert Bruce had left in the hands of an infant king. Edward, the son of John Balliol, was assisted in an invasion of Scotland, and the English Edward avenged Bannockburn by a signal victory which he gained at Halidon Hill over Bruce's partisans in 1333. Edward Balliol became King of Scotland for a time, while the heir of the national idea was taken for safety to the court of France. It was a delusive success; Scotland could not be effectively conquered, the alliance of the nationalists with France was now more firmly cemented, and in 1339 Edward Balliol retired from the country in despair, leaving the field open for his rival's return. But the ephemeral success of his cause soothed English pride, and gave Edward III. a breathing space in which to make good his position.

Scotland Maintains Her Independence

The Hundred Years' War is, after the secular conflict of papacy and empire, the most important crisis of the Middle Ages. It was a trial of strength between the two most compact and highly developed of mediæval states. One of these it ruined, while upon the other it threw a strain which accelerated the natural processes of decay and transformation. It ushered in an era of complex diplomacy, shifting combinations, and protracted wars, in consequence of which despotism, more or less popular in its character, became the normal type of European policy.

Its various effects upon European policies, from Bohemia to Spain, and from Scotland to Sicily, belong properly to European history; but some account of its general character is necessary to explain the nature and order of the changes to which it led in England. It was due to the desire of the French monarchy to recover the last shreds of the Angevin Empire from the heirs of Henry II.

England's War of Self-defence

Philip VI., the first Valois king, took up the plans which more than one of his predecessors had framed for this purpose. He sheltered David Bruce in exile, and afterwards assisted him in the recovery of Scotland; he attempted to break the long-standing alliance between England and the Flemish towns by imposing on the latter a count of French sympathies; in short, he neglected no opportunity of injuring English interests. Edward began the war in self-defence, although, after its beginning, he raised a counter-claim to the throne of France, in virtue of his descent on the maternal side from Philip the Bold, who died in 1285.

This step was mainly taken to remove the feudal scruples of the Flemings, who refused to serve against the king of France. The danger to the Flemish and Gascon trade and the piracies of the French made the war popular with the English commons. Their subsidies were generously granted, and the expenses of a war in which all ranks, from the duke to the man-at-arms, fought for daily wages were defrayed chiefly from the purses of the middle and lower classes. After 1345, when the military operations took a wider scope, and plans of conquest shaped themselves in the minds of Edward and his son, national pride, the interests of a nobility growing rich on spoils and ransoms, and a series of brilliant victories, maintained the popularity of the war.

Why the War was Popular

1345, when the military operations took a wider scope, and plans of conquest shaped themselves in the minds of Edward and his son, national pride, the interests of a nobility growing rich on spoils and ransoms, and a series of brilliant victories, maintained the popularity of the war.

At first it appeared as though the victory of Edward would be soon complete. The navy of France was destroyed at Sluys in 1340, their main army was shattered at Crecy, and David of Scotland became an English prisoner at Neville's Cross in 1346. The victory of Roche Derrien, in 1347, though trivial in itself, placed Brittany at the disposal of the English party; and, finally, King John of France fell into the hands of the Black Prince at Poitiers in 1357. With this disaster anarchy was unchained in France. Threatened simultaneously by a sedition in the capital and by an insurrection of the oppressed peasantry in the surrounding country, the regency of France consented to the Treaty of Bretigny, in 1360, under which the English kept Calais—which had been captured in 1347—Poitou, Saintonge, the Angoumois, the Limousin, Perigord, Quercy, Rouergue, Guienne, and Gascony. This treaty marks the highest point of English fortunes in the first stage of the war.

Under John's successor, Charles V., the French monarchy slowly began to recover from the wounds inflicted in the preceding twenty years. The Black Prince, who, as Duke of Aquitaine, administered the continental possessions, rashly involved himself in a war respecting the Castilian succession. An expedition to Castile shattered his health, drained his resources, and, in spite of temporary success, ultimately led to an alliance between France and Castile, which cost the English their command of the sea and enabled Charles V. to resume the aggressive with some success. The Black Prince returned home to die. Under the

governorship of his younger brother, the incompetent John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, English power dwindled till, at the death of Edward III., Bordeaux, Bayonne, Dax, and Calais were the only French towns of importance left to his grandson.

The early successes in France had been due to the superiority of English arms. No missile weapon of the age could compare with the longbow in efficiency, and this weapon was almost an English monopoly. In tactical skill Edward and his son were superior to any general whom they encountered. The new practice of paying the soldiers of all ranks had transformed the English fighting force from a disorderly mob into a disciplined army. But the capture of strong places was difficult. It was easier to overrun France than to hold it. When the war ceased to be self-supporting, the burden of maintaining an army on hostile territory became insupportable. Edward had undertaken a task which was beyond the powers of any feudal state. It would have been well if his successors had recognised this truth and impressed it on the nation. But under Richard, II. operations of an aimless kind were intermittently pursued, while allies fell away and the narrow seas were scoured by French and Scottish privateers.

The French government, grown bolder with success, began to lay plans for the invasion of England, and actually sent auxiliaries to Scotland.

In 1396, Richard II., having freed himself from the trammels of the regency, was sufficiently wise and courageous to conclude a truce for twenty-eight years.



EDWARD III. OF ENGLAND

Under this monarch England's prosperity rapidly advanced. Invading France, Edward won the great battle of Crecy in 1346, and in the following year he captured Calais after a long siege. His later years were full of trouble.



PHILIPPA OF HAINAULT

This brave woman was the queen of Edward III. While the king was fighting in France, Philippa met the Scots at Neville's Cross, in 1346, and defeated them. She died in 1369.



THE ORIGIN OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER: EDWARD III. AND THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY

The Order of the Garter, founded by Edward III. between 1344 and 1351, is said to have originated at a State ball. According to the story, a Countess of Salisbury dropped her garter, which the king picked up. Observing the smile of his courtiers, Edward exclaimed, "Honi soit qui mal y pense!"—Evil be to him that evil thinks—which words became the motto of the Order.

From the painting by A. Chevallier Tavler, R. B. A., by the artist's permission

But this step was made an additional count in the long list of charges which his enemies compiled against him. Although the truce was not formally renounced after his fall, the relations of the two countries

supply," made every new tax an excuse for demanding remedial legislation. In particular they claimed statutory recognition of their right to be the sole source of taxation, to appropriate for specific



RICHARD II. AND HIS QUEEN, ANNE OF BOHEMIA

The son of the Black Prince, Richard II. became king in 1377. He was overthrown by the rebellion of Henry of Lancaster—Bolingbroke—to whom he resigned the crown.

remained dubious and tense. The last and greatest stage in the struggle still belonged to the future.

The deposition of Edward II. was followed, in English politics, by fifty years

of unstable equilibrium. On the question of the war there was no radical difference of opinion between the king and the people. The constant demands for new subsidies gave rise to complaints, and new claims of control and audit on the part of the Commons. But their respect for the king prevented them from pushing remonstrance to extremes until years and infirmity

compelled him at last to leave the management of Parliament in the hands of his favourites and kinsmen. The third estate, acting invariably on the maxim that "redress should precede

principles of parliamentary government; their formal separation from the House of Lords, which took place early in the reign, made it difficult to unite the various elements of the opposition, and



KING HENRY IV. AND JOANNA OF NAVARRE, HIS CONSORT

When Richard II. yielded up his crown it was assumed by Bolingbroke, under the title of Henry IV. In earlier life, Henry fought in the East; after becoming king he extended the powers of Parliament. He died in 1413 at Westminster, and was buried at Canterbury.

some time had to elapse before the knights of the shire, who represented the lower gentry, realised the complete identity of their interests with those of the towns. When, as in 1371 and 1376, a court



LONDON'S ROYAL GUESTS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Even in the Middle Ages the City of London stood first as a business centre, and, upon occasion, was the host of royalty. This picture, from a panel in the Royal Exchange, illustrates such an event, the artist showing Sir Henry Picard, the Mayor of the City and Master of the Vintners' Company, in 1357, entertaining at the one time four kings—Edward III. of England, David II. of Scotland, John of France, and the King of Cyprus.

From the painting by A. Chevallier Tayler, R.B.A., by the artist's permission

faction placed itself at the head of the third estate, the true importance of the latter at once became manifest. On the second of these two occasions the Commons impeached and punished the two most obnoxious of the royal ministers. But the sequel is instructive. The Black Prince, who had instigated the attack

**Death of
the Black
Prince**

through jealousy of the influence which John of Gaunt possessed with the old king, died in the middle of the session. The opposition, left leaderless, collapsed; the ministers were released, and the Speaker of the Commons was thrown into prison. The next Parliament, in which the Lower House was packed with the friends of John of Gaunt, obediently condoned the duke's defiance of its predecessor.

Edward III. had usually been on good terms with his baronage. But the composition of this estate was different at the end of his reign from what it had been at the beginning. A single earl of the royal blood had been sufficiently influential to menace the safety of Edward II. But Edward III., blind to this warning, had given positions as great as that of Thomas of Lancaster to several of his younger sons and kinsmen. The intrigues of these princes were a fertile source of trouble from the moment when the crown devolved upon the infant son of the Black Prince.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, attempted to provide for a regency without reference to the wishes of Parliament. This design was frustrated, and Parliament successfully insisted on a share in the nominations to the Royal Council. But from 1377 to 1381 the government was practically in the hands of John of Gaunt; his inefficient and extravagant conduct and the French war necessitated burdensome taxation, which gave the signal for the Peasants' Revolt. Gaunt was scared into retirement by the evidence of his unpopularity which

**Troubles of
the Young
Richard II.**

the revolt afforded, and the king fell into the hands of a faction headed by his half-brothers, the Earls of Kent and Huntingdon. Another faction no less formidable gathered head under the king's uncle, Thomas of Gloucester; in 1386 it impeached the Earl of Suffolk, and saddled the king with a board of eleven advisers whose functions resembled closely those of the Ordainers. Richard temporised and began to make preparations for attacking

his enemies by armed force. His purpose was forestalled; he fell into the hands of the Gloucester faction. A servile Parliament condemned to death the chief of Richard's ministers and friends, and the Gloucester faction continued to control the administration.

A few months later the king unexpectedly asserted his authority by declaring himself of age. He dismissed the obnoxious regents, and appointed a new council, to which, with sagacious moderation, he called some of those who had been his opponents. Parliament, formerly so zealous in the service of the opposition, acquiesced in the overthrow of a form of government which had been established by the authority of both Houses, and for eight years Richard ruled without hindrance from his relations and on good terms with the estates. The explanation is that he had succeeded in procuring the support of John of Gaunt, the most formidable among his uncles. The court parties were therefore evenly balanced; the natural respect of the Commons for an hereditary title was under these circumstances sufficient to guarantee his position.

**The King's
Dread of
Conspiracies** In this position Richard might, with common prudence, have continued for the rest of his life. But he chafed against his dependence, and the fear of conspiracies affected his mind to the point of madness. In 1397 he suddenly arrested the heads of the Gloucester faction; some were executed, some imprisoned, and Earl Thomas himself was murdered in prison without a trial.

These proceedings, counterbalanced as they were by profuse grants of dignities to the Lancastrian faction, were passively accepted by Parliament, which was carefully packed with royal creatures and surrounded by the armed bodyguard of the king during its proceedings. In a second session, under constraint of the same kind, the estates voted to Richard a life revenue, and made him completely independent of their assembly for the future by sanctioning the appointment of a standing committee of eighteen members with full powers to act in the name of Parliament.

The power thus won was used oppressively in many instances. London and many of the shires were heavily fined on the charge, true or false, that they had abetted the king's enemies. The king's livery was granted to all who would wear



AN UNWORTHY KING: RICHARD II. RESIGNING HIS CROWN AND SCEPTRE

This illustration, from the water-colour drawing by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., represents the most humiliating moment in the life of King Richard II. His attempts to govern without a parliament roused the indignation of his people, and the opposition, under Henry of Lancaster, compelled him to renounce the throne. We here see him giving up his crown and sceptre. He afterwards signed a statement declaring that he was not worthy to be king any longer.

it, and was treated as a licence for indiscriminate purveyances. But Richard was no tyrant, and the general body of the nation was long suffering. He might long have pursued his course of absolutism with impunity if he had not rashly attempted to rid himself of the Lancastrians, through whom he had gained his end. He banished Henry of Hereford, the son and heir of John of Gaunt, without the semblance of a trial; and on the death of the old duke, in 1399, he confiscated the Lancastrian estates.

Henry of Hereford was the most popular member of the royal house. He had been a Crusader in Prussia, he excelled in knightly exercises, and he had been treated with palpable injustice. When, in July, 1399, he took advantage of Richard's absence in Ireland to land and raise the standard of rebellion he was joined at once by numerous adherents; and Richard returned only to enter a captivity in which he perished mysteriously a year later. The crown, which he had resigned in the hope that his life would be spared, was claimed by Henry of Lancaster, and his right was confirmed by the three estates. So the long-dormant right of national election was revived; the house of Lancaster came to the throne with a title which, however they might cloak the fact, was, and was generally considered to be, parliamentary. Never had Parliament interfered so often and so decisively as in the reign of Richard II. It alternately exalted and debased the king and his opponents. There was no department of the government too important for its interference, no custom so old that it might not alter or abolish it. But when we go beneath the surface of events and study the influences at work we find that

the personal and territorial influence of a few great nobles determined the acts of Parliament. The Commons had ceased to be significant by becoming the sharpest weapon of party warfare.

The reign of Henry IV. was not wholly untroubled by factions of the old kind, now the more dangerous because they



THE DEATH OF RICHARD II. IN PONTEFRACT CASTLE

Though no longer on the throne, Richard II. was not altogether without friends, as was shown by the endeavour which they made to reinstate him as king. But this attempt failed, and the failure meant the death not only of the ex-king but of many noblemen who had supported him. The exact manner of Richard's death is not known, but it is supposed that he was murdered in Pontefract Castle.

From the drawing by Sir John Gilbert, R.A.

were bound up with the claims of various pretenders. In Cheshire and the Welsh marches the personality of Richard had been popular; in Wales, Owen Glendower headed a growing band of nationalists; in the North of England, the Percies and other families which had been Lancastrian were alienated from Henry by disappointed

ambition. An impostor pretending to be Richard appeared for a time in Scotland; the Earl of March, whom Richard had designated as his heir, had the support of the Percies and Glendower. Fortunately, France was paralysed by the feuds of

The Welsh People in Revolt

Burgundians and Armagnacs, Scotland by a minority and the capture of the young James I. by the English in 1405. Hence the Welsh got little help from France, the Percies none from Scotland.

The Welsh rising, which began in 1400, was for a time successful, and Owen Glendower was actually crowned Prince of Wales by his followers in 1402. But, having formed a coalition with the Percies to set the Earl of March upon the English throne, Glendower was defeated by the royal forces at Shrewsbury, in 1403, though the Percies came to his aid. Harry Percy, "Hotspur," the life and soul of the English malcontents, perished in the battle. His father, Northumberland, failed ignominiously in the attempt to raise the north against the crown in 1404, fled to Scotland, and was subsequently slain at Bramham Moor in 1407, when conducting a raid into Yorkshire. Owen Glendower, although a thorn in the side of England for some years longer, failed to carry the war across the English border. His rebellion, which at one time had made him master of the principality, died down by degrees; the date of his death and the place of his burial are alike unknown.

After 1404 the chief difficulties of Henry IV. were caused by Parliament and by his own son. The king was personally unpopular; his title clearly rested on the goodwill of the nation. He had been elected to reform the state of the country and restore the rule of law; but his government was expensive, and no brilliant military achievements were placed to his credit.

Parliament therefore criticised him freely, and it might have gone hard with him if he had not conciliated the clergy by helping them to pass the statute De

Hæretico Comburendo, the first persecuting measure in the national history. In 1404 the Commons clamoured for a reduction of expense and the dismissal of foreign favourites. They would grant a subsidy only on condition of being allowed to appoint treasurers who should supervise the expenditure of the sum voted. In 1406 they demanded "good and abundant governance," insisted on the choice of new and more acceptable counsellors, nominated by a controller of the royal household, and insisted upon appointing auditors of their subsidy.

In 1411 they were induced, perhaps by the heir apparent, Henry of Monmouth, to consider the question of setting aside the king, who was now worn out with sickness. At this point, however, the king showed an unexpected spirit, sent for the Speaker of the Lower House, and intimated that

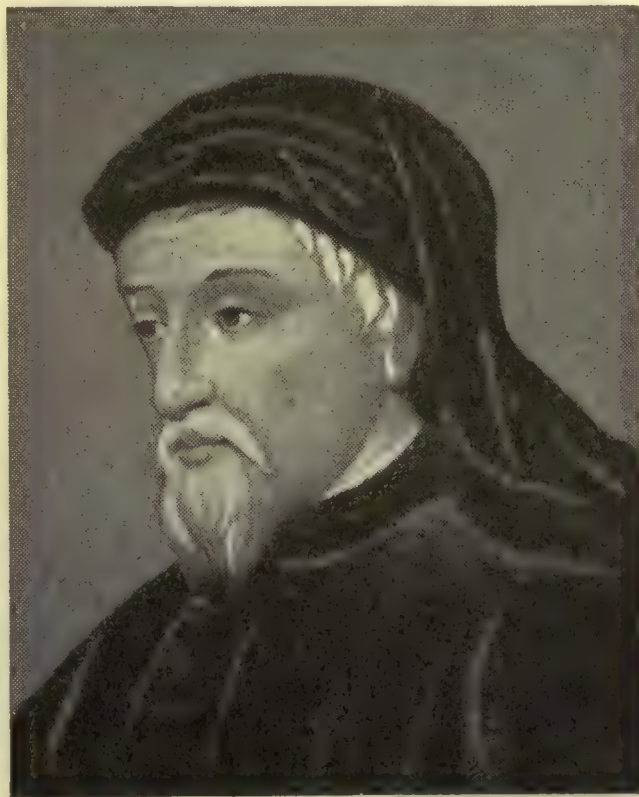
he would have no novelties discussed. The Commons took the rebuke in a submissive spirit; the prince and his supporters

were removed from the Privy Council, and the king enjoyed some measure of independence for the remainder of his reign. But in the years 1399-1413 the chief power in the state had passed from Crown to Parliament; the executive had

learned to take the orders of the Commons, and had begun to avoid responsibility by adopting submissively the advice of inexperienced representatives. The death of Henry IV., in 1413, left his son and namesake face to face with domestic problems of no small difficulty.

The terrible pestilence known as the Black Death, which was the greatest scourge of fourteenth-century Europe, visited England in 1348-1349, and on a smaller scale in subsequent years.

Affecting the country districts almost as severely as the towns, it swept away from a third to a half of the total population. It is probable that a few years restored the population of the country to the old level; but in the meantime many changes of



THE FATHER OF ENGLISH POETRY
Born about the year 1340, Geoffrey Chaucer served the English government in various capacities, and had a wide experience of life. The famous "Canterbury Tales" were written when he was about fifty-four years of age.

far-reaching import had been set on foot. The passing scarcity of labour accelerated the rise which had already begun in the general rate of wages; increased wages and restricted cultivation led to a rise in the prices of agricultural produce, and against the double evil king and Parliament sought to provide by legislation. The Statute of Labourers fixed the maximum price of the important articles of food; it also gave power to the justices of the peace in every shire to fix the rates of wages.

Such measures could not produce the desired effect, but they caused great bitterness of feeling among producers and labourers, since hired labour was becoming daily more essential in the agricultural economy of the nation. Before

1300 the lords of manors depended chiefly upon serf labour for the cultivation of their demesnes. Since that date it had become a usual practice to commute labour services for money payments, according to the current rate of wages.

These bargains, advantageous to both parties when first arranged, proved ruinous to landlords when the rate of wages was doubled by the plague. Unable to obtain labour at the rates which were fixed under the new statute, they conspired with the labourers to defeat it, but at the same time sought to reimburse themselves by a stricter exaction of the labour services and dues in money or kind to which they were still entitled from their serfs. The two classes of the landless labourers,

Wycliffe and his Mission oppressed by unjust legislation, and of the land-holding serfs, irritated by the claims of masters whom they had ceased to respect, drew together and formed a party of considerable size, which was skilfully knit together by concealed agitators. The teaching of John Wycliffe, himself the opposite of a socialist, was interpreted by popular preachers in such

a way as to fan the flame. Wycliffe, an Oxford doctor of theology, had become a public character by the mission which he undertook in 1374 to negotiate a concordat between the Pope and the national Church. Subsequently he distinguished himself by vigorous attacks upon the practices of the papacy, which the captivity of Avignon and the great schism had discredited in general



KING HENRY V. AND HIS QUEEN, CATHARINE OF VALOIS

The son of Henry IV., whom he succeeded in 1413, the young king continued the severe policy of his father towards the Lollards. Having won by war the regency and succession of France, he married the Princess Catharine, daughter of the French king, Charles VI.

estimation, by supervising the preparation of an English Bible, and by sending out poor preachers to address the people in homely language on the evils of society and the necessity for amending them.

Though linked at one time with John of Gaunt by the tie of their common opposition to the hierarchy, Wycliffe was definitely committed to no political party. It was an abstract doctrine, borrowed from the scholastics, to the effect that power ceases to be legitimate when unlawfully used, which commended the preaching of his priests to the discontented classes. A rising of the peasants broke out in 1381; the occasion in some places was supplied by the collection of a poll tax, which, although graduated, weighed more heavily upon the poor than upon the rich.

But the area affected by the rising was so considerable—the whole of East and South-east England—that we must suppose the preparations to have been on foot before the unpopular impost was demanded. London was forcibly entered by the men of Hertford, Essex, and Kent; much damage was done to the property of John

of Gaunt, alien merchants, and court favourites; the primate, Simon Sudbury, was beheaded on Tower Hill.

But the boldness of the young Richard II. saved the situation. He induced the mob to disperse by granting manumission to the villeins; the more local risings were mercilessly crushed with the aid of the gentry and superior clergy. Parliament refused to confirm the bargain which Richard had made with the villeins, both Lords and Commons protesting that they would rather all die in one day than lose their rights. But the alarm which the rising had produced made landholders readier to adopt a new method of farming which was now coming into vogue. They began to let their demesne lands at a rent to tenant farmers; the remaining services of the villeins were rapidly commuted, and the class soon acquired the new name of copyholders. Henceforth the peasant holding land was practically a freeholder, His rent was a fixed one, and though he was still subject to the manor court the restraints upon his personal liberty disappeared. Some traces of villeinage

remained in certain parts of the country as late as the sixteenth century, but Tudor writers regard it as, for practical purposes, extinct. The chief disability which clung to the descendants of villeins was that of exclusion from the franchise. This was limited by a statute of 1430, which introduced as a necessary qualification for an elector in the shires the possession of a freehold of ten dollars' annual value. Copyholders, though often men of substance and education, did not acquire the franchise till the great Reform Bill of the year 1832.

Wycliffe's party survived the suppression of the villeins' revolt, from which the reformer entirely dissociated himself, denouncing the conduct of the peasants with great freedom. But he fell under the suspicion of heresy, chiefly because, in his attacks upon the sacerdotal theory, he was logically led on to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation. Condemned at the Lambeth Council of 1382, he nevertheless remained unmolested as parish priest at Lutterworth until his death, in 1384. The Lollards, as his followers were



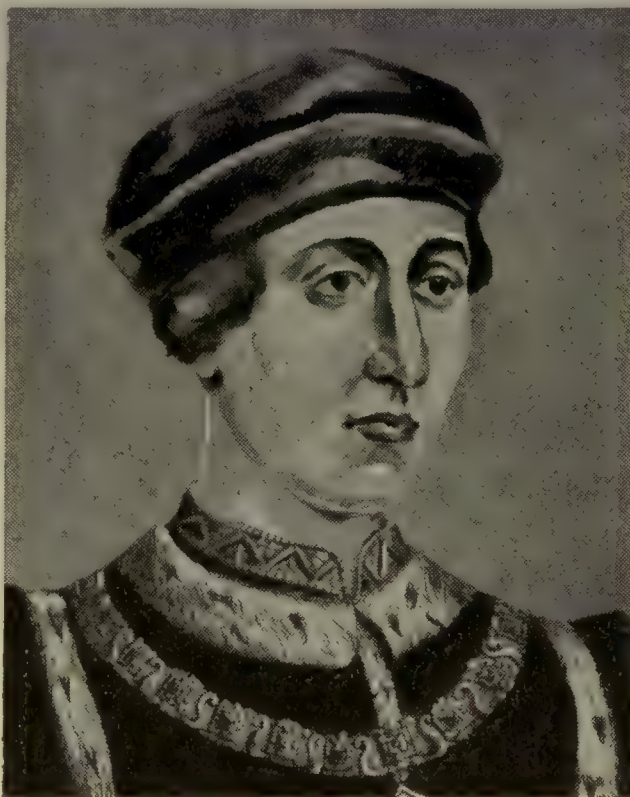
KING HENRY V. WOOING THE FRENCH PRINCESS CATHARINE

This interesting picture represents the wooing of England's young king, Henry V., which had a successful termination, the wedding, attended with great pomp, taking place on Trinity Sunday, June 3rd, 1420, in the Parish Church at Troyes.

From the painting by W. F. Yeames, by permission of the "Art Journal."

called, distinguished themselves in the latter part of Richard's reign by bold attacks upon the chief superstitions and tenets of the mediæval Church. They had friends at court, and the queen, Anne of Bohemia, may possibly have favoured them; it is certain that their doctrines spread to her native country and formed the starting-point of the religious and patriotic movement to which Huss gave his name. But in England the persecution initiated by Henry IV. was rapidly successful. William Sautre, the first victim, burned in 1401, before the statute "De Hæretico" was passed, was followed to the stake by a number of fellow-believers. In 1414 Sir John Oldcastle, the most considerable representative of the sect, formed a plot to seize Henry V. with a view to extorting toleration. The plot was detected and suppressed; the last chance that the Lollards would become a political party faded away. There is some evidence to show that Lollard congregations evaded their persecutors and continued to meet in some of the eastern counties till the beginning of the sixteenth century. How far the survival served as a foundation for the later growth of Protestantism remains a matter of dispute among historians. The fourteenth century therefore gave indications of a new period to come, of impending changes in the structure of society, in religious dogma, and in secular and ecclesiastical government. It is the culminating period of mediæval civilisation; the seeds of decay are already implanted. But a century was to elapse before the time for social and religious reorganisation became

generally recognised. The chief interest of the Lancastrian and Yorkist period is to be found in the gradual breach with old manners, traditions, and ways of thought. The conservative and innovating tendencies of the century are alike illustrated by the first great poets who wrote in an English intelligible at the present day. Chaucer (1340-1399), the poet of the court and middle classes, Langland, the poet of the people, are sharply distinct, but both the creatures of their age. Chaucer reflects the cosmopolitanism of cultured mediæval society; he made free use of French and Italian models, and familiarised the English ear with foreign metres. But in his chief work, "The Canterbury Tales," he is a national poet of the best kind. The prologue introduces us to the members of a pilgrimage on the road to Canterbury: the tales which follow are fitted with the art of a dramatist to the characters of the pilgrims, all English men and women, who tell them to relieve the tedium of the journey. A genial humour pervades the prologue and many of the tales. Chaucer could be satirical, but was well satisfied with the England which he knew. Langland, an ecclesiastic of humble station and saturnine disposition, wrote his allegory of Piers Plowman with a moral object to illustrate the search of the religious soul for Christ and to reprove the disorders of every social rank. But his rough alliterative verse abounds in sketches of daily life and in comments upon their significance, which reveal the patriotic artist, deeply sympathising with those whose follies he chastises. In the sense



KING HENRY VI. OF ENGLAND

He was the son of Henry V., and became king when only one year old. During his long minority the government was in the hands of the Privy Council. In the year 1471 he was murdered in the Tower of London.



THE QUEEN OF HENRY VI.

Margaret of Anjou, the queen of Henry VI., was married to that monarch in the year 1445.

daily life and in comments upon their significance, which reveal the patriotic artist, deeply sympathising with those whose follies he chastises. In the sense



KING HENRY V. OF ENGLAND LEADING HIS ARMY AT THE SIEGE OF HARFLEUR IN 1415

This spirited picture by Mr. C. M. Sheldon represents King Henry V. at the siege of Harfleur, in France, when he urged on his troops with the ancient battle-cry of the English armies: "God for Harry! England! and St. George!" With only 7,000 men Henry faced a French army six times as numerous, and at Agincourt achieved a great and memorable victory.

that he states the case for the poor and oppressed he is a democrat. But, like Wycliffe, he was altogether averse from the wild radicalism which found vogue among the peasant rebels. The last of Langland's works, "Richard the Redeless," is an invective against the misgovernment of Richard II., but is far from

Parliament on the Track of Heretics revolutionary in tone. The author makes some excuses for the king, and expresses a hope that he may be brought to see the error of his ways. The reign of Henry V. opened inauspiciously with the conspiracy of Oldcastle; and although the alarm which this produced had the effect of inducing Parliament, hitherto not ill-disposed towards the heretics, to sanction a more stringent search for them, there was a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction with the Church. Towards the king the Commons showed their independence by insisting that the statutes made at their request should be in conformity with the petitions submitted to him. Among the nobles a plot had been formed to depose Henry in favour of the Earl of March, Henry's nearest kinsman and the heir presumptive.

In the midst of these ominous symptoms, the king, perhaps with the object of distracting the popular mind from criticism of his government and of the Church, decided to revive his claims upon the Angevin inheritance. The madness of Charles VI. and the distracted state into which France had been brought by the feuds of Burgundians and Armagnacs afforded a tempting opportunity. Offers of a compromise were rejected at the English court and Henry set sail for France, at the head of a small force, in the summer of 1415. Landing at Harfleur, he marched, after its capture, on Calais, in the hope of provoking the French to a pitched battle. His wish was gratified, and at Agincourt the English

How the English Won Agincourt won a brilliant victory by their superior skill in archery and tactics. But the real work of conquering began only in 1417, when the reduction of Normandy was methodically undertaken; Rouen was not taken until January, 1419, after a siege of almost six months.

It was an unforeseen event which in the following year left Henry master of the greater part of France. The Duke of Burgundy, in the act of going through a

reconciliation with the dauphin, who had espoused the Armagnac side, was foully murdered at the Bridge of Montereau. The Burgundians and the Queen of France revenged themselves by concluding with Henry V. the Treaty of Troyes, in 1420, under which the King of England concluded a marriage with the Princess Katherine, became regent in the present, and was recognised as the heir apparent. A national party headed by the dauphin maintained the cause of independence, and even achieved a victory at Beaugé, in 1421, over an English army. But the stain of the murder committed at Montereau told heavily against the future of Charles VII.; the birth of a son to Henry and Katherine appeared to set the seal upon the union of England and France; nor were English hopes dissipated by the untimely death of their king, in 1422, at the age of thirty-five.

The success of Henry V. had converted the Commons to a project which, in the first instance, they had viewed with marked disfavour, but the reaction against the expenditure which the new conquest entailed was all the more severe when it came. The English did not realise how much the dissensions of France **English Reverses in France** had contributed to their success, and did not understand that half the kingdom remained to be conquered. Their confidence was soon rudely shaken. The new king was an infant; his uncle, Bedford, upon whom the regency devolved, though a capable statesman and soldier, was hampered by the intrigues of his brother, Gloucester. The English cause soon began to suffer reverses.

A quarrel between Philip of Burgundy and Bedford's brother Gloucester had obliterated the resentments caused by the crime of Montereau. Bedford died immediately after the desertion of Burgundy was made public. In the hands of his uncle and brother, Cardinal Beaufort and the Duke of Gloucester, the tottering English cause was soon overthrown. An attempt to purchase peace by the arrangement of a marriage between the young Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou, a kinswoman of Charles VII., merely excited discontent in England without conciliating France. The new queen introduced a new bitterness into the factions of the court; and an alliance between herself and Beaufort was immediately followed by the arrest and mysterious death of Gloucester, in 1447.



THE WARS OF THE ROSES

AND THE LEGACY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

BEAUFORT outlived his nephew and enemy by only a few days; but in the person of Suffolk the queen found a new minister through whom to rule; the place of Gloucester as head of the opposition was taken by Richard, Duke of York, a good administrator and one of the few generals who had won distinction in the French wars, but hateful to the queen because, uniting the claims of two lines descended from Edward III., he stood next in succession to her husband. The king counted for nothing in the government; he was of weak intellect even before the hereditary taint of madness became apparent, and left everything to his wife except that on occasion he endeavoured without effect to play the part of peacemaker.

York appears originally to have been a loyal subject. But there was much in the conduct of the government which might legitimately be criticised, and his censures were none the less plainly expressed because he was excluded from a share of power. The parliamentary constitution had proved a total failure; the House of Commons was composed of members returned by corrupt influences and in the interest of a few great families. Since these families furnished the members of the Privy Council, to which every royal minister was subject, their supremacy was assured. All business of any consequence, and much that was trivial, came before the council for settlement, and was transacted without method or despatch or technical knowledge. The result at the best of times was "lack of governance"; and throughout the country life and property were insecure. Only a change of system could mend the evil. But the people, encouraged by the Yorkist party, looked for individuals on whom to throw the blame. The queen and her favourites became the scapegoats of the constitution,

They cannot indeed be acquitted of mis-managing the war in France. Year by year ground was lost, and the positions of the English garrisons, ill-found, ill-fed, ill-paid, grew more desperate. Normandy was lost piecemeal in 1448-1449, Guienne in 1451; even Calais was in danger in 1452. The nation, which had never been

English Counties in Revolt

willing to pay for the defence of these possessions, cried out against the treachery through which they had been lost.

The first symptom of approaching trouble was the impeachment of Suffolk by the House of Commons in 1450. The unpopular minister was seized by his enemies and beheaded in mid-Channel while attempting to escape abroad; immediately afterwards the south-eastern counties rose in revolt and, marching upon London under the lead of one Cade, who was not improbably a Yorkist instrument, demanded that the Duke of York should be called to power, and the queen's favourites dismissed.

Although easily suppressed, this rebellion influenced the queen's mind against York. When, in 1452, he made a personal appearance, at the head of an armed force, to reiterate the demands of Cade, she answered with fair words; but the birth of an heir to the throne in 1453 gave her courage to attack York as a traitor. It became for the duke a matter of life and death that he should assert his right to a position on the council, and to the office of protector during the fits of madness which had begun to seize the king at intervals. The queen's determination to exclude him from power made war inevitable. It began with the battle of Bloreheath in 1459, and from that time until the accession of Henry VII. in 1485 the crown was in dispute between the rival houses of York and Lancaster. The duke found it necessary to assert his pretensions, and they passed, after the

How the Civil War Began

of protector during the fits of madness which had begun to seize the king at intervals.



YORK AND LANCASTER: THE BEGINNING OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES

The Wars of the Roses, which broke out in the reign of King Henry VI., were one long struggle for the crown of England between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and derived their name from the incident depicted above. In the Temple Gardens, in London, the heads of the rival houses met one day, and when the Duke of York plucked a white rose, calling upon his followers to do the same, the Lancastrian partisans promptly replied by plucking a red rose.

From the picture by John Pettie, R.A.

defeat and death of Richard at Wakefield in the year 1460, to his son Edward IV.

The war of the White Rose (York) and the Red (Lancaster) originated in a conflict of personal ambitions between two branches of the royal family. From first to last it was a war between aristocratic factions in which the Commons took as little part as possible. No principle was at stake, nor was the country divided, as usually happened in the civil wars of France and Germany, upon the lines of racial or provincial demarcations. Roughly speaking, the south and south-east shires held for the Yorkists, the north and Wales for the Lancastrians. But to this general rule there were many local exceptions; the attitude of every district depended upon the territorial

influence of the great families. The aristocracy had lost the more imposing of the old feudal privileges, but land was still the great source of wealth and consideration, while private ambition and the troublous state of the times had produced a new and bastard feudalism. The timid and the ambitious among the middle and lower classes assumed the livery of great lords, whose private quarrels they pursued in return for maintenance against the authority of the law-courts and the executive; thus every great proprietor could bring a little army into the field. To which side he would bring it depended chiefly upon the ties of blood and the private feuds in which he was entangled. Scores of quarrels were fought out under cover of the dynastic question.



THE QUEEN OF EDWARD IV.

Elizabeth Woodville, a Lancastrian, was married to King Edward IV. in 1464, three years after he had ascended England's throne.



THE GREAT BATTLE OF TOWTON, THAT WITNESSED THE DEFEAT OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER IN 1461

In this great battle, the most stubborn that England had witnessed since the battle of Hastings, one hundred and twenty thousand men were engaged, and the artist, Mr. R. Caton Woodville, admirably pictures the historic struggle between the Houses of York and Lancaster. The army of the former advanced through a heavy snowfall. For six long hours the fight proceeded without either side gaining an advantage, but the arrival of Norfolk turned the tide in favour of the Yorkists, and the defeated Lancastrians left twenty thousand dead on the field.

The Yorkists succeeded in winning the passive favour of the commercial classes, of whose grievances, as of many with far less foundation, Duke Richard had been the mouthpiece before the war broke out. The accidental circumstance that Margaret of Anjou was forced to rely upon the lawless barons of the north confirmed the towns in the prejudice which they entertained against her. Yet the Yorkists, if judged by the character of their claim, were the more unconstitutional party of the two. Richard and his son demanded, in effect, that the parliamentary title of Henry VI. should be set aside in favour of one which rested on hereditary right. The reign of Edward IV. is a sufficient proof that he had no respect for constitutional liberties, and that his own interests were his guiding star. He was allowed to overthrow the Lancastrians in the hope that he would establish a more efficient government. He did, in fact, establish a personal system of rule which kept the country in a state of quiet; but he did his utmost to destroy all constitutional guarantees at the same time. He endeavoured to substitute a council of favourites and connections for one of territorial magnates. But he did not create a skilled executive, and he reduced the power of the legislature to a shadow.

The complicated story of his fortunes after 1460 is not worth tracing in detail. He was crowned in 1461, annihilated the Lancastrian army at Towton a few weeks later, and made himself master of his rival's person. Eight years later he was expelled in consequence of quarrels with Warwick, his ablest

supporter, and with Clarence, his brother and the heir-presumptive. These rebels overthrew their master by forming a coalition with the fugitive Lancastrian queen and with Louis XI. of France in 1470. But Edward recovered his position with the aid of Charles the Rash, the Duke of Burgundy, to whom it was of vital importance that French influence should not reign supreme in the country from which the weavers of Flanders derived their raw material. Henry VI. was taken and put to death; Warwick ended his days on the hard fought field of Barnet; Margaret's son, the young Prince Edward, was taken after a victory over his mother's forces at Tewkesbury, and put to death upon the field; Margaret herself fled to

France, where she passed the remainder of her days in exile. Clarence, spared for a time in consideration of his treachery

to Warwick, was secretly executed some years later, in 1478. From 1471 to 1483 Edward ruled without a rival. The most notable event of his reign, after the destruction of the premature constitutionalism initiated by the Lancastrians, was the conclusion of the long strife with France which Henry V. had revived with such disastrous consequences. Edward held fast by the Burgundian alliance. But he refused to entangle himself deeply in the schemes of Charles the Rash for the dismemberment of France, and eventually sold the English claim on France for a round sum of money.

This bargain, concluded at Pecquigny in 1473, marks the close of the mediæval stage in English foreign policy; it is an unconscious concession to the new national



KING EDWARD IV. OF ENGLAND

He was the son of Richard, Duke of York, and was crowned king in 1461. One of his military triumphs was in 1471, when he occupied London and defeated and killed Warwick at Barnet; but his reign was a disappointment



THE UNFORTUNATE EDWARD V.

The boy king reigned for only three months. His uncle usurped the throne, and shortly after his accession as Richard III., the rightful king, Edward V., was, with his brother, cruelly put to death in the Tower of London.



QUEEN MARGARET AND THE GOOD ROBBER

Flying with her son, Edward, after the battle of Hedgeley Moor, Queen Margaret tried to find shelter in a wood, but was there set upon by robbers and deprived of all her jewels. While the robbers were quarrelling over their booty, the queen escaped, and wandered about the forest. There she met another robber, who, touched by her pitiable condition, lent her his aid. He concealed her, eventually leading her to the coast, and thus enabled her to escape across the sea.

From the painting by W. Christian Symons



BOY PRISONERS IN THE TOWER: EDWARD V. AND THE DUKE OF YORK

We have represented a pathetic episode of English history. Imprisoned in the Tower of London by their uncle, Richard III., the rightful king, Edward V., and his brother, the Duke of York, seemed to understand the awful fate which awaited them, and they have been described as "clinging together in the vain hope of finding comfort in each other's embraces."

From the painting by Paul Delaroche in the Louvre, Paris

spirit made by the least national of kings. In domestic government the tyranny of Edward serves to bridge a period of transition. He broke with the traditions of the past, but he left it to a representative of the rival house to lay the foundations of the future. An ill-judged love-marriage with Elizabeth Woodville had caused his temporary expulsion; and after his death the Woodville connection was fatal to his children.

On the death of Edward, in 1483, his brother Richard of Gloucester, who had taken up the feud of Clarence with the Woodvilles, seized his two nephews, in whose name their mother and her relations hoped to rule, and in 1483 either put the boys to death or spirited them away. Parliament was induced to declare the children of Edward illegitimate and to accept the claim of Gloucester, who was

crowned as Richard III. But he held the crown for barely two years. The public conscience, though hardened by a long series of political crimes and judicial murders, revolted against Richard's culminating atrocity. He became a mark for the intrigues of every ambitious schemer, although he bought the friendship of the Woodville interest by offering to marry his niece Elizabeth. Buckingham failed to overthrow his former friend and master in 1484; but Henry Tudor, a representative in the female line of the claim derived from John of Gaunt, the progenitor of the Lancastrians, proved more successful. Deserted by his most popular supporters, Richard fell before this new rival at the battle of Bosworth Field. The Tudor was crowned on the battlefield as Henry VII.; and parliament and the nation acquiesced in the title thus

irregularly asserted. A marriage between the new king and Elizabeth of York blended the White Rose with the Red. The country drew a deep breath of satisfaction at this omen of a lasting settlement. Twenty-five years of strife had created a longing for peace and ordered government which was one of the strongest forces in English politics for many years to come.

The hereditary claim of Henry VII. was of the slightest kind. His mother, Margaret Beaufort, was a descendant of John of Gaunt; on the paternal side he could claim as ancestors only a line of Welsh squires. His grandfather, Owen Tudor, had married the widow of Henry V., but was not otherwise distinguished; the family had acquired the earldom of Richmond only in his father's time. Henry owed his strongest claim to the Act of Parliament which decreed that the inheritance of the crown should rest in King Henry VII. and the heirs of his body. He fortified his position by a marriage with

Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV. But the early years of the reign were disturbed by plots in favour of Yorkist candidates, among whom two laid claim to be princes of the blood. A certain Lambert Simnel won the support of the Irish in 1487 by alleging himself to be Edward of Warwick, the son of the ill-starred Clarence.

Between 1492 and 1499 more serious trouble was caused by a Flemish youth, one Perkin Warbeck, who passed as Richard, the second son of Edward IV., and claimed that he had escaped when his elder brother was murdered by Richard III. Warbeck was supported by Margaret of York, the sister of Edward IV., and Dowager Duchess of Burgundy. He was received at the court of Scotland, married a kinswoman of James IV., and received promises of Scottish assistance. Each of these pretenders invaded England, and it would have gone hardly with the new king if he had not in each case defeated the pretender at the first encounter. The



THE MURDER OF THE TWO SONS OF EDWARD IV. IN THE TOWER OF LONDON
At midnight, as the brothers were sleeping together, the two miscreants hired for the deed entered their chamber and stifled them as they lay. Richard III. gained little by his wickedness, as he held the throne for barely two years.

great families connected with the Yorkist line, and all classes in the North of England, merely awaited a favourable opportunity to revolt. Of these, however, and of other possible claimants, Henry freed himself in good time. Simnel ended his days as a scullion in the royal kitchen; Warbeck, at first imprisoned in the Tower, was afterwards executed in consequence of an attempted escape. His fate was shared by his fellow-captive, the true Edward of Warwick. The two De la Poles, cousins of Edward IV., saved themselves by flight in 1501, a number of their kinsmen and friends were executed in 1502, and

England kept only Calais, a port valuable indeed for purposes of trade and for the command of the narrow seas, but a poor satisfaction for some four centuries of warfare and diplomacy. In the reign of Edward IV. the English were almost cured of their continental ambitions. Others, however, had yet to be developed. The discovery of the New World was only beginning, and England was far from being the first of the nations to realise the prizes which might be won in America, in Africa, in the Far East.

If we turn from foreign policy to the consideration of domestic institutions



THE WIDOW OF EDWARD IV. PARTING WITH HER SON, THE DUKE OF YORK

The fate of this unfortunate young prince is pictured on the two preceding pages. In this illustration we see the queen-mother grief stricken at her parting from her younger son, the Duke of York, who was then only nine years of age.

From the painting by Philip A. Calderon, R.A.

under these altered circumstances the Tudor cause seemed reasonably secure.

At the close of the Middle Ages we may pause for a moment to ask what was the legacy which they bequeathed to modern England. From many points of view the period 1066-1485 had been either sterile or disastrous. The foreign policy of the Norman and Plantagenet kings had been directed towards schemes of continental empire which were too great for the resources of their island dominions, especially when a growing national feeling in France brought all classes to the support of the Valois monarchy. In 1485, of all the possessions which she had won abroad,

the outlook in 1485 is brighter. The Lancastrian period had completed the parliamentary constitution, which was first outlined by Simon de Montfort and Edward I. In the fifteenth century it was understood that the power of imposing taxes, other than the ancient and customary dues of the crown, lay exclusively with parliament. Henry IV. had been compelled to admit that a money Bill must originate in the House of Commons. So, again, the right to petition had become the right to present Bills for the royal approval; the crown might reject them, but might not introduce unauthorised amendments. During the



THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH: DEATH OF THE LAST OF THE PLANTAGENET KINGS

This celebrated battle, which was fought near Bosworth, an ancient market town in Leicestershire, in 1485, gave a new king to the throne of England, and brought peace to the kingdom. The opposing sides were those of King Richard III. and Henry, Earl of Richmond, victory resting with the latter. Richard died fighting fiercely, and after the battle his crown was found on the field and placed on the head of Richmond, who was saluted as King Henry VII. With the death of Richard the Plantagenet dynasty, which occupied the throne from 1154, came to an end.

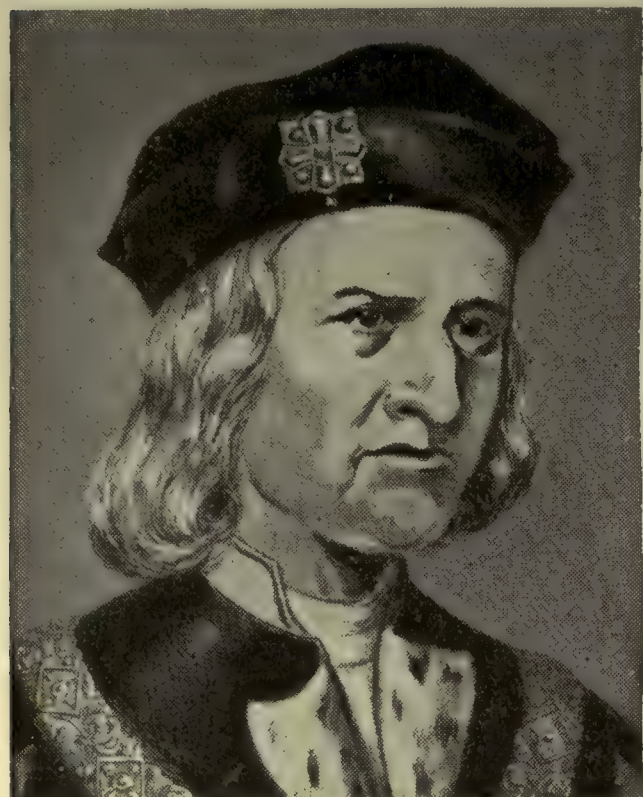
From the picture by A. Cooper, by permission of Messrs, Henry Graves & Co.

Wars of the Roses the responsibility of ministers to Parliament had been asserted by both parties; the formidable procedures of impeachment and attainder had taken shape as weapons to be used against the complaisant tools of arbitrary power. Finally, the right of both Houses to perfect

the nation had ceased to reverence Parliament; the new wealth and influence of the crown was used to keep the national assembly in a state of weakness and humility. For a century after this date Parliament was rarely allowed an opportunity of dictating the conditions of a

grant, or of offering an independent criticism upon royal policy. The constitutionalists of the Stuart period were the first to appeal consistently and with success to the precedents of parliamentary sovereignty which the reign of Henry IV. happily afforded.

Turning from the legislature to the executive we find that the case was even worse. The great offices of state, the



TWO ENGLISH KINGS: RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII.

The former of these kings, Richard III., was a younger brother of Edward IV., and how he established himself on the throne of England has already been described. He was succeeded by Henry VII., after the battle of Bosworth, in 1485, whose reign lasted till his death in 1509.

freedom of debate had been admitted by the crown. But, on the other hand, the growth of Parliament had been premature. The two Houses had proved themselves capable of obstructing government; they had done nothing to increase the efficiency of the executive. The members of the Lower House showed neither capacity for rule nor independence of judgment. Parliament was Yorkist or Lancastrian, according to the fortune of war, and consistent in nothing but the readiness with which it proscribed the beaten party of the moment.

Elections were seldom fairly conducted in the fifteenth century. Where intimidation and corrupt influence failed to return the candidate of a local magnate, the sheriff could usually be suborned to make a false return. The Commons had represented the private interests of the great houses. There was now a hope that better days might come. The baronage emerged from the Wars of the Roses with shattered fortunes and prestige, while the crown was enriched by three successive sets of confiscations, those of the Lancastrians, of the Yorkists, and of the new Tudor sovereign. But for the time being

Privy Council, which controlled them, were archaic in constitution, and ill-adapted for the tasks imposed upon them. A new distribution of duties, more perfect organisation, the replacement of high-born but inexperienced magnates by energetic but expert statesmen—such were the crying needs of the central government. The local administration, which Henry II. had made the most scientific of his age, was now totally inadequate to satisfy the requirements of the community. It was imperative to create new officials in the place of the sheriffs, who had so long fulfilled with equal inefficiency the various functions of the tax-collector, the magistrate, and the captain of militia; nor would

any system be successful which did not give the landowners, the national leaders of public opinion, an interest and a share in maintaining the public peace. In the towns the trammels which the guild system had imposed upon all kinds of industry could no longer be defended. Whatever advantages the guilds had once secured for the community by their inspection of goods, by their regulation of wages and the conditions of labour, by

**England's Need
of Better
Administration**

their encouragement of local industry through the maintenance of a local monopoly, they were now more mischievous than useful. If the whole constitution of lay society stood in need of reform, the Church had suffered no less from the growth of slackness at headquarters, and in every department, from the failure of the clergy

The Decline of Power of the Clergy

to maintain their former position as the pioneers of intellectual progress and the censors of national morality.

The inmates of the monasteries were no longer zealous in their work. They may not have been so slack as the Protestants of the next generations contended; but monasticism was no longer respected as serving any useful purpose. Popular liberality had almost ceased to flow in the direction of religious houses, and the wealth which they had derived from the piety of past generations was grudged to them by the laymen of the fifteenth century. The preaching friars were not so obviously useless as the monks; but even the friars had lost their high ideals, and earned their subsistence by flattering a contemptuous populace.

The bishops were for the most part engrossed in politics; nominated either by the king or the Pope, they seldom owed their rank to any fitness for its religious duties. The reaction against Lollardry had made them staunch supporters of the papacy, which, in the time of Grosseteste, they had been inclined to criticise. Conscious of the slight hold which they possessed upon the respect of the laity, they sought to improve their position by leaning on the support of Rome or of the crown. And, although Lollardry had been silenced, Lollard congregations still met in secret. Copies of Wycliffe's "Wicket" were widely circulated, and his teaching added point to the criticisms, which the merest commonsense suggested,

upon the actions of the Church courts, the intolerable multiplication of ecclesiastical dues, the idle and careless lives of the secular clergy. The springs and sources of religious idealism were running dry; if they could not be reopened it was certain that the Church would cease to be of any value or significance. Men would look elsewhere for guidance; they would shake off the weight of a system which no longer possessed any charm or authority.

There were, however, latent in society the seeds of a new and better order, and the Middle Ages produced in England some abiding results of value and importance. Within a hundred years from the battle of Senlac the fusion of the Norman ruling class with the native population was complete. The centralisation of the Angevins broke down the barriers of prejudice and custom and privilege which had separated province from province and class from class. Patriotism became intense in every rank of society; and in the fourteenth century the substitution of English for French as the common language of social intercourse bore witness to the growth of a national individuality.

Grasping and unscrupulous as the barons of the Lancastrian period showed



THE QUEEN-CONSORTS OF TWO ENGLISH KINGS

Anne of Warwick was the queen of Richard III., and Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV., was married to Henry VII. in 1486, their wedding taking place at Westminster Abbey.

themselves, they were less a source of danger to society than the aristocracies of France and Germany. The privileges of nobility were in England comparatively few, and the younger sons of a great house were, in the eyes of the law, but simple commoners; on the other hand, a writ

of summons to the House of Lords could be issued at the pleasure of the crown to any subject, and carried with it nobility of rank. Thus, although custom gave to the House of Lords a preponderant influence in the legislature and the larger half of places in the Privy Council, it was possible to recruit that chamber from time to time with the ablest and most influential members of the middle class; and in the House of Commons were to be found many knights of the shire whose pride of birth was hardly less than that of the peers. There was no inseparable gulf between the two Houses, and they were capable upon occasion of pursuing a common policy.

The Two Houses of Parliament

Respect for the law and the officers of the law was another hopeful feature of society. English law had developed steadily and without a break from the accession of Henry II.; the great legislative measures of that sovereign and of Edward I. were supplemented by the evolution of an elaborate case-law in the royal courts. The legal treatise attributed to Glanville, but more probably the work of Hubert Walter, which was written between 1187 and 1189, is a proof that the reduction of precedents to order had even then begun. Bracton, writing in the years 1250-1258, compiled mainly from recorded cases his "*Tractatus de Legibus*," a manual of legal principles, which was for generations the standard authority.

In his hands and that of later exponents, such as Britton about 1291, and Littleton in 1475, the common law became scientific without becoming tainted to any appreciable degree with the theories of civilians and canonists. Uncouth in terminology, abounding in archaisms, and so intricate that it could barely be mastered by the study of a lifetime, it was still regarded with pride as a national heritage, and was, on the whole, well adapted to the needs of the nation by which it had been developed. The judges and the lawyers of the English courts acted, at the worst of times, as a check upon royal despotism and feudal lawlessness. The personal intervention of the crown in matters of justice was a thing of the past. Edward IV. once sat in the King's Bench for three successive days; but this was noted as a surprising occurrence, and it is not recorded that he ventured to take a personal part in the proceedings. In the sixteenth

The Law Above King and Party

century the doctrine that the king could not lawfully interfere with justice became rooted in the common law.

Again we have to remark that the intellectual revival of the fifteenth century found a ready welcome upon English soil. Already before this time the nation had shown the promise of great things in literature, in science and philosophy. Among the vernacular poets of the Middle Ages the first place indeed belongs to those of Italy; but Chaucer and Langland are inferior only to Dante and to Petrarch. The Franciscan Roger Bacon—whose "*Opus Majus*," "*Opus Minus*," and "*Opus Tertium*" (1267-1271) ranged over the whole field of the known sciences—is the greatest of those inquirers into Nature who took the Aristotelian treatises at their starting point, and in his protest against the blind acceptance of authority he struck a note which is echoed by his more famous namesake of the seventeenth century. Among the great scholastics Alexander of Hales, Duns Scotus, and Occam hold a foremost place, and represent the subtlest forms of mediæval metaphysics. The Lancastrian and Yorkist periods cannot boast thinkers of such power and brilliance. But the lawyer Fortescue (1394-1476), the translator Caxton (1491), who is better remembered as the founder of the first English printing-press, and Sir Thomas Malory, the compiler of the "*Morte d'Arthur*" in 1485, gave an impetus to the development of English prose. The poetic tradition was handed on by Gower, Lydgate, and Hoccleve. By the middle of the century the English scholar was already a familiar figure in the class-rooms of the great Italian humanists, and the library which Bishop Gray of Ely, one of the earliest of these pioneers, bequeathed to Balliol College, Oxford, bears witness to the new direction which the studies of the universities were taking.

Development of English Literature

Early in the reign of Henry VII. the foundation of Greek studies was laid in Oxford by the teaching of William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre. The new learning was still subordinate to the study of theology, but was rapidly acquiring an independent interest and value. The revival of an active impulse towards religious reformation followed as a natural consequence from the teaching of these two scholars, of their pupils More and Colet,



THE FAMOUS CAXTON PRINTING OFFICE AT WESTMINSTER: A VISIT FROM KING EDWARD IV.

Born about 1422, and learning the art of printing about the year 1471, William Caxton set up his printing press at Westminster, and soon received valuable patronage. In this picture Caxton is seen explaining the printing press and its working to King Edward IV., who was deeply interested in the invention that has done so much for the world's development and progress.

From the painting by Daniel Maclise, R.A., by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co.

and of their Dutch colleague Erasmus, who came to Oxford in the year 1498.

Lastly, we may notice the beginnings of an economic revolution which, though incidentally productive of distress and discontent, was to increase the wealth of English society, and to give the industrial and commercial classes an importance far

**Agriculture
the Source
of Wealth**

greater than they had hitherto possessed. Agriculture was still the main source of wealth, the landlord the most important member of the community. But sheep-farming was now more profitable than tillage. The rapidity with which arable land was converted into pasture at the close of the century is a proof that the demand for wool, the staple English export, had increased and was expected to increase still further. The wool trade, which before the time of Edward III. had been mainly in the hands of foreigners, was now almost monopolised by Englishmen; and when Edward IV. granted privileges to the Hanse merchants in 1474, he did so on condition that the ports of the Baltic should be opened to English traders. The chief claim of the Yorkists to popularity had been that by their foreign policy, and to some extent by their legislation, they aimed at the development of trade. The merchant class was a power with which the most autocratic sovereign was bound to reckon.

To improve his position was the one object which the king pursued through a reign of twenty-four years. In his domestic policy he improved upon the example of the Yorkists, aiming, like them, at the establishment of an autocracy based upon middle-class support, but pursuing this end with greater skill and caution. He took for his ministers ecclesiastics and men of humble origin upon whose devotion he could count implicitly. He devoted his main care to finance. By heavy fines imposed upon suspected nobles, by de-

**How the
King Amassed
Treasure**

manding benevolences from wealthy individuals, by the sale of privileges, by the unscrupulous exploitation of the law courts, and by strict enforcement of his feudal rights, he amassed a considerable treasure without demanding frequent subsidies. There was too much unrest in the country to permit of regular taxation. In 1488 and 1497 attempts to collect a tax which Parliament had voted were followed by local risings; and although the rebels

were easily defeated, the king took the double lesson to heart. His forbearance was rewarded by emancipation from parliamentary control; only once in the last thirteen years of his reign was it necessary for him to meet the House of Commons.

This policy was not resented. The king's exactions led to loud complaints from the victims, but the immediate burden fell upon the wealthy few. The Commons were more anxious to be protected than ambitious of a voice in determining the royal policy. The king gave them what they desired. He used the jurisdiction of the Privy Council to stamp out the practices of livery and maintenance through which the nobles had become a terror to their social inferiors. In spite of pretenders and rebellions his reign was one of security and peace. His legislation is commended by the high authority of Lord Bacon, but it was in administration that the king excelled. The two best known measures which were enacted in his reign, though important in their consequences, are by

**Successful
Diplomacy
of Henry VII.**

no means elaborate. One of these in 1495 provided that no man should incur the guilt of treason by obedience to the king *de facto*; the other, passed in 1487, fixed the composition and powers of the Star Chamber, a judicial body in close connection with the Privy Council, and designed to exercise the council's jurisdiction for the punishment of powerful offenders.

The diplomacy of Henry VII. was both subtle and successful. He came to the throne at a time when the three great powers of the Continent, Spain, France, and the Empire, were on the point of opening a long conflict, in which the traditions of the mediæval state system were cast to the winds, and territorial aggrandisement became the sole aim of enterprising sovereigns. Though remote from Italy, which soon became the main theatre of strife, Henry held a strategic position of some value within striking distance of France and of the Netherlands; the power of England, while much inferior to that of the three states already mentioned, was consequently deemed sufficient to turn the balance in favour of any side which she espoused. Without committing himself too deeply, Henry sold his friendship dear, pressed every advantage, and was seldom outwitted in a bargain.



THE BROTHERS CABOT LEAVING BRISTOL ON A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

In the month of May, 1497, John and Sebastian Cabot sailed from the port of Bristol on a voyage of discovery. In the hope of reaching China, the ships steered north-west, and in this way Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were discovered.

From the painting by Ernest Board by the artist's permission

From Philip, the Archduke of Flanders, he obtained, in 1496, the treaty known as the "Magnus Intercursus," which secured freedom of trade for English merchants and closed the Netherlands against English rebels. In 1506 the archduke, having been accidentally driven ashore on the English coast, was detained until he granted further privileges so damaging to Flemish trade that the new agreement was called by his subjects the "Malus Intercursus." From Ferdinand of Aragon, the father-in-law of the archduke, Henry obtained a still more valuable concession. In 1501 the Princess Katharine of Aragon was given in marriage to Arthur, the heir of the English throne. The prince died in the following year, but Katharine was then betrothed, with her father's consent, to the future Henry VIII. In this way the Tudors established themselves upon an equal footing with the older dynasties of Europe, and secured a powerful ally.

Friendship with Spain and Burgundy was the sheet-anchor of the foreign policy of

Henry VII. But after 1492 he contrived to avoid hostilities with France, the chief enemy of his allies. At the king's death, in 1509, England, though still a power of the second rank, was universally courted and regarded as the arbiter of European politics. Not less skilfully had Henry conducted his dealings with the commercial powers, Venice, Portugal, and the Hanse towns, from all of whom he demanded reciprocity of privilege.

The great position which he had won was diligently used on behalf of English trade, although, with characteristic caution, he gave but slight encouragement to the great explorers of the period whose discoveries were to revolutionise the economic state of Europe. The voyage of the Cabots in 1497, which brought them within sight of North America, was undertaken with the sanction and protection of the king. The expedition sailed from Bristol, and in 1498 the Cabots received permission to engage English vessels for a second voyage. But a present of \$50

was the most substantial aid which the bold Venetians received from the king. Henry was in accord with his subjects on the subject of the explorations. The time had not yet come for Englishmen to show an active interest in the New World. Short-sighted in this

**England's
Relations with
Scotland**

respect, Henry gave, in a business of a different character, an exhibition of exceptional sagacity. He it was who brought about the close connection of the Tudors with the Stuart dynasty of Scotland. In spite of the friendship between Edward III. and David Bruce, the subsequent relations of their kingdoms had been the reverse of friendly. French diplomacy and the raids of the borderers of both nations had kept alive the ill-feeling kindled by the war of independence. In the latter stages of the Hundred Years War the troops of Scotland shared the fortunes of more than one pitched battle with their French allies.

James IV. proved himself, after Bosworth, a loyal friend to the defeated Yorkists. Instead of avenging the injuries suffered in the past, Henry took the surest means of averting future collisions. He arranged in 1498, and brought to a conclusion four years later, a marriage between James and his eldest daughter, Margaret. The advisers of Henry expressed doubts as to the policy of a match which might have the ultimate effect of placing a Scot upon the English throne. The king, however, ridiculed their fears. The greater power, he said, would always draw the less; union would never redound to the hurt of England. The peace with Scotland which he desired was not to be secured for many years to come. Still, Henry may be fairly credited with the first project, since the time of

Edward I., for a peaceful union of the kingdoms. With the question of Ireland he dealt in an astute but less satisfactory manner. The English party had steadily lost ground in the island since the time of John, and in the reign of Edward III. the home government had definitely abandoned all hope of controlling the country outside the Pale, the district in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin. The statute of Kilkenny in 1366 drew a sharp line between the inhabitants of the Pale and the remainder of the population, providing that the former were to live by English law, and forgo the use of the Irish language, but leaving the latter to their own devices. The statute had failed to attach the Pale to England; and outside the Pale the settlers had sunk to the level of the natives among whom they lived. Occasionally a vigorous governor, such as Richard of York, acquired a personal ascendancy, but the Irish Yorkists were even more trouble to the first Tudor than those who hated English authority in any shape or form. After vain experiments in the direction of firm government, Henry VII. adopted the plan of setting Irishmen to govern Ireland, with the result that the country remained in a state of anarchy, but ceased to trouble England. Before, however, this autonomy,

**Ireland
in a State of
Anarchy**

if so it may be called, was granted, the parliament of the Pale had been induced in 1494 to pass a statute known as Poynings' Law, which was of more importance in after ages than at the time when it was first enacted. This law provided that no Bill should be laid before the Irish parliament without the consent of the English Privy Council. H. W. C. DAVIS



THE CASTLE OF YORK



SCOTLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

ITS LONG STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

THE DAYS OF BRUCE AND WALLACE

BEFORE Saxons and Angles invaded the island of Great Britain the Keltic or Pictish population of the northern portion were never brought into subjection by the Romans to the same extent as in the southern portion. The Wall of Hadrian, roughly corresponding to the later boundary between the English and Scottish kingdoms, marks the limit of the continuous effective occupation, though Roman legions marched into the mountains of Caledonia and maintained outposts as far as the Forth and the Wall of Antonine. As to the native tribes, it would seem that Brythonic Kelts held the Lowlands and Gaelic Kelts the Western Highlands, while it is uncertain whether the Picts, who occupied the rest of the north, were Kelts or a pre-Aryan race. In any case, the Picts were ultimately assimilated by their Keltic neighbours.

**Where the
Scots
Came From**

The Scots, who in later days gave their name to the whole, as the Angles did to England, were Gaelic Kelts who migrated from Ireland. The invasion of the Angles brought the eastern portion of the Lowlands under Teutonic dominion, the Kelts being driven either over the Forth or westwards into Galloway. Thus, the North of England and the South of Scotland were divided into Western Keltic Strathclyde, with Cumbria, and Eastern Anglian Northumbria. The Scottish kingdom, first known as Dalriada, corresponding roughly to Argyleshire, became united first with the Pictish kingdom as the kingdom of Alban, the crown remaining with the Scots dynasty, under Kenneth McAlpin, in 844. Meanwhile, both Picts and Scots had received Christianity from St. Columba and his missionaries, but, like Northumbria, transferred their allegiance to Rome.

By this time the Northmen and Danes were already establishing themselves in the

far north and the western islands, and very soon obtained the supremacy in Northumbria, King Alfred of Wessex conceding them the Danelaw. His son, Edward the Elder, making common cause with the kings of Strathclyde and Alban against the Danes,

**Scot and's
Relations with
England**

is stated very questionably to have been owned by them as "father and lord"—the original basis of the English claim to suzerainty over the Scots kingdom. Soon afterwards, the crown of Strathclyde also passed by election to a member of the royal house of Alban.

The relations between England, Alban, and Strathclyde remain exceedingly confused and disputable; but it is stated that Edgar the Peaceful at the close of the century ceded the Lothians to Kenneth of Alban as his vassal. More definitely assured is the fact that some years later, as a result of hostilities in the north, the Earl of Northumbria ceded the Lothians to Malcolm of Alban, to whom the crown of Strathclyde had already passed. Thus, the kingdom of Scotland was already in being.

Malcolm was succeeded by Duncan, who was displaced and killed by Macbeth, who was in turn displaced and killed by Malcolm III., shortly before the conquest of England by William of Normandy. The key to the relations between England and Scotland lies in the claim of the kings of England to suzerainty over Scotland, based on the English records, and the claims of the Scots kings to Southern as well as Northern Northumbria,

**Refugees
at the Court
of Scotland**

and to Southern as well as Northern Strathclyde — i.e., Cumbria. Neither claim was ever made continuously effective. With this Malcolm III., "Big-Head" — *Cean Mohr*, or Canmore, to use the familiar form of his nick-name—the historical fogs of earlier centuries begin to clear away. The Atheling Edgar, heir of the house of



SCHEMING FOR A THRONE: MACBETH INSTRUCTING THE MURDERERS

Acquiring a claim to the Scottish throne through his wife Gruoch, the granddaughter of King Kenneth II., Macbeth determined to wear the crown. But to do this he had first of all to get rid of King Duncan. Tradition says the pair plotted the murder of that sovereign, and carried out the crime near Elgin in 1040. Macbeth then succeeded to the throne, but in the year 1057 he was defeated and killed by Duncan's son, Malcolm, at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire.

From the water-colour drawing by George Cattermole, in South Kensington Museum

Cerdic, fled with his sisters to the Scots king's court; one of them, known in Scottish history as St. Margaret, Malcolm married. Their daughter, Edith, married Henry I. of England, and from her all subsequent kings and queens of England descended, except Stephen. Scotland was drawn altogether into closer relations with the southern country: the Lowlands, with a population mainly of Angles and Danes, became the progressive part of the country, in touch with the movement of European civilisation. Anglo-Norman

The Disputed Homage of Scots Kings

barons acquire fiefs in Scotland, the Scots kings hold baronies in England, notably the earldom of Huntingdon. They do homage to the English kings, but the Scots never admit that the homage was for Scotland; in the Scottish view, it was only for the English baronies. Evidence on the point is inconclusive; but quite certainly whatever allegiance was professed, it was held of very little account.

Meanwhile, the mountaineers held aloof, taking no part in the "Sassenach" development, and holding by their Keltic clan system, while the south became feudalised more or less on the Norman model. In the extreme north and in the

isles, the Northmen had so thoroughly planted themselves that Caithness and Sutherland and the Hebrides belonged to the Norwegian rather than to the Scottish kingdom. It was not till the middle of the thirteenth century was past that the Norwegian power was finally broken by Alexander III., at the battle of Largs, and a subsequent treaty ended Norway's claim to the lordship of Caithness and the isles.

To follow the details more closely: Malcolm espoused the cause of the Atheling against the usurpation of William, and raided Northumbria; William, in return, marched into Scotland, whereupon Malcolm did homage to him of some sort. Much the same thing happened in the time of Rufus; but Malcolm was again raiding England when he was ambushed and killed at Alnwick. Then came a chaos of contests between his sons for the crown. Finally Edgar was established by the aid of Rufus. When Edgar died he had to recognise the distinction between the old kingdom of Alban and the provinces of Lothian and Strathclyde; his brother, Alexander I., became king, but another brother, David, with the title of Earl, was virtual lord of the Lowlands. The earl succeeded his brother as King David I.,

and it was in his reign that the kingdom of Scotland took upon it the character of being primarily the Anglo-Norman kingdom of the Lowlands, claiming, and more or less maintaining, a suzerainty over the Highlands, but developing on its own lines. David's marriage with the daughter of Waltheof, son of Siward of Northumbria, brought sundry great English earldoms into his hands; while in his reign the Anglo-Norman Bruces and Balliols and Fitzalans, progenitors of the house of Stewart, appear with others as barons of Scotland as well as of England.

David made war upon England, chiefly in the character of a loyal liege-subject of the Empress Maud, who was claiming the throne in opposition to Stephen. In spite of the great defeat at Northallerton, known as the Battle of the Standard, David was able to strengthen his position greatly, and his reign was marked by great advance in the organisation of his kingdom.

David was followed by two successive grandsons—Malcolm IV., called the "Maiden," and William the Lion. William took the opportunity of invading England

when the sons of Henry II. were in revolt against their father; but he was taken prisoner by an accident, with the result that he was forced to sign the Treaty of Falaise, which definitely converted the Scots kingdom into a fief of the English crown. The rights thus acquired, however, were sold back a few years later on the accession of Cœur-de-Lion to the English throne: Richard was prepared to sell anything to get money for the

Independence of the Church in Scotland

Crusades, so the period of unquestioned legal subjection of Scotland to the Plantagenets was brief. Even during that period William managed to secure the Scottish Church from English domination by appealing to the Pope, with whom Henry II. could not afford to quarrel after the murder of Becket.

Under William's son and grandson, Alexander II. and III., Scotland prospered and acquired an unprecedented unity. Both kings followed, in the main, the policy of avoiding collisions with England. The father established a much more pronounced lordship over the Western



THE TRIAL OF THE GREAT SCOTTISH HERO, SIR WILLIAM WALLACE

On the roll of Scottish heroes there is no name dearer to the national heart than that of Sir William Wallace. He stood by his harassed country at a critical period in her history, and fought the English with courage and determination. At the battle of Stirling Bridge, in 1297, he gained a great victory for Scotland. Betrayed into the hands of Edward I. of England, he was taken to London, put on trial in Westminster Hall, and eventually executed at Smithfield.

Highlands and over Caithness. The son, "The Tamer of the Ravens," finally put an end to the claims of King Haakon of Norway at the battle of Largs. At an earlier stage, he had successfully evaded an attempt of the English king, Henry III., to beguile him into doing homage for Scotland. His death by accident in 1286 heralded a new era.

Alexander had thirteen successors before the crowns of England and Scotland were united in 1603. The first was his

grand-daughter Margaret, a little girl who died before she had well reached her kingdom, on the voyage from Norway. The next was the puppet John Balliol, set up and knocked down again by Edward I. of England. Then, in 1306, Robert Bruce got himself crowned, and gradually won back the independence of Scotland. When he died, in 1329, his heir was six years old. From that time till Queen Mary fled from her rebellious subjects to an English prison, leaving an infant son as King James VI., only two grown men succeeded to the throne; the rest were all under twelve except one, and five died by violence. That bare statement is enough to show that there was never any chance of establishing a strong central

government. A desperate struggle for independence against a country incomparably wealthier and more populous, and in political organisation the foremost state in the world, was followed by a long period of internecine rivalries between great houses, emulated by their lesser neighbours, all of whom had a common determination to resist control, and were ready to unite only in defying English aggression. Such conditions

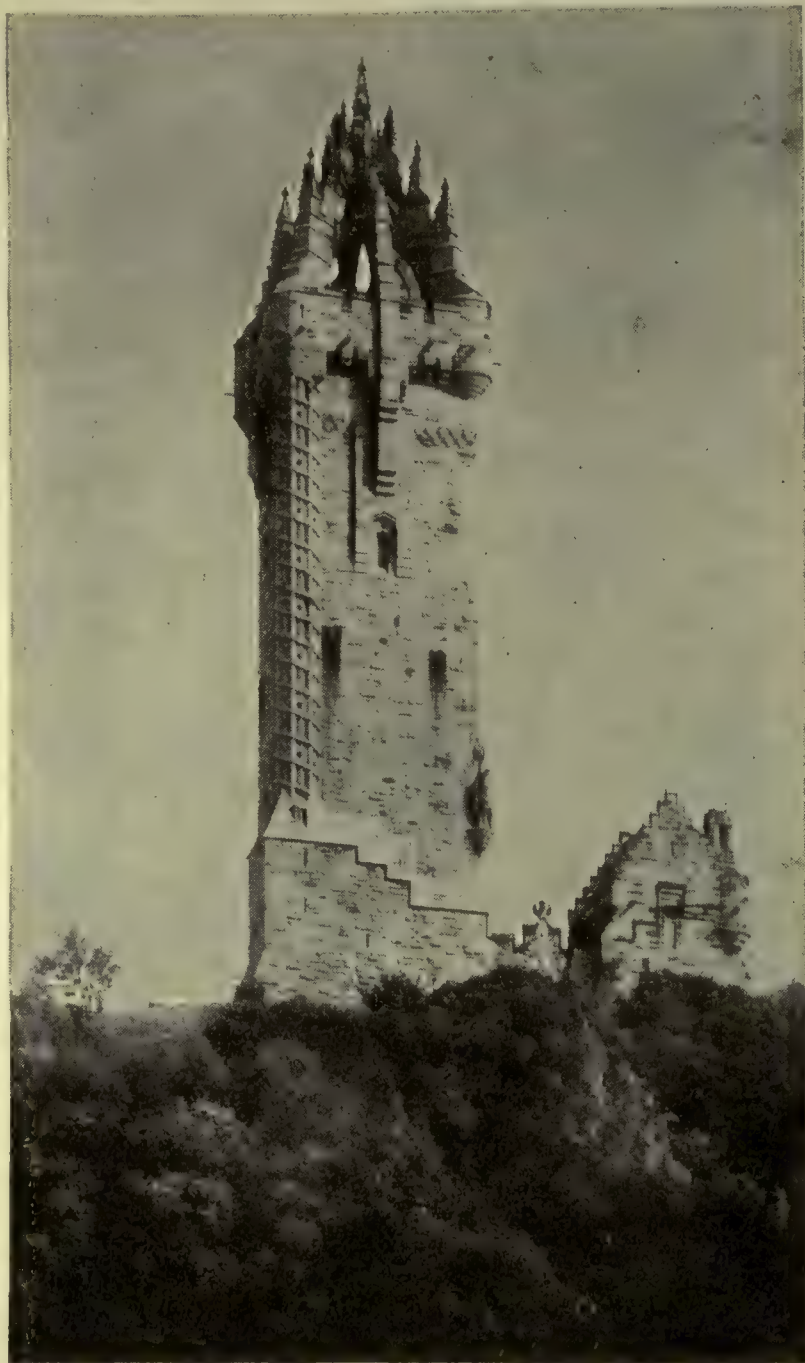
made the development of a highly organised body politic a sheer impossibility. Yet the anarchical forces failed to break the state in pieces, partly at least, we cannot doubt, because the strenuous independence of the national character, vaunting the thistle as its appropriate national emblem, never had the chance of being enervated by luxury.

The death of the Maid of Norway gave Edward his opportunity. Alexander had

no other descendants. The law was not clear as to the inheritance of the crown. The barons, with the higher clergy, appealed to the King of England to arbitrate. Edward was willing, if barons and claimants would acknowledge the English suzerainty. The claimants and many other barons were already barons of England as well as of Scotland; they accepted the terms. In the practice of English feudal law John Balliol's claim was the best, and judgment was given in his favour. But when it was realised that Edward meant his suzerainty to be very thoroughly recognised in fact as well as in form, uneasy acquiescence was changed into angry resistance. Balliol was stirred up to kick against the pricks. Edward

promptly declared his fief of Scotland forfeited under feudal law, and took possession. His consummate military skill and his superior forces were not to be gainsaid. But no hand less mighty than his own could hold down the defiance of an angry people, though the barons played fast and loose.

Whenever Edward's back was turned there were successful insurrections; for a time, William Wallace almost cleared



THE WALLACE MONUMENT AT STIRLING
This imposing memorial to Scotland's national hero stands in a district teeming with historic associations. It consists of a Scottish baronial tower, two hundred feet high. The heraldic arms of Sir William Wallace are above the gateway, and his famous sword may also be seen.
Photochrome photo

the English out of the land. Edward returned and struck hard—so hard that he expected no more resistance. Yet Robert Bruce, grandson of Balliol's old rival claimant, resolved to strike for a crown. Having seized it, he became the champion of national independence. Once more Edward marched north, but death took him before he could set foot on Scottish soil.

Year by year, while his son Edward II. quarrelled with his barons in England, Bruce and his paladins, Douglas and Randolph, wrested Scotland, fortress by fortress, from the grip of the English. At last Edward II. marched north at the head of the most splendid English armament that had ever taken the field, to redeem his dominion and his honour, and lost both irretrievably in the overwhelming rout of Bannockburn. For the rest of his reign the Scots, not the English, were the aggressors, ravaging the north of England in perpetual raids. A year after his death the independence of Scotland was formally acknowledged at the Peace of Northampton. King Robert passed away in 1329, his great work accomplished.

The able regency of Randolph, Earl of Moray, on behalf of the six-year-old King David II. was all too brief. Then came an attempt at restoring the Balliols, with two notable battles at Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill. David was shipped off to France. The Scots would not submit to Balliol. Then Edward III. became absorbed in his great French war, and after that no serious attempt at an English conquest of Scotland was made again. But

from this time Scotland and France remained in close alliance. Whenever England was at war with France she had to reckon on Scottish invasions, and sometimes on Scottish contingents in French armies. A Scots invasion was repulsed at Neville's Cross in the same year as Crecy. Seventy-five years later the English met their shrewdest defeat on French soil at the hands of a force mostly of Scots, at Beaugé. When Henry VIII. invaded Picardy, James IV. led an army of invading Scots to its own destruction on Flodden Field. Until Queen Mary, the eighteen-year-old widow of a French king, returned from France to Scotland in the reign of Elizabeth, the "Auld Alliance" was an eternal clog on England in her dealings with France and in her designs on Scotland. Similarly, English rebels and pretenders, from the time of Henry IV. to the days of Perkin Warbeck, found frequent refuge and encouragement in Scotland.

When David II. died he was succeeded by the Fitzalan Robert II., the Steward or Stewart, David's nephew; and so began the line of Stewart kings. Neither in his reign, nor in that of his son John, re-named Robert III. for luck, did Scotland enjoy strong rule. When Robert III. died, his son James I. was a boy of eleven, a prisoner in the hands of the King of England, Henry IV. Some years later he went to France with Henry V., but was



THE WALLACE STATUE

This colossal bronze statue of Wallace in the act of wielding his sword stands in a niche of the tower shown on the preceding page.

Valentine photo

released by the regency which followed that king's death, and returned to Scotland with Jane Beaufort as his queen. He is distinguished as one of the few kings who have earned an indubitable title to the name of

poet. Meanwhile, Scotland had suffered under the regency of his uncle and cousin, successive Dukes of Albany, whose rule, however, was signalled by the overthrow at the battle of Harlaw in 1411 of an attempt on the part of the Lord of the Isles to throw off, if not himself to usurp, the "Saxon" domination. James had a hard task in the struggle to reduce the turbulent baronage to order and introduce the elements of a stable system of rule. A measure of success attended his efforts, but irritated members of the baronage accomplished his murder.

The accession of the child James II. meant another regency, with a normal

age treated him much as Edward II. had been treated, hanged his favourites, took the field against him, and killed him at Sauchie Burn.

His son, James IV., was nearer his majority than most of the Stewart kings of Scotland. Possessed of many of the royal qualities which his father lacked, and of brilliant accomplishments, he enjoyed also in a high degree the gift of popularity. Moreover, he was ambitious to raise the whole status of his kingdom. Notably, he devoted much attention to increasing the naval strength of Scotland. The newly established Tudor dynasty in England was decidedly anxious to establish a new era



THE CAPTURE OF BRUCE'S WIFE AND DAUGHTER AT TAIN

After the battle near Methven, in Perthshire, in the early days of Bruce's struggles against England, many Scottish nobles were executed. Bruce's wife and daughter Marjory were seized in the sanctuary of St. Duthac at Tain, and were held prisoners in England for eight years, while the knights who were in attendance upon them were put to death.

accompaniment of murders, with varying degrees of pretence at a judicial character. James gave promise of vigour and capacity, if also of violence, but was killed at the age of twenty-nine by the explosion of a cannon. The reign of James III. began, as usual, with a long minority. When the king came of age matters were hardly bettered by the reign of favourites. As prince of a well-ordered state, James III. might have left a fair record as a patron of art and literature; but he was wholly unfitted for a position in which a clear head, a strong hand, and a resolute will were imperatively demanded. His baron-

of friendly relations, and in spite of his active support of Perkin Warbeck, the diplomacy of Henry VII. secured James as the husband of his eldest daughter Margaret, whereby, when the offspring of Henry VIII. failed, a hundred years later, the King of Scotland became the legitimate successor of Elizabeth on the English throne. But capable though James IV. was—and it seemed during his reign that there was far better prospect than there had been before, except in the reign of James I., since Bruce's day, of the Scots kingdom being consolidated into a powerful state—he was still too prone to yield his better





THE MURDER OF KING JAMES I. OF SCOTLAND

After his long captivity in England, King James I. was permitted to return to Scotland with his bride, and for thirteen years he proved an able and wise ruler. In this illustration the artist depicts his unhappy end. On February 20th, 1437, he fell a victim to the plots of his kinsman, the Duke of Athole, being murdered at Perth. There were, it is said, sixteen wounds on his breast alone, while the queen received two wounds in endeavouring to shield her husband.

From the picture by John Opie, R.A., in the Art Gallery of the Corporation of London



THE EVE OF FLODDEN: JAMES IV. HOLDING A COUNCIL OF WAR

The battle of Flodden, fought on September 9th, 1513, between armies of Scotland and England, ended disastrously for the former country. Taking advantage of the absence in France of the English king, James IV. of Scotland crossed the Tweed with a large following and ravaged the country. An English army marched to meet the Scots, and in the illustration we see James holding a council of war, to the advice of which he turned a deaf ear.

From the picture by J. Fald, R.S.A.



BLACK AGNES DEFENDING THE CASTLE OF DUNBAR AND REPULSING THE ENGLISH

The great fortress of Dunbar was attacked by the English, under the Earl of Salisbury, in 1239. In the absence of the governor, the Earl of March, his wife, known as Black Agnes, defended the castle and drove back its assailants.

judgment to the impulse or caprice of the moment. And so, when Henry VIII. invaded France, and he, on behalf of the Auld Alliance, invaded England, he flung away almost certain victory, descended from a nearly unassailable position on Flodden Ridge to fight the English on even terms, and lost his life in the most disastrous of Scottish battles, in which the

tremendous death-roll robbed Scotland of the best material on which her hopes depended. And Scotland was left once more with a baby king, and to the miseries of a prolonged and incompetent regency, complicated by the fact that the queen-mother was a sister of the King of England, with all her brother's passion for matrimonial variety. **ARTHUR D. INNES**



ROBERT THE BRUCE

AND WHAT HE DID FOR SCOTLAND

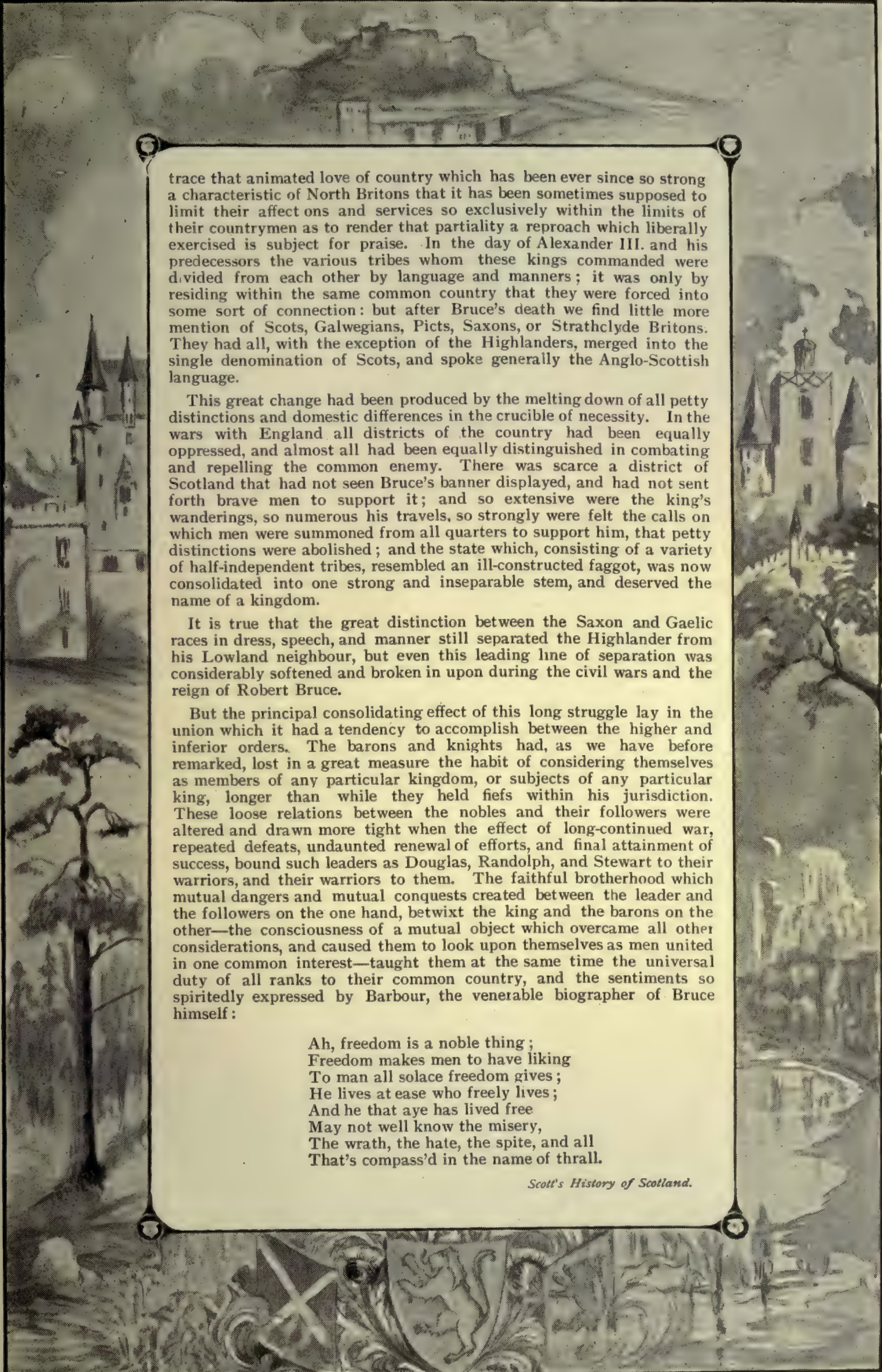
BY
SIR WALTER SCOTT

REMARKABLE in many things, there was this almost peculiar to Robert Bruce, that his life was divided into three distinct parts, which could scarcely be considered as belonging to the same individual. His youth was thoughtless, hasty, and fickle, and from the moment he began to appear in public life until the slaughter of the Red Comyn and his final assumption of the crown, he appeared to have entertained no certain purpose beyond that of shifting with the shifting tide, like the other barons around him, ready, like them, to enter into hasty plans for the liberation of Scotland from the English yoke; but equally prompt to submit to the overwhelming power of Edward. Again, in a short but very active period of his life, he displayed the utmost steadiness, firmness, and constancy, sustaining, with unabated patience and determination, the loss of battles, the death of friends, the disappointment of hopes, and an uninterrupted series of disasters, on which scarce a ray of hope appeared to brighten. This term of suffering extended from the field of Methven-wood till his return to Scotland from the island of Rathlin, after which time his career, whenever he was himself personally engaged, was almost uniformly successful, even till he obtained the object of his wishes—the secure possession of an independent throne.

When these things are considered, we shall find reason to conclude that the misfortunes of the second or suffering period of Bruce's life had taught him lessons of constancy, of prudence, and of moderation, which were unknown to his early years, and tamed the hot and impetuous fire which his temper, like that of his brother Edward, naturally possessed. He never permitted the injuries of Edward I. (although three brothers had been cruelly executed by that monarch's orders) to provoke him to measures of retaliation; and his generous conduct to the prisoners at Bannockburn, as well as elsewhere, reflected equal honour on his sagacity and humanity. His manly spirit of chivalry was best evinced by a circumstance which happened in Ireland, where, when pursued by a superior force of English, he halted and offered battle at disadvantage, rather than abandon a poor washerwoman, who had been taken with the pains of labour.

Robert Bruce's personal accomplishments in war stood so high that he was universally esteemed one of the three best knights of Europe during that martial age, and gave many proofs of personal prowess. His achievements seem amply to vindicate this high estimation, since the three Highlanders slain in the retreat from Dalry, and Sir Henry de Bohun, killed by his hand in front of the English army, evince the valorous knight, as the plans of his campaigns exhibit the prudent and sagacious leader. The Bruce's skill in the military art was of the highest order; and in his "testament," as it is called, he bequeathed a legacy to his countrymen, which, had they known how to avail themselves of it, would have saved them the loss of many a bloody day.

If, however, his precepts could not save the Scottish nation from military losses, his example taught them to support the consequences with unshaken constancy. It is, indeed, to the example of this prince, and to the events of a reign so dear to Scotland, that we can distinctly



trace that animated love of country which has been ever since so strong a characteristic of North Britons that it has been sometimes supposed to limit their affections and services so exclusively within the limits of their countrymen as to render that partiality a reproach which liberally exercised is subject for praise. In the day of Alexander III. and his predecessors the various tribes whom these kings commanded were divided from each other by language and manners; it was only by residing within the same common country that they were forced into some sort of connection: but after Bruce's death we find little more mention of Scots, Galwegians, Picts, Saxons, or Strathclyde Britons. They had all, with the exception of the Highlanders, merged into the single denomination of Scots, and spoke generally the Anglo-Scottish language.

This great change had been produced by the melting down of all petty distinctions and domestic differences in the crucible of necessity. In the wars with England all districts of the country had been equally oppressed, and almost all had been equally distinguished in combating and repelling the common enemy. There was scarce a district of Scotland that had not seen Bruce's banner displayed, and had not sent forth brave men to support it; and so extensive were the king's wanderings, so numerous his travels, so strongly were felt the calls on which men were summoned from all quarters to support him, that petty distinctions were abolished; and the state which, consisting of a variety of half-independent tribes, resembled an ill-constructed faggot, was now consolidated into one strong and inseparable stem, and deserved the name of a kingdom.

It is true that the great distinction between the Saxon and Gaelic races in dress, speech, and manner still separated the Highlander from his Lowland neighbour, but even this leading line of separation was considerably softened and broken in upon during the civil wars and the reign of Robert Bruce.

But the principal consolidating effect of this long struggle lay in the union which it had a tendency to accomplish between the higher and inferior orders. The barons and knights had, as we have before remarked, lost in a great measure the habit of considering themselves as members of any particular kingdom, or subjects of any particular king, longer than while they held fiefs within his jurisdiction. These loose relations between the nobles and their followers were altered and drawn more tight when the effect of long-continued war, repeated defeats, undaunted renewal of efforts, and final attainment of success, bound such leaders as Douglas, Randolph, and Stewart to their warriors, and their warriors to them. The faithful brotherhood which mutual dangers and mutual conquests created between the leader and the followers on the one hand, betwixt the king and the barons on the other—the consciousness of a mutual object which overcame all other considerations, and caused them to look upon themselves as men united in one common interest—taught them at the same time the universal duty of all ranks to their common country, and the sentiments so spiritedly expressed by Barbour, the venerable biographer of Bruce himself:

Ah, freedom is a noble thing;
Freedom makes men to have liking
To man all solace freedom gives;
He lives at ease who freely lives;
And he that aye has lived free
May not well know the misery,
The wrath, the hate, the spite, and all
That's compass'd in the name of thrall.

Scott's History of Scotland.



STATUE OF SCOTLAND'S DELIVERER, KING ROBERT THE BRUCE, AT STIRLING

This memorial of Scotland's great king, Robert the Bruce, which was erected in 1877 by public subscription, stands on the Castle Esplanade at Stirling. The famous warrior king is represented as a knight of the highest rank, clad in the fighting armour of the period, and in the act of sheathing his sword after victory. The figure is nearly eleven feet high and is looking in the direction of Bannockburn, the scene of Bruce's great triumph over the English in 1314.



STIRLING CASTLE: ONE OF SCOTLAND'S GREATEST STRONGHOLDS

Standing on a rocky eminence that rises 220 feet above the plain, Stirling Castle is one of the most picturesque and historic buildings in all Scotland. It is believed that even before the dawn of national history a stronghold stood on this commanding position. In the ninth and tenth centuries Stirling Castle figured in the semi-mythical battles between north and south, while it played an important part in subsequent history, and within its walls kings lived and died.

Photochrome photos,

SCENES *from* SCOTLAND'S STORY

BY WILLIAM HOLE, R.S.A.

On this and the following pages we reproduce a selection of scenes from the fine series of mural paintings by Mr. William Hole, R.S.A., which adorn the walls of the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. Scottish history has never been represented with greater spirit or studied accuracy of detail than we find in this admirable and instructive series.



THE MISSION OF ST. COLUMBA TO THE PICTS, 563-97



MARGARET LANDING AT QUEENSFERRY, 1066



"THE GOOD DEEDS OF DAVID I," 1124-1153



THE BATTLE OF STIRLING BRIDGE IN 1297



SCENES FROM THE BATTLE OF LARGS. IN WHICH KING ALEXANDER III. OF SCOTLAND DEFEATED HACO OF NORWAY IN 1263



BRUCE IN COMMAND OF THE SECOND LINE AT THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN, IN 1314, AND THE ENGLISH ATTACK



THE LAST PUBLIC ACT OF KING ROBERT BRUCE
Conferring a charter upon the citizens of Edinburgh



THE CORONATION OF THE YOUNG KING JAMES II. AT HOLYROOD IN 1437



MARRIAGE PROCESSION OF JAMES IV. AND MARGARET TUDOR AT EDINBURGH, 1503



"NEWS OF FLODDEN": AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE SCOTS IN THE YEAR 1513



A MARRIAGE ON THE BATTLEFIELD: THE WEDDING OF STRONGBOW TO EVA, DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF LEINSTER
From the painting by Daniel Maclise in the National Gallery of Ireland



BEGINNINGS OF IRISH HISTORY

THE COUNTRY UNDER ENGLISH RULE

IN Ireland the Keltic population remained free from any kind of foreign dominion far longer than in the sister island. There the Roman made no attempt to establish his sway ; Saxons and Angles found enough to attract them in the territory which they converted into England. The early "history" of Hibernia is too palpably imaginative, her heroes too legendary, to permit the extraction of much solid fact. But this much is clear, that when Christianity had been spread through the island by St. Patrick, she became a great missionary centre. From Ireland St. Columba and his disciples went forth to convert the Kelts and Picts of Alban and the Angles of Northumbria ; although the churches established by the Irish missionaries were obliged in time to abandon their typical Keltic customs in certain matters of religious observance in favour of those of Rome.

When the Northmen began those piratical expeditions, which presently assumed a colonising character, they went further afield than their Saxon predecessors, took possession of harbours on the east coast of Ireland, and set up petty kingdoms. The Kelts were divided into septs or clans. How far they all owed allegiance to one king is not clear ; but each sept held by its own chief, the Tanist or successor to the chieftainship, who was elected from the same family. The septs were, at any rate, not sufficiently united to offer organised resistance to the Danes till Brian Boromhe combined them, forced the Northmen to restrict themselves to their coastal settlements, won recognition as king of all Ireland, and broke up the last Danish invasion at the battle of Clontarf in 1014.

But the great deeds of Brian Boromhe failed to secure permanent unity. The land fell apart into separate kingdoms, alternately exercising a precarious supremacy over their neighbours much as the

kingdoms of Kent or Northumbria or Mercia had claimed a general overlordship in England. And when Henry of Anjou, duke or count of half the provinces of France, became Henry II., King of England, he began to cherish vague ideas of adding Ireland to his dominions.

Irish King's Appeal to England By way of preliminary, he got the authorisation of the English Pope, Adrian IV., for the project, since the Keltic Church was regarded as rebellious, if not heretical, by the papacy. Henry, however, would probably never have found time to organise a conquest on his own account ; it was Irish dissensions that opened a door for him. Dermot, king of Leinster, was hard put to it in a quarrel with a neighbour whose wife he had abducted ; he appealed to Henry for aid.

Henry permitted sundry adventurous but impecunious barons to take up Dermot's cause—notably Richard de Clare, called Strongbow, various Fitzgeralds, Fitzurses, De Burghs, and others. Dermot was duly restored, and rewarded the Normans with baronies. Strongbow himself married Dermot's daughter, and was recognised as his heir. Then Henry himself appeared on the scene ; the Normans, already his liegemen, acknowledged his suzerainty, and the native princes in general were constrained to do likewise. His control of the country seemed to be complete. Henry added "Lord of Ireland" to his titles—the theory being that the country had been assigned to him by the Pope—and left a Norman "Justiciar" to represent

Henry II. as Lord of Ireland the royal authority, and to establish within the Norman districts of Leinster, called "the Pale," a system of government based on that which Henry was organising in England. The Norman baronage was not limited to the Pale—a district roughly covering a semicircle of some four counties with the city of Dublin as its centre ; the Geraldine or Kildare territories extended

considerably south and west, while the Desmond branch of the same house was established in Munster, and the Butlers of Ormond occupied intervening territory. The De Burghs in Connaught became Burkes, and the Fitzurses translated their name into the Irish equivalent M'Mahon. The north remained entirely and the west mainly Keltic; but outside the Pale the Normans became, as the saying was, "more Irish than the Irish themselves." Within the Pale, English and feudal law was upheld; outside it the native "Brehon" law prevailed in defiance of Englishry and feudalism; but neither within the Pale nor without was there any disposition on the part of magnates or population to pay superfluous respect to any law at all.

For nearly two hundred years no English king set foot in Ireland, nor was there even the beginning of a conception of loyalty to the English government. In the reign of Edward II., after the English had been fairly driven out of Scotland, Edward Bruce, brother of King Robert, went near to wresting Ireland from English rule and securing the crown of Ireland for himself; but the attempt ultimately collapsed, owing to the incapacity of the Irish clans for acting continuously in unison. The Pale and the rest of Ireland were increasingly antagonistic. In the reign of Edward III., under the governorship of his son Lionel of Clarence, the statute of Kilkenny forbade intermarriage, the recognition of Irish law, or the adoption by the English of Irish customs; birth in England was made a condition of holding government

appointments. The law was impossible to enforce effectively, but intensified racial hostilities. As "Deputies," Roger Mortimer, the grandson of Lionel of Clarence, and his grandson Richard of York, father of Edward IV., succeeded in making the House of York so far popular in Ireland that the country became Yorkist in the Wars of the Roses, took up the cause of Lambert Simnel, and started Perkin Warbeck on his career as a Yorkist Pretender. The diplomatic Henry VII., however, conciliated the

great Earl of Kildare, who, except during a brief interval, was Deputy during most of the reign, on the principle that "since all Ireland could not rule this man, this man had better rule all Ireland."

But the interval itself forms a notable epoch in Irish history. Kildare's very doubtful loyalty caused the temporary appointment of Sir Edward Poynings as Deputy—the nominal Governor being the infant Prince Henry—and "Poynings' Law" established the system of government for Ireland which prevailed for nearly three cen-



SCENE AT THE GREAT SIEGE OF WATERFORD

turies. Ireland was to have its parliament; but the initiation of all legislation was reserved to the king and the English Privy Council.

Henry VII. was by no means unsuccessful in the policy of conciliating the Irish magnates and ruling through them; but the policy was followed by his successors only for brief intervals, alternating with prolonged periods of desultory rigour, which produced neither goodwill nor thorough subjection.

A. D. INNES

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